THE Ā-ĪN-I AKBARĪ

Translated by
H. BLOCHMANN

VOL. II-III

ABU L-FAZL ALLAMI

Complete & Unabridged
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A - IN - I AKBARI

VOL. II

By

ABUL-FAZL ALLAMI

A Gazetteer and administrative Manual of Akbar's Empire and past History of India.

Translated into English by

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Second Edition

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VOL. II - III

(Bound in One)

LOW PRICE PUBLICATIONS

DELHI - 110052

Sales Office :
D.K. Publishers Distributors (P) Ltd.
1, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj
New Delhi - 110002
Phones : 3261465, 3278368
Fax : 091-011-3264368

First Published 1927
Reprinted 1989, 1994, 1997

ISBN 81-86142-24-X (Set)
ISBN 81-86142-25-8 (Vol. I)
ISBN 81-86142-26-6 (Vol. II & III)

Published By :
LOW PRICE PUBLICATIONS
B-2, Vardhaman Palace,
Nimri Commercial Centre,
Ashok Vihar, Phase - IV, Delhi - 110 052
Tel.: 7401672, Fax : 091-011-7138265

Printed At :
D.K. Fine Art Press (P) Ltd.
Delhi - 110052

PRINTED IN INDIA

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

After the lamented death of H. Blochmann on 13th July, 1878, at the early age of 40 years only, a search among his papers showed that he had not translated any portion of the *Ain-i-Akbari* beyond the first volume which the Asiatic Society of Bengal was then publishing. In fact, his careful editing of the vast text of the *Ain* had been such a laborious task, and his English version of the first volume of it was such a monument of scholarship and tireless research in annotation, that he could not have had the time to begin the translation of the second volume. The Society entrusted his unfinished work to Lt.-Col. H. S. Jarrett, who finished printing the translation of the second volume in 1891. Thus, Jarrett had at his disposal only such works of reference and learned treatises on India as were in print in 1884-1889. The authorities cited by him in his notes, as I have pointed out in the Introduction to my revised edition of the 3rd volume of his translation, have proved to be obsolete and often useless in the light of our knowledge today.

Since 1890, a complete revolution in these branches of orientology and the history of Hindu and Muslim India has been effected by the publication of Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, the *Grundriss* of Buhler, Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, the *Cambridge History of India*, and many learned monographs on particular sovereigns and dynasties by Indian writers which touch the high-water mark of modern critical scholarship and exhaustive research.

All these authorities were unknown to Jarrett. His sole resource for the Hindu dynastic lists was Prinsep's *Useful Tables* (published in 1832) which is often based on this very *Ain-i-Akbari* and improved by reference to the mythical *Purānas* (as summarised in Wilson's translation of the *Vishnu Purāna*.) As for the Muslim rulers, he had to depend on the primitive *History of India* by Elphinstone (1841) or its source Firishta. Our reconstruction of Indo-Muslim history from inscriptions, coins and original Persian manuscripts was naturally missed by a writer of the years 1885-1889.

Therefore a mere reprint of Jarrett's translation and notes today would not do justice to the present state of Oriental scholarship and would naturally disappoint the modern reader. Thus the first task of an editor of Jarrett's translation is to correct and modernise his notes and elucidations by sweeping away his heaps of dead leaves, and giving more accurate information from the latest authorities. My second aim has been to lighten the burden of his notes, many of which are not only obsolete in information, but prolix to the point of superfluity. It is, I think, a mistake of the translator's duty to try to make a modern reader get all his ideas of Hindu philosophy, science, mythology, hagiography, and the topography and history of Muslim and Hindu India from the notes to an English translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The modern reader will find very much fuller and far more accurate information on these subjects in the voluminous

encyclopædias, gazetteers and standard monographs published in the present century, which are available in the libraries of learned societies.

I have also economised space and saved the reader from frequent unnecessary interruptions, by the omission of Jarrett's notes on the emendations of the printed Persian text made by him (except in a few cases of vital importance.) The numberless variant readings which encumbered the pages of his second volume have been mostly cleared away by the acceptance of the true forms in the body of the book and rejecting all those that are palpably wrong or unhelpful in solving our doubt. It is well-known to the learned world that the editing of many of the volumes in the Persian and Arabic section of the Bibliotheca Indica series, was not done with the care and accuracy which characterise the oriental texts published in London or Paris, Leyden or Beyrut. Therefore all obvious misprints and wrong readings in the text of the *Ain* have been silently correctd in this revised edition of the translation, and many hundreds of notes of the first edition deleted.

The third volume of the *Ain-i-Akbari* is an encyclopædia of the religion, philosophy and sciences of the Hindus, preceded by the chronology and cosmography of the Muslims, as required by literary convention, for comparison with the Hindu ideas on the same subjects. The second volume was designed to serve as a Gazetteer of the Mughal Empire under Akbar. Its value lies in its minute topographical descriptions and statistics about numberless small places and its survey of the Empire's finances, trade and industry, castes and tribes.

Jarrett's translation of Volume II is weakest in this essential respect. For the more than six thousand place-names in this volume he could consult only Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (in the rather crude early edition of 1887) ; but that work is quite unhelpful for the purpose of identifying the minute places mentioned in the *Ain*, and its volume of maps is on too small a scale to give the information we need. The highly useful and detailed provincial Gazetteers—such as Atkinson's *N. W. P. Gazetteer* and Campbell's *Bombay Gazetteer*, were completed after the Eighteen-eighties, too late for Jarrett's use. Nor did he consult the quarter-inch-to the mile maps of India published by the Surveyor-General and entitled the *Indian Atlas*. These two authorities,—the provincial Gazetteers and the Survey maps—are indispensably necessary for correctly tracing the place-names in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

I have consulted these two primary works of reference and corrected Jarrett's (or Abul Fazl's) names and notes, with infinite labour, the nature of which can be understood only by comparing the list of *mahals* in a district (*sarkār*) in Jarrett's edition with the corresponding page in mine. Nine-tenths of the place-names in this book have been identified and entered in the corrected spelling in the course of my revision. This improvement of Abul Fazl's work will be completed and the nature of the gain to our knowledge of Mughal Indian topography will become evident to the modern reader, after the publication of a supplementary volume, on which Prof. Nirod Bhusan Roy is now working and which will contain a very much enlarged geographical index giving the location and exact references to mapsheets and Gazetteer-pages for each place mentioned here

and discussing the probable location or necessary emendation of the small proportion of places not satisfactorily traced by me. Very many of the mistakes in Jarrett (or rather in the printed Persian text followed by him) were due to the wrong placing or omission of dots (*nuqta*) and the well-known confusion of certain letters of the Arabic alphabet by our copyists. These I have silently corrected.

The chapter on the subah of Kashmir, which was the most confused and wrongly spelt in this volume,—has been revised throughout by Professor Nirod Bhusan Roy, on the basis of Stein's *Memoir* and *Chronicle of the Kings* and the official *Gazetteer* (by Bates). But the necessary changes are so many that the new information has been lumped together at the end, instead of being distributed in countless footnotes on the respective pages, and the useless notes and extracts of the first edition have been omitted.

I am deeply obliged to Prof. N. B. Roy for the care and persistence with which he has assisted me in this work of revision and performed the exacting task of reading the proofs (up to p. 192) of such a difficult book. A special word of thanks is due to the Sri Gouranga Press, which has patiently and efficiently done the rather exasperating work of printing this volume from a copy of the first edition, whose rotten paper crumbled at the touch, and on which my ink corrections had made the text even less readable than before. The sight of this press copy had scared away two first-rate printing establishments in Calcutta to whom it was previously offered, and the acceptance of the work of printing it was really a favour shown to the Society and to learning, by the Sri Gouranga Press. For my appreciation of the manner in which, on the whole, Jarrett completed a stupendous task, I refer the reader to my Introduction to the Translation of the Third Volume of the *Ain*, 2nd edition.

The absence of uniformity in the transliteration of oriental words in the Roman alphabet, is explained by the facts, (1) that Jarrett himself did not follow one uniform system throughout the first edition printed by him, (2) that the rotten paper of the single copy of this first edition which was given to me for preparing my press-copy, made it impossible for me to erase wrong marks and insert the latest-current signs in most places, and (3) that the typing of the entire book and the insertion of diacritical marks uniformly according to the system at present followed by the Society, could not be carried out for financial reasons. In short, this edition had to be printed in the rough practical form that I have given to it, or not at all. But two little hints may be given here: in the unchanged portions of Jarrett's work the inverted comma stands for the letter *ālīph* (in names like—*ud-din*), while in my portion it stands for the letter *'ain* ; and the mark over the long *A* (capital) could not be inserted owing to some technical difficulty in linotype composition.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

EXTRACTS FROM JARRETT'S PREFACE

Whatever the verdict of those competent from linguistic knowledge and acquaintance with the abrupt, close and enigmatic style of the original to judge of the merits of my translation, no pains at least have been spared to render it a faithful counterpart consistently with a clearness of statement which the text does not everywhere show. The peculiar tone and spirit of Abul Fazl are difficult to catch and to sustain in a foreign tongue. His style, in my opinion, is not deserving of imitation even in his own. His merits as a writer have, in general, been greatly exaggerated. Omitting the contemporary and interesting memoirs of Al Badāoni, whose scathing comments on the deeds and motives of king and minister have an independent value of their own, the accident that Abul Fazl's works form the most complete and authoritative history of the events of Akbar's reign, has given them a great and peculiar importance as state records. This they eminently deserve, but as exemplars of style, in comparison with the immutable types of excellence fixed for ever by Greece and Rome, they have no place. His unique position in Akbar's court and service enhanced the reputation of all that he wrote, and his great industry in a position which secured wealth and invited indolence, fully merited the admiration of his countrymen. Regarded as a statistician, no details from the revenues of a province to the cost of a pine-apple, from the organisation of an army and the grades and duties of the nobility to the shape of a candlestick and the price of a curry-comb, are beyond his microscopic and patient investigation: as an annalist, the movements and conduct of his sovereign are surrounded with the impeccability that fences and deifies Oriental despotism, and chronicled with none of the skill and power, and more than the flattery of Velleius Paterculus: as a finished diplomatist, his letters to recalcitrant generals and rebellious viceroys are Eastern models of astute persuasion, veiling threats with compliments, and insinuating rewards and promises without committing his master to their fulfilment. But these epistles which form one of his monuments to fame, consist of interminable sentences involved in frequent parentheses difficult to unravel, and paralleled in the West only by the decadence of taste, soaring in prose, as Gibbon justly remarks, to the vicious affectation of poetry, and in poetry sinking below the flatness and insipidity of prose, which characterizes Byzantine eloquence in the tenth century. A similar affectation, and probably its prototype, is to be found in the most approved Arab masters of florid composition of the same epoch, held by Ibn Khallikan's crude and undisciplined criticism to be the perfection of art, and which still remains in Hindustan the ideal of every aspiring scribe.

His annals have none of the pregnant meaning and point that in a few masterly strokes, exalt or brand a name to all time, and flash the actors of his drama across the living page in scenes that dwell for ever in the memory. The history of nearly forty-six years of his master's reign contains not a line that lives in household words

among his own countrymen, not a beautiful image that the mind delights to recall, not a description that rises to great power or pathos, nor the unconscious simplicity redeeming its wearisome length which lends such a charm to Herodotus, and which in the very exordium of Thucydides, in Lucian's happy phrase, breathes the fragrance of Attic thyme. His narrative affects a quaint and stiff phraseology which renders it often obscure, and continues in an even monotone, never rising or falling save in reference to the Emperor whose lightest mention compels the adoring prostration of his pen, and round whom the world of his characters and events revolves as its central sun. Whatever its merit as a faithful representation, in a restricted sense, of a reign in which he was a capable and distinguished actor, it lacks the interesting details and portraiture of the life and manners of the nation which are commonly thought to be below the dignity of history but which brighten the pages of Eastern historians less celebrated than himself, and are necessary to the light and shade of a perfect picture.

His statistical and geographical survey of the empire which this volume comprises is a laborious though somewhat lifeless compilation, of the first importance indeed as a record of a past and almost forgotten administration to guide and instruct the historian of the future or the statesman of to-day, but uninformed by deductive comment and illustration which might relieve the long array of bald detail. His historical summaries of dynasties and events in the various Subahs under their ancient autonomous rule are incoherent abridgements, often so obscurely phrased as not to be understood without a previous knowledge of the events to which they relate and his meaning is rather to be conjectured than elicited from the grammatical analysis of his sentences. The sources from which he drew his information are never acknowledged. This of itself would have been of no moment and their indication might perhaps have disturbed the unity of his design had he otherwise so incorporated the labours of others with his own as to stamp the whole with the impress of originality, but he not seldom extracts passages word for word from other authors undeterred by the fear or heedless of the charge, of plagiarism.

Such, in my opinion, is the reverse of the medal which represents Abul Fazl as unrivalled as a writer and beyond the reach of imitation. The fashion of exaggerating the importance and merits of a subject or an author by those who make them their special study, especially when that study lies outside the common track of letters, inevitably brings its own retribution and ends by casting general discredit on what in its place and of its kind has its due share of honour or utility. The merit and the only merit of the *Ain-i-Akbari* is in what it tells and not in the manner of its telling which has little to recommend it. It will deservedly go down to posterity as a unique compilation of the systems of administration and control throughout the various departments of Government in a great empire, faithfully and minutely recorded in their smallest detail, with such an array of facts illustrative of its extent, resources, condition, population, industry and wealth as the abundant material supplied from official sources could furnish. This in itself is praise and fortune of no common order and it needs not the fictitious ascription of

unparalleled powers of historiography in its support. The value of the *Ain* in this regard has been universally acknowledged by European scholars and it may not be out of place to quote here the opinion* of the learned Reinaud on this work in his 1st vol. of the *Geographie d' Abulfeda,* as it accurately represents its nature and worth and the style and quality of its literary composition. He writes:—

"Muslim India offers us, at the commencement of the 17th century, a work of compilation, which is of great interest for geography; it is a Persian treatise composed by Abul Fazl, the minister of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, and entitled the *Ain-i-Akbari* or the Institutes of Akbar. . . . The empire founded in India by Babur, had attained, under the reign of Akbar, a great extension, and stretched from Afghanistan up to the head of the Gulf of Bengal, from the Himalaya up to the Deccan. Due to the excellent government established by Akbar, the provinces, long ravaged by intestine wars, had acquired a new shape. On the other hand, the liberal views of the Emperor and of his ministers, had nothing in common with the narrow and exclusive spirit which characterises Islam, and they had caused to be translated into Persian the best works of Sanskrit literature. Abul Fazl, putting himself at the head of a body of scholars, undertook a geographical, physical and historical description of the empire, accompanied by statistical tables. Each of the sixteen *subahs* or Governments of which the Mughal empire was then composed, is there described with minute exactitude; the geographical and relative situation of the cities and boroughs (market towns, *qasba*) is there indicated; the enumeration of the natural and industrial products is carefully traced there; as also the names of the princes, both Hindu and Musalman, to whom the *subah* had been subject before its inclusion in the empire. We next find an exhibition of the military condition of the empire and an enumeration of those who formed the household of the sovereign, &c. The work ends in a summary, made in general from indigenous sources, of the Brahmanic religion, of the diverse systems of Hindu philosophy, &c.

The author, by the pursuit of a misplaced erudition has accomplished the style of the ancient Persian authors; it is often difficult to understand it. In 1783, Francis Gladwin, encouraged by the Governor-General Hastings, published an abridged English version of the work. (He then condemns Gladwin's defects,—inaccuracy, confusion, and 'horrible alteration' of indigenous, particularly Sanskrit, words in transcribing them in the Arabic Alphabet, and calls for a new edition as a very useful service to students.)

In the table of the names of places confusion exists in the original text. Evidently, the person who in that early age was charged with the drawing up of the table had little knowledge of geography."

H. S. JARRETT.

Calcutta,
1891

* Translated from French into English by J. Sarkar for the second edition.

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BOOK THIRD

IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION

Since somewhat of the recent imperial institutions regulating the Army and the Household have been set down, I shall now record the excellent ordinances of that sagacious intellect that energizes the world.

'A IN I

THE DIVINE ERA

The connection of monetary transactions without fixity of date would slip from the grasp, and through forgetfulness and falsehood raise a tumult of strife; for this reason every community devises a remedy and fixes an epoch. Since thought fosters well-being and is an aid to facility (*of action*),to displace obsolete chronology and establish a new usage is a necessity of government. For this reason, the prince regent on the throne of felicity in the 29th year of the *Ilāhi* Divine Era,[1] for the purpose of refreshing that pleasure-ground of dominion and revenue, directed its irrigation and rendered blooming and lush the palace-garden of the State.

Compassing events within a determinate time, the Persian calls *māhroz* (date); the Arab has converted this into *mu'arrakh* (*chronicled*), and thence "*tārikh* (*date*) is a household word. Some derive the Arabic from *irākh*, a wild bull.[2] This conjugation of the measure of *tafa'il* means, to polish. As ignorance of the time of an event grew less, it

[1] *Akbarnāmah* (Beveridge's trans), iii. 644; this era was introduced at the beginning of the 29th regnal year, 8 Rabi A. 992 = 10th March 1584.

[2] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Supplement, p. 230: "The root of the word *tārikh* (meaning era, date) is *w-r-kh*, common to the Semitic languages, which we find for example in the Hebrew *yerah*, month.... The survival of a tradition in al-Biruni is interesting; according to this, the word is an arabisation of the Persian *māhruz*; here again there is the vague consciousness that the word has something to do with fixing the beginning of the month. al-Khwarizmi in his *Mafātih al-'Ulum* expressly states that this tradition is to be rejected." Abul Fazl's etymology is sometimes as bad as his geography. [J. S.]

became distinguished by this name. Some assert that it is transposed from *'tākhir* which is referring a late period to an antecedent age. Others understand it to be a limit of time wherein an event determines. They say "such a one is the *tārikh* of his tribe," that is, from whom dates the nobility of his line. It is commonly understood to be a definite day to which subsequent time is referred and which constitutes an epoch. On this account they choose a day distinguished by some remarkable event,[3] such as the birth of a sect, a royal accession, a flood or an earthquake. By considerable labour and the aid of fortune, by constant divine worship and the observance of times, by illumination of the understanding and felicity of destiny, by the gathering together of far-seeing intelligences and by varied knowledge especially in the exact sciences and the Almighty favour, observatories were built: wonderful upper and lower rooms with diversity of window and stair arose on elevated sites little affected by dust.

By this means and with the aid of instruments such as the armillary sphere and others double-limbed and bi-tubular,[4] and the quadrant of altitude,[5] the astrolabe, the globe and others, the face of astronomy was illumined and the computation of the heavens, the position of the stars, the extent of their orbits in length and breadth, their distance from each other and from the earth, the comparative magnitude of the heavenly bodies and the like were ascertained. So great a work without the daily increasing auspiciousness of a just monarch and his abundant solicitude, is not to be accomplished. The gathering together of learned men of liberal minds is not achievable simply by means of ample

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[3] This passage is so strikingly similar to the opening of the 3rd chapter of Al Biruni's *Athār ul Bāqiya* that it can scarcely be accidental. There is nothing to hinder the supposition that Abul Fazl was acquainted with that writer's works and not a little indebted to him. [H. S. J.]

[4] I cannot determine accurately what these may be. It is possible that the first may be the *skaphium* of Aristarchus which was a gnomon, the shadow of which was received on a concave hemispherical surface, having the extremity of its style at the centre, so that angles might be measured directly by arcs instead of the tangents. The second may refer to the invention of Archimedes to ascertain the apparent diameter of the sun by an apparatus of double cylinders. There was another, too, of Aristarchus to find the distance of the sun by measuring the angle of elongation of the moon when dichotomized. The *kitab ul Fihrist* mentions only the astrolabe and the armillary sphere, p. 284. Sedillot (*Prolegomenes des Tables Astron. d'Olong Beg*) speaks of a "gnomon à trou" used by Nasiruddin Tusi.

[5] So I venture to interpret the term. Dozy (Supplem. *Dict. Arab.*) quotes Berbrugger on this word "*Ruba'a-el-moudjib*, le quart de cercle horodictique, instrument d'une grande simplicite dont ou fait usage pour connaitre l'heure par la hauteur du soleil." *Moudjib* should be "*mujayyab*".

wealth, and the philosophic treatises of the past and the institutions of the ancients cannot be secured without the most strenuous endeavours of the sovereign. With all this, thirty years are needed to observe a single revolution of the seven planets.[6] The longer the period and the greater the care bestowed upon a task, the more perfect its completion.

In this time-worn world of affliction Divine Providence has vouchsafed its aid to many who have attained considerable renown in these constructions, such as Archimedes, Aristarchus and Hipparchus in Egypt, from whose time to the present, the 40th year of the divine era, 1769 years have elapsed;[7] such as Plotemy in Alexandria who flourished some 1410 years ago; as the Caliph Māmun in Baghdad, 790 years past, and Sind[8] bin 'Ali and Khālid[9] bin 'Abdul Malik al Marwazi 764 years since at Damascus. Hākim and Ibn[10] Aa'lam also laid the foundations of an observatory at Baghdad which remained unfinished, 712 years, and Battāni[11] at Raqqa 654 years previous to this time. Three

[6] The ancients gave the name of *planets* to the five planets visible to the naked eye, and the sun and moon. The names of the five—Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn first occur in the cosmical scheme of Philolaus. (Lewis. *Astron. of the Ancients*) The thirty years must refer to that planet of the seven occupying the longest period in its revolution, namely, Saturn which was the most remote then known. It takes 29 years and 5½ months (very nearly) to return to the same place among the fixed stars, whether the centre of motion be the Sun or the Earth.

[7] It is needless to say that all these figures are very inexact. Archimedes flourished 287-212 B.C., Aristarchus somewhwere about 280-264 B.C. and Hipparchus is placed by Suidas at from B.C. 160 to 145, and yet they are all bracketed together. The date of Plotemy, illustrious as he is as a mathematician, astronomer and geographer, is uncertain. He observed at Alexandria, A.D. 139 and was alive in A.D. 161. Mamun succeeded to the Caliphate on the 24th September 813. He caused all Greek works that he could procure to be translated, and in particular the *Almagest* of Plotemy. *Almagest* is a compound of the Greek with a prefix of the Arabic article. (*Encycl. Metropolitana.* Art. Astron.)

[8] *Abu Tayyib Sind-b-'Ali* was a Jew converted to Islam in the Caliphate of Māmun and was appointed his astronomer and superintendent of observatories.

[9] *Khalid-b-'Abdul Malik*, A.H. 217 (832) a native of Merv. He is included among three astronomers who first among the Arabs, instituted observations from the Shammāsiyah observatory at Baghdad

[10] *Ibn ul 'A'a'lam* A.H. 375 (A.D. 985), stood in great credit with Adhad ud daulah, but finding himself in less estimation with his son Shamsud Daulah, he left the court but returned to Baghdad a year before his death. His astronomical tables were celebrated not only in his own time but by later astronomers.

[11] *Muhammad b. Jābir al Battani* (Albatenius), a native of Harrān and inhabitant of Raqqa. His observations were begun in A.H. 264 (A.D. 877-8) and he continued them till A.H. 306. *Ency. Islam*, i. 680, "one of the greatest of Arab astronomers," (where details about his writings and achievement); he died in 317 A.H. He was surnamed the Ptolemy of the Arabs. He corrected the determination of Ptolemy respecting the motion of the stars in longitude, ascertaining it to be one degree in 70 instead of 100 years; modern observations make it one degree in 72 years. He also determined very exactly the eccentricity of the ecliptic and corrected the

hundred and sixty-two solar years have passed since Khwājah[12] Nasir of Tus built another at Murāgha near Tabriz and 155 is the age of that of Mirzā Ulugh Beg[13] in Samarqand.

Rasad signifies 'watching' in the Arabic tongue and the watchers, therefore, are a body who, in a specially-adapted edifice, observe the movements of the stars and study their aspects. The results of their investigations and their discoveries regarding these sublime mysteries are tabulated and reduced to writing. This is called an astronomical table (*zij*). This word is an Arabicized form of the Persian, *zik* which means the threads that guide the embroiderers in weaving brocaded stuffs. In the same way an astronomical table is a guide to the astronomer in recognising the conditions of the heavens, and the linear extensions and columns, in length and breadth, resemble these threads. It is said to be the Arabic rendering of *zih* from the frequent necessity of its use, which the intelligent will understand. Some maintain it to be Persian, signi-

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length of the year, making it consist of 365 days, 5 hours, 46 minutes, 24 seconds, which is about 2 minutes short of but 4 minutes nearer the truth than had been given by Ptolemy. He also discovered the motion of the apogee.

[12] *Nasiru'ddin* is the surname of Abu Ja'far Md. b. Muhammad-b-Hasan or Ibn Muhammad at Tusi, often simply called Khwājah Nasiru'ddin (A.H. 597-672). Hulāku the Tartar chief placed him at the head of the philosophers and astronomers whom his clemency had spared in the sack of Moslem towns, and gave him the administration of all the colleges in his acquired dominions. The town of Marāgha in Azarbayjān was assigned to him and he was ordered to prepare the astronomical tables which were termed Imperial (Ilkhāni). [*Enc. Islam*, iv. 980, under al-Tusi.]

[13] Ulugh Beg, (name Muhammad Turghāi) born 1393, died 1449 A.D., was the son of Shah Rukh and grandson of Tamerlane. In 810 he possessed the government of some provinces of Khorasān and Mazanderān and in 812, that of Turkistān and Transoxania. He, however, quickly abandoned politics and devoted himself passionately to his favourite studies. He desired that his tables should be scrupulously exact and procured the best instruments then available. These at this period, were of extraordinary size. The obliquity of the ecliptic was observed in A.D. 995 with a quadrant of 15 cubits' radius (21 feet 8 inches). The sextant of Abu Muhammed al Khojandi used in 992 had a radius of 40 cubits (57 feet 9 inches). The quadrant used by Ulugh Beg to determine the elevation of the pole at Samarqand, was as high as the summit of St. Sophia at Constantinople (about 180 feet). The astronomical tables were first published in A.H. 841 (A.D. 1437). The ancient astronomy had produced only one catalogue of the fixed stars, that of Hipparchus. Ulugh Beg, after an interval of sixteen centuries, produced the second. His observatory at Samarqand (begun in 1428 under the architect Ali Qushji), in its day was regarded as one of the wonders of the world. He corrected Ptolemy's computations and compiled the *Zij-i-Jadid Sultāni*. These tables became celebrated in Europe—trans. by Hyde in 1665, by Sedillot (prolegomena only) in 1847, and by Knobel in 1917." With him the period of astronomical works in the East finishes." [*Ency. Islam*, iv 994-996.]

For the compilation of Astronomical Tables by Muslims (*zij*), see *Enc Islam*, i. 498.

fying a mason's rule, and as he, through its instrumentality determines the evenness of a building, so an astronomer aims at accuracy by means of this astronomical table.

Many men have left such compilations to chronicle their fame. Among these are the Canons of.

1. MĀJUR THE TURK.

There are two of this family whom Sedillot terms the Benou Amajour. Hammer-Purgstall makes them the same person but adds another name Abul Qāsim 'Abdullah. According to him, they were brothers, and the former was the author of the Canon called al Bedia or "the Wonderful ;" the latter of works on other astronomical tables with disputed titles. He appears to quote from the Fihrist and from Casiri who borrows from Ibn Jounis, but the Fihrist distinctly states that Abu'l Hasan was the son not the brother of Ali b. Amajur. Ibn Jounis speaks of Abul Qāsim also, and as a native of Herat. The Benou Amajur were astronomers of repute and made their observations between the years 885-933, leading the way to important discoveries. (Sed p. xxxv *et seq*).

2. HIPPARCHUS.
3. PTOLEMY.
4. PYTHAGORAS.
5. ZOROASTER.
6. THEON OF ALEXANDRIA.
7. SĀMĀT THE GREEK.

Another reading is Sābāt but I cannot recognize nor trace the name satisfactorily. The epithet *Yunāni* inclines me to believe the name to be that of a Greek astronomer in Islamic times.

8. THĀBIT-B-QURRAH b Hārun was a native of Harrān, of the Sabean sect, and rose to eminence in medicine, mathematics and philosophy, born A. H. 221 (A.D. 836), died in A. H. 288 (A.D. 901). He was much favoured by the Caliph al Muatadhid who kept him at Court as an astrologer. He wrote on the Spherics of Theodosius, and retranslated Euclid already turned into Arabic by Hunain-b-Ishāq al Ibādi. He was also author of a work in Syriac on the Sabean doctrines and the customs and ceremonies of their adherents. Ibn Khall. D'Herb. Sedillot. p. xxv. *et seq*. For a list of his works, see the Fihrist, p. 272.

9. HUSĀM b. SINAN (var. Shabān.)

I believe the first name to be an error. The Fihrist mentions a son of Sinan with the patronymic Abul Hasan who is no doubt here meant. He was grandson of Thābit-b-Qurrah, and named also Thābit according to D'Herb. as well as Abul Hasan after his grandfather. (Sedillot). Equally proficient in astronomy with his grandfather, he was also a celebrated physician and practised in Baghdad. He wrote a history of his own time from about A.H. 290 to his death in 360. Abul Faraj speaks of it as an excellent work. See also Ibn Khall. De Slane. Vol. II. p. 289 and note 7. His father Sinān the son of Thābit-b-Quarrah, died at Baghdad A.H. 331. They were both Harranians, the last representatives of ancient Greek learning through whom Greek sciences were communicated to the illiterate Arabs.

Sinān made a collection of meteorological observations called the Kitāb ul anwā, compiled from ancient sources, incorporated by Albiruni in his Chronology, and thereby preserved to us the most complete Parapegma of the ancient Greek world. See Albiruni, *Chronol*, Sachau's Transl. p. 427. n.

10. THĀBIT-b-MUSA.

I can find no such name. The Fihrist gives Thābit-b-Ahusa, head of the Sabean sect in Harrān.

11. MUHAMMAD-b-JABIR AL BATTĀNI. See p. 3, note 11.

12. AHMAD-b-'ABDULLAH JABĀ.

Jabā is a copyist's error for Habsh. He was one of Al Māmun's astronomers, and distinguished by the title of Al Hāsib or the Reckoner. He was employed by Māmun at Sinjar to observe the obliquity of the Ecliptic and to test the measurements of geometrical degrees. He compiled a set of tables by the Caliph's order. Ham. Purg. B. III, p. 260. Abul Faraj (ed. 1663, p. 247) says that he was the author of three Canons ; the first modelled on the Sindhind, the second termed Mumtahan or Proven (after his return from his observations) and the third the Lesser Canon, known as the 'Shāh'

13. ABU RAYHĀN.

Abu Rayhān-Muhammad-b-Ahmad Albiruni, born 362. A. H. (A. D. 973), d. 440. (Ar. D. 1048). For further particulars I refer the reader to Sachau's preface to the *Indica* and the *Chronology* of this famous savant.

14. KHĀLID-b-'ABDUL MALIK. See p. 3, note 9.

15. YAHYA-b-MANSUR.

More correctly Yahya-b-Abi Mansur, was one of Al Māmun's most famous astronomers. Abul Faraj (p. 248), says that he was appointed by that Caliph to the Shammāsiyah observatory at Baghdad and to that of Mount Qāsiun at Damascus. The Fihrist gives a list of his works (p. 275) and (p. 143) his genealogy and descendants who appear to have shared and augmented their father's fame. He died about 833, (A. H. 218) in Māmun's expedition to Tarsus and was buried at Aleppo. *Enc. Islam*, iv. 1150.

16. HĀMID MARWARUDI.

This is doubtless, Abu Hāmid, Ahmad-b-Muhammad as Sāghāni. Sāghān is a town near Marw. Ibn Khallikān's derivation of Marwarrud will explain the difference in the titular adjectives of place. I transcribe De Slane, V. I, p. 50. "*Marwarrudi* means *native of Marwarrud*, a well known city in Khorāsān, built on a river, in Persian *ar-rud*, and situated 40 parasangs from Marw as Shāhjān ; these are the *two Marws* so frequently mentioned by poets : the word Shāhjān is added to the name of the larger one from which also is derived the relative adjective *Marwazi ;* the word rud is joined to that of the other city in order to distinguish between them. *Marwarud* has for relative adjective Marwarrudi and *Marwazi*, also, according to as Samāni." Shāhjān is, of course, Sāghān. Abu Hāmid was one of the first geometricians and astronomers of his time (d. 379, A. H 898), and a maker of astrolabes at Baghdad and was employed to certify the correctness of the royal astronomical reports. Ham Purg B. V. 313.

17. MUGHITHI. Perhaps, Mughni tabulae astronomicae sufficientes, mentioned by Hāji Khalifa, p. 568, Art. Zich.

18. SHARQI. (Var. Sharfi.) probably Abul Qāsim as Saraqi of whom Casiri writes. 'Abulcassam Alsaraki Aractensis (of Raqqa), Atrologiæ judiciariæ et astronomiæ doctrina, uti etiam Tabularum et Spheræ peritia haud ignobilis, inter familiares atque intimos Saifeldaulati Ali-ben-Abdalla-ben Hamdan, per ea tempora Regis, habitus est, quibuscumque Sermones Academicos frequens conferebat (Saifeldaulatus Syriæ Rex, anno Egîræ 356 obiit. (Sedillot, p. xlviii.)

19. ABUL WAFĀ-NURHĀNI. An error for Buzjāni. Buzjān is a small town in the Nisābur district in the direction of Herāt. He was born A. H. 328 (939) d. 388 (998). In his 20th year he settled in Irāq. A list of his works will be found in the Fihrist, p. 283. Ham. Purg. B. V. 306. His Canon was termed "as Shāmil." His most important work was the Almagest, which contains the formulas of tangents and secants employed by Arab geometricians in the same manner as in trigonometrical calculations of the present day. In the time of Al Battāni, sines were substituted for chords. By the introduction of tangents he simplified and shortened the expression of circular ratios. His anticipation of the discoveries of Tycho Brahe, may be seen in Sed. p. ix. *Enc. Isl,* i. 133, s.v. *Abu-l-Wafa.*

20. THE JAMI'. (Plura continens)
21. THE BALIGH. (Summum attingens) } Kyahushyar.
22. THE 'ADHADI.

Kushyār-b-Kenān al Hanbali, wrote three Canons, according to Hāji Khalifa. Two were the *Jāmi'* and the *Sāli'* (Bāligh is however confirmed by D'Herbelot, art. *Zig*). These works were on stellar computations, on almanacs, the motions of the heavenly bodies and their number, supported by geometrical proofs. His compendium (mujmal) summarises their contents (p. 564.) The *Jāmi'* is again mentioned lower down as a work in 85 chapters applied by the author to rectify or elucidate the Persian era. He added to it a supplement in illustration of each chapter of the *Jāmi'*. The third Canon is called simply *Zij Kushyār* translated into Persian by Md-b-'Umar-b-Abi Tālib at Tabrizi. This was probably dedicated to Adhad ud Daulah Alp Arslan, lord of Khorāsān, who had condescended to accept this title from his creature the feeble Qāim bi amri llāh at Baghdad. Hence, I conjecture, the name Adhadi.

23. SULAYMĀN-b-MUHAMMAD. Untraceable. This name does not occur in one of the MSS. of the Aīn.

24. ABU HĀMID ANSĀRI.

The only descendant of the Ansārs that I can find among the astronomers is Ibn us Shatir. d. 777 A. H. (1375) ; the name was Alāuddin, patronymic not given. See Haj. Khal. pp. 557, 566. It is possible that the celebrated Abu Hāmid al Ghazzāli may be meant

25. SAFĀIH. Evidently the name of a Canon and not of its author.

26. ABUL FARAH SHIRĀZI.

27. MAJMU*a'*. Apparently the name of a Canon mentioned by Hāji Khalifa, auctore Ibn Shari', collecta de astrologia judiciaria.

28. MUKHTĀR auct. Shaikh Abu Mansur Sulaiman b. al Husain-b-Bardowaih. Another work of the same name (Dilectus e libris

electionis dierum, astrologicæ) was composed by the physician Abu Nasr Yahya b. Jarir at Takriti for Sadid ud Daulah Abul Ghanāim Karim.

29. ABUL HASAN TUSI. This name occurs in the Fihrist (p. 71) as that of a scholar learned in tribal history and poetry. A son of the same name is mentioned as a distinguished doctor, but there is no notice of his astronomical knowledge.

30. AHMAD-b-ISHĀQ SARAKHSI.

The name of Ishāq does not occur in the genealogy of any Sarakhsi that I can discover. The text probably refers to Ahmad-b-Md. b. at Tayyib, the well known preceptor of the Caliph al Muatadhid by whom he was put to death in A. H. 286 (899) for revealing his pupil's confidences. D'Herb. states that he wrote on the *Eisagaege* of Porphirius, and Albiruni (Chronology) mentions him as an astrologer and cites a prophecy of his where he speaks of the conjunction of Saturn and Mars in the sign of Cancer.

31. GHARĀRI. Probably Al Fazāri. Abu Ishāq Ibrahim-b-Habib the earliest maker of astrolabes among the Arabs, who was the author of a canon and several astronomical works. Fihrist, p. 273, date not given.

32. AL HĀRUNI.

It is difficult in such bald mention of names, where so many are alike, to be sure of the correctness of allusion. This is, probably, Hārun-b-al Munajjim, an astrologer, native of Baghdad and an accomplished scholar. His great grandfather was astrologer to the Caliph al-Mansur and his son Yahya served al Fadhl-b-Sahl in the same capacity, died A. H. 288 (901). Ibn Khall. IV, p. 605.

33. ADWĀR I KIRĀIN (Cycles of conjunctions) the name of a Canon whose author I cannot discover.

34. YAKUB-b-TĀUS.

I may safely hazard the emendation Tariq for Tāus. This astronomer is mentioned by Albiruni. Ham. Purg. gives his date A. H. 218 (833) and a list of his works apparently copied from the Fihrist, p. 278.

35. KHWĀRAZMI.

Muhammad-b-Musa, by command of al Māmun, compiled an abridgement of the Sindhind (*Siddhānta*) ; better known as a mathematician than as astronomer—see Sedillot, I. xvi. He was the author of a Canon according to the Fihrist, p. 274. *Enc. Isl.* ii. 912.

36. YUSUFI. The secretary of Al Māmun, Abut Tayyib-b-'Abdillah is the only name I discover in this relative form. The Fihrist, (p. 123) mentions no astronomical works of his. Perhaps, Yusuf-b-Ali Thatta (1043) or Ibn Yusuf al Massisi may be meant : the text is too vague to determine accurately.

37. WĀFI—the work of Ulugh Beg "fi *Mawāji* ul āamāl un Najumiya" (de transtitibus operationum astronomicarum) is the only title approaching that of the text that I discover.

38. JAUZHARAYN—Jauzhar the Arabic form of Gauzhar, is the head and tail of Draco. The two points in the Ecliptic which mark its intersection by the orbit of a planet in ascent and descent, are called its Nodes or two Jauzhars—(Istilābāt ul Funon.) There is a Canon called *Fi Maqawam al Juzhar* de motu vero capitis et caudœ draconis, by Shaikh Ibn ul Qādir al Barallusi—see Haj-Khall, p. 561,

39. SAMA'ĀNI. D'Herbelot mentions under this surname Abu Saad Abdul Karim Muhammad, the author of a work on Mathematics entitled *Adāb fi istimāl il Hisāb*. A. H. 506—62. The Fihrist p. 244, records another Samaān as a commentator on the Canon of Ptolemy, and a third Ibn Samaān, the slave of Abu Mashar, and author of an astronomical work.

40. IBN SAHRA.

The variants of this name suggest its doubtful orthography. Ibn Abi Sahari is mentioned by Ham. Purg. as an astrologer of Baghdad whose predictions were fortunate. He lived in the latter half of the century, 132—232, (749—846) the most brilliant period in the annals of Arab literature.

41. ABUL FADHL MĀSHALLAH, incorrectly Māshada in the text. —Born in Al Mansur's reign, he lived to that of Al Māmun. His name "What God wills" is simply a rendering of the Hebrew Mischa. The Fihrist calls him Ibn Athra and notes his voluminous writings, copied by Ham, Purg. B. III. 257.

42. 'AĀSIMI—untraceable.

43. KABIR OF ABU MA'SHAR—a native of Balkh, a contemporary and envious rival of Al Kindi.—At first a traditionist, he did not begin the study of astronomy till after the age of 47. He died at Wāsit exceeding the age of 100, A. H. 272, (885)—An astronomer and astrologer of great renown. In the latter capacity, he paid the penalty of success in a prediction by receiving a flogging at the command of Al Musta'in ; upon which his epigram is recorded. "I hit and got hit." Thirty-three of his works are named in the Fihrist, p. 277. He was known in Europe as Albumaser and his works translated into Latin, see Sachau's Albiruni (Chronol.) p. 375,—also Haj. Khal. art. zij.

44. SIND-b-'ALI. See note p. 3.

45. IBN AĀLAM. See note p. 3.

46. SHAHRYĀRĀN.

This Canon occurs in Albiruni (*Chronol.*) with the addition of the word Shāh.—Sachau confesses his ignorance of it. Haj. Khal. gives a Canon called Shahryar which is well-known—translated into Arabic by At Tamimi from the Persian. Fihrist, 244. v. also Sachau's preface to Albiruni's *India*, p. xxx.

47. ARKAND.—In Albiruni called "the days of Arkand." The more correct form according to Reinaud, *Memoire sur l Inde*, p. 322, would be the Sanskrit *Ahargana*—See Sachau's note p. 375 of Albiruni's *Chronol.* from which I quote.

Albiruni made a new edition of the Days of Arkand, putting into clearer words and more idiomatic Arabic, the then existing translation which followed too closely the Sanskrit original.

48. IBN SUFI.

Al Shaikh Md. b. Abil Fath as Sufi al Misri wrote an epitome of the Canon of Ulugh Beg with additional tables and notes. It was with reference to this epitome that the work of Al Barallusi, *Bihjat ul Fakr fi Hall is Shams Wāl Qamr* was written, of which the Jauzhar, one of its three parts, is alluded to in 38.

49. SEHALĀN KĀSHI.

Sehelān, Sehilān or Ibn Sehilān according to D'Herbelot was the name of the Minister of Sultān ud Daulah of the Buyide family, whose enmity with his brother Mushrafud Doulah was due to the policy or personal feeling of that statesman. A canon might have been published under his patronage and name.

50. AHWĀZI. D'Herbelot alludes to several authors under this name ; one a commentator on Euclid. The Fihrist names Md-b-Ishāq al Ahwazi. without date. He appears to have written on agriculture and architecture.

51. THE 'URUS OF ABU JAFAR BUSHANJI.

Bushanj, according to Yaqut (*Mujam il Buldān*) is a small town about 40 miles from Herat, which has given birth to some eminent scholars, but I can find no astronomer among them.

52. ABUL FATH—Shaikh Abul Fath as Sufi who amended the tables termed Samarqandi. Haji Khal, 566, III.

53. A'KKAH RĀHIBI—untraceable.

54. MASAUDI.—The *Canon Masudicus* is extant in 4 good copies in European libraries, and waits for the combination of two scholars, an astronomer and an Arabic philologist, for the purpose of an addition and translation, v. Sachau, pref. to Alberuni's *India*, p. xvi. *Enc. Islam*, iii. 403.

55. MUATABAR OF SANJARI. The surname of Abul Fath Abdur Rahman, called the treasurer ; he was a slave of Greek origin, in the service of A'li al Khāzin al Marwazi and much in his favour. On the completion of his Canon, the Sultan Sanjar sent him a thousand dinars which he returned. Haj. Khal. III. 564.

56. WAJIZ-I-MUATABAR is doubtless, as its name imports, an epitome of the foregoing.

57. AHMAD ABDUL JALIL SANJARI, author of two treatises on stellar influences. D'Herbelot mentions him as an astrologer of note, but adds no particulars.

58. MUHAMMAD HASIB TABARI.

Untraceable.

59. 'ADANI.
60. TAYLASĀNI
61. ASĀBAI.
62. KIRMĀNI.

These are names of tables which I do not find mentioned. By the term Taylasān is meant a paradigm showing astronomical calculations, in the shape of half an oblong quadrangular field divided by a diagonal. It is named after the form of the Scarf (Taylasān) worn by learned men in the East. A model will be found in Albiruni's Chronology. (Sachau), p. 133.

63. SULTAN 'ALI KHWĀRAZMI. Ali, Shah-b-Md-b-il Qāsim commonly known as 'Alāuddin Al Khwārazmi, the author of a Canon called *Shāhi*—the royal ; also of a Persian epitome from the Elkhāni Tables, called the *Umdat ul Elkhāniya*. Haj. Khal. p. 565, III.

64. FĀKHIR 'ALI NASABI.

The variants indicate a corrupt reading—untraceable.

65. THE 'ALAI OF SHIRWĀNI, Fariduddin Abul Hasan Ali-b-il Karim as Shirwani, known as Al Fahhād, eminent among the later astronomers, the author of several canons besides the one mentioned —See Haj. Khal. p. 567, in two places.

There are two other Canons called *'Alai*, H. K. 556-7.

66. RĀHIRI—var. Zahidi—untraceable.

67. MUSTAWFI—mentioned by Haj. Khal. without author's name.

68. MUNTAKHAB (Selectus) OF YAZDI.

69. ABU RAZĀ YAZDI.

Yazd is a town between Naysabur and Shirāz. I find no record of either the canon or the astronomer.

70. KAYDURAH.

71. IKLIL.

Al Iklil is the 17th Lunar Station—three stars in the head of Scorpio. I infer from the absence of any mention of such astronomers that these canons are named after stars. I can learn nothing of Kaydurah.

72. NĀSIRI—perhaps called after Nāsirud-Daulah-b-Hamdān, temp. Mutii billah, A.H. 334. (946 A D.)

73. MULAKHKHAS. (Summarium).

74. DASTUR. *Dastur ul Aml fi Tashih il Jadwal*—a Persian commentary by Mahmud-b-Mahd.-b-Kādhizāda (known as Meriem Chelcbi, in H. K. and D'Herb.) of the Canon of Ulugh Beg. See H. K. p. 560, III, and Sedillot, clv. I.

75. MURAKKAB. (Compositus).

76. MIKLAMAH. (Calamarium).

77. 'ASĀ. (Baculas)

78. SHATSALAH. Var. Sashtalah.

79. HASIL. (Commodum).

80. KHATĀI. A name of N. China: its people possessed an Astronomical Calendar in common with the Aighur Tribe, v. D'Herb. Art. *Igur*.

81. DAYLAMI.

This is a bare list of tables of whose authors there is no certain record. Two of them, Khatāi and Daylam point to the countries where they were in vogue. Kublai Khan the brother of Hulāku after his conquest of China, introduced into the Celestial Empire the astronomical learning of Baghdad, and Cocheon-king in 1280, received the tables of Ibn Yunas from the hands of the Persian Jamāluddin. For the extent of Chinese science at this time, see Sedillot. ci. I.

82. MUFRAD. (Simplex) OF MD.-b-AYYUB.

This Canon is in H. K. without the author's name.

83. KĀMIL (Integer) OF ABU RASHID.

There is a commentary of the *Shamil* of al Buzjani by Hasan-b-Ali al qumnāti, entitled the *Kāmil*, mentioned in H. K. p. 565. III.

84. ELKHĀNI.

There are the tables of Nasiruddin Tusi.

85. JAMSHIDI. Ghiyāthuddin Jamshid together with the astronomer known as Kadhizadah, assisted Ulugh Beg in the preparation of his Canon. The former died during the beginning of the work, the latter before its completion. H. K. 559. D'Herbelot (Art. *zig. Ulug. Beg.*) reverses this order and asserts that Jamshid finished it. I suspect that he has copied and mistaken the sense of H. K.

86. GURGANI. Another name for the Canon of Ulugh Beg. See Sed. p. cxix.

Whatever they set down, year by year from an astronomical table, as to the particular motions and individual positions *of the heavenly bodies*, they call an Almanac. It embodies, in fact, the diurnal progression of a planet from its first entrance into Aries to a determinate point in the ecliptic, in succession, and is in Hindi called *patrah*. The Indian sage considers astronomy to be inspired by divine intelligences. A mortal endowed with purity of nature, disposed to meditation, with accordant harmony of conduct, transported in soul beyond the restraints of sense and matter, may attain to such an elevation that earthly and divine forms, whether as universals or particularized, in the sublime or nethermost regions, future or past, are conceived in his mind. From kindliness of disposition and in the interests of science they impart their knowledge to enquirers of auspicious character, who commit their lessons to writing, and this writing they term *Siddhānt*. Nine such books are still extant; the *Brahm-Siddhānt*, the *Suraj-Siddhānt*, the *Som-Siddhānt*, the *Brahaspat-Siddhānt*, inspired by Brahma, the sun, moon, and Jupiter respectively. Their origin is referred to immemorial time and they are held in great veneration, especially the first two. The Garg-Siddhānt,[14] the Nārad-Siddhānt, the Parāsar-Siddhānt, the Pulast-Siddhānt, the Bashista-Siddhānt,—these five they ascribe to an earthly source. The unenlightened may loosen the tongue of reproval and imagine that these mysteries acquired by observation of *Stellar* movements, have been kept secret and revealed only in such a way as to ensure the gratitude of *reverential* hearts, but the keen-sighted and just observer will, nevertheless, not refuse his assent, the more especially as men of innate excellence and outward respectability of character have for myriads of years transmitted a uniform tradition.

[14] These last are named after five celebrated Rishis or Munis. The antiquity of Indian astronomy is a matter of dispute among the learned. The curious inquirer may refer to the 8th Vol. of the Asiatic Researches where Mr. Bentley reduces its age, maintained by Monsieur Bailly to date back to the commencement of the Kali Yug, 3102 B.C.—to within a few hundred years, and fixes the date of the Súraj-Siddhānt—the most ancient astronomical treatise of the Hindus and professed to have been inspired by divine revelation 2,164,899 years ago,—to 1038 of our era. Mr. Bentley is in turn learnedly answered by a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1807. Sir W. Jones' essay on the Chronology of the Hindus may be read in conjunction with the preceding papers, v. Alb. India, Chap. XIV, where the names of the Sidhánts and their sources are differently given.

Among all nations the Nychthemeron[15] is the measure of time and this in two aspects, *firstly,* Natural, as in Turān and the West, from noon to noon, or as in China and Chinese Tartary[16] from midnight to midnight; but the reckoning from sunset to sunset more universally prevails. According to the Hindu sages, in Jagmot[17]—the eastern extremity of the globe, they reckon it from sunrise to sunrise; in Rumak—the extreme west, from sunset to sunset; in Ceylon, the extreme south, from midnight to midnight and the same computation obtains in Delhi: in Siddhapur, the extreme north, from noon to noon. *Secondly,* the Equated also called Artificial, which consists of a complete revolution of the celestial sphere measured by the sun's course in the ecliptic. For facility of calculation, they take the whole period of the sun's revolution and divide equally the days thereof and consider the fractional remainder as the mean of each day, but as the duration of the revolutions is found to vary, a difference *between the natural and artificial day* arises. The tables of Al-Battāni assume it as 59 minutes, 8 seconds, 8 thirds, 46 fourths, 56 fifths and 14 sixths. Those of Elkhāni make the minutes and seconds the same, but have 19 thirds, 44 fourths, 10 fifths and 37 sixths. The recent Gurgāni tables agree with the Khwājah[18] up to the thirds, but give 37 fourths, and 43 fifths. Ptolemy in the Almagest accords in minutes and seconds, but sets down 17 thirds, 13 fourths, 12 fifths and 31 sixths. In the same way ancient tables record discrepancies, which doubtless arise from varying knowledge and difference of instruments. The cycle of the year and the seasons depend upon the sun. From the time of his quitting one determinate point till his return to it, they reckon as one year. The period that he remains in one sign is a solar month. The

[15] This term for the twenty-four hours of light and darkness was used by the later Greeks and occurs in 2 Cor. xi. 25. Its precision of meaning commends its use which Sachau has adopted.

[16] Uighūr is the name of a Chaghtai tribe eponymously applied to this country, see D'Herb. Art. Igur and the observations thereon Vol. IV, p. 300.

[17] Cf. Albirúni's *India.* Edit. Sachau, p. 133, Chap. XXVI. This word should be "Jamkót." Albirúni quotes from the *Siddhānta.* The 4 cardinal points mentioned are given as the names of 4 large towns—the globe is described a spheroid, half land, half water: the mountain Míru occupies the centre, through which the Equator (*Nalkash*) passes. The Northern half of the mountain is the abode of angelic spirits, the southern that of Daityas and Nāgs and is therefore called Daitantar When the sun is in the medidian of Meru, it is midday at Jamkót, midnight at Rumak and evening at Siddpúr. The latter name is spelt by Abirúni with a double *d.* See a map of this peculiar geographical system prefixed, to Gladwin's translation of the *Aín* and in Blochmann's text edition, following the preface.

[18] Naṣíru'ddín Ṭúsi, author of the Elkhāni tables

interval of the moon's departure from a given position to its return thereto with the sun in conjunction or opposition or the like, is a lunar month. And since twelve lunations are nearly[19] equal to one *annual* revolution of the sun, they are called a lunar year. Thus both the year and the month are solar and lunar : and each of these two is Natural when the planetary revolutions are regarded and not the computation of days, and Equated when the computation is in days and not in the time of revolution. The Hindu sage divides the year, like the month, into four parts, allotting a particular purpose to each. Having now given a short account of the night, the day, the year and the month which form the basis of chronological notation, we herein set down somewhat of the ancient eras to complete our exposition.

A note on Islamic astronomy (compiled from the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* i. 497-501.) For the Muslims, as for the Greeks, astronomy only aims at studying the apparent movements of the stars and giving a geometrical representation of them; it comprises therefore what we call spherical astronomy and the "theory of the instruments". . . . The sum total of the practical knowledge necessary for determining by calculation or instruments the hours of day and night, having especially in view the fixing of the times of the five canonical prayers in the mosques, is called *'ilm al mawaqit* or science of the fixed times. In the beginning of Islam the Arabs already possessed some knowledge of practical astronomy. . . . But it was only in the 2nd century of the Hijra (=8th century A.D.) that the scientific study of astronomy was entered on, under the influence of two Indian books : the *Brahma-sphuta-Siddhānta* of Brahmagupta (628) which was brought to the Court at Baghdad in 771 and was used as a model in Arabic by Ibrahim b. Habib al Fazari and Yaqub b. Tariq; and the treatise of Aryabhatta composed in 500, from which Abul-Hasan al Ahwazi derived his tables of the planetary movements. . . .

To these selections from Indian books there was soon added the Arabic translation of the Pahlavi tables entitled *Zik-i-shatroayar* ("royal astronomical tables") compiled in

[19] A synodical month, the interval between two conjunctions of the sun and moon, is 29 d. 12 h. 44 m. It was founded on the most obvious determination of the moon's course and and furnished the original month of the Greeks, which was taken in round numbers at 30 days. By combining the course of the sun with that of the moon, the tropical year was assumed at a rough computation to consist of 12 unations or 360 days. See *Astron. of the Ancients* by Lewis, p. 16.

the last period of the Sassanian empire; but about the 11th century A.D. they ceased to be used.

The Greek influence was the last in order of time, but first in order of importance. It introduced into Muslim astronomy the geometrical representation of the celestial movement. The first (and unsatisfactory) Arabic translation of the *Almagest* dates from about 800 A.D.; it was followed by two other versions much superior (in 828 and *c.* 850.) Translations of other Greek works on astronomy, esp. Tables were made later in large numbers.

(The author of the above account, Signior C. A. Nallino, has treated the subject much more fully in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, xii. 94-101, under "Sun Moon and Stars".

—[*J. Sarkar.*]

ERA OF THE HINDUS

The creation of Brahmā is taken as its commencement and each of his days is an epoch. They assert that when 70 *kalps* are completed, each consisting of 4 Yugs[20] and the total of these being 4,320,000 years, a Manu appears. He is the offspring of the volition of Brahma and his co-operator in the creation. In each of his days fourteen *successive* Manus arise. At this time which is the beginning of the 51st year of the age of Brahma, there have been six Manus, and of the seventh, 27 *kalps* have elapsed, and three Yugs of the 28th, and of the fourth Yug, 4,700 years. In the beginning of the present Yug, Rājā Judhishthira conquered the universe and being at the completion of an epoch, constituted his own reign an era and since that time to the present which is the fortieth of the Divine era, 4,696 years have elapsed. It continued in observance 3,044 years. After him Bikramājit[21] reckoned from his own accession to

[20] *Viz.*, the Satya or Krita, Tretā, Dwāpar and Kali; the first comprises 1,728,000 years; the second, 1,296,000, the third, 864,000, the fourth, 432,000—being a total of 4,320,000. For Hindū Cosmogony and Cosmology, Hastings's *Encyclo. of Religion*, iv. 155-161 (H. Jacobi) and Hindu Calendar, *ibid.*, v. 870 (Hopkins.) The best and most detailed practical table is Swami-Kannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, 7vols. (1922), which supersedes all earlier and smaller works, but it covers only 700—1999 A.D. [J. Sarkar.]

The first is Svayambhuva (as sprung from Svayam-bhu, the self-existent,) the author of the famous Code: the next five are Svarochesha, Uttama, Tāmasa, Raivata, Chakshusha; the seventh is called Vaivasvata, or the Sun-born and is the Manu of the present period,—conjectured to be Noah, as the first is thought to be Adam.—Prinsep's *Useful Tables*.

[21] This era to which the luni-solar system is exclusively adapted is called Samvat, Vulg. Sambat. It began when 3044 years of the *Kali Yug* had elapsed, *i.e.*, 57 years before Christ, so that if any year, say 4925 of the *Kali*

the throne and thus in some measure gave relief to mankind. He reigned 135 years. In this year 1652 years have since then gone by. They relate that a youth named Sālbāhan,[22] was victorious through some supernatural agency and took the Rājā prisoner on the field of battle. Since the captive was not deserving of death, he treated him with consideration and asked him if he had any request to make. He replied that though all his desire was centred in retirement from the world and in the worship of the one Supreme Creator, he still retained the wish that his era might not be obliterated from the records of the age. It is said that the boon was granted, and although he introduced his own era, he did not interfere with the observance of the other. Since this era, 1517 years have expired, and they believe that it will continue in use for 18,000 years more, after which Raja Bijiyābhinandan will institute a new era from his own reign which will last 10,000 years. Then Nāgā Arjun will come to the throne and promulgate another era which will continue for 400,000 years, after which Kalki,[23] whom they regard as an *avatar,* will establish a fresh era to last 821 years. These six are considered the principal eras and are called Saka, for there were many epochs and each termed "Sanpat."[24] After the invasion of Sālbāhan, the era of Bikramājit was changed from "Sāka" to "Sanpat." After *the expiration of these six,* the Sat[25] Yug will re-commence and a new epoch be instituted.

The Hindu astronomers regard the months and years as of four kinds—1st, "Saurmās," which is the sun's continuance in one sign of the Zodiac, and such a year consists

Yug be proposed and the last expired year of Vikramaditya be required, subtract 3044 therefrom and the result, 1881, is the year sought. To convert Samvat into Christian years, subtract, 57; unless they are less than 58 in which case deduct the amount from 58 and the result will be the date B.C. This era is in general use throughout Hindustan properly so called.—*Useful Tables,* Part II, p. 26.

[22] Sālivāhan, a mythological prince of Deccan who opposed Vikramāditya raja of Ujjain. His capital was Pratishthāna on the Godaveri. The Sáká era, dates from his birth and commences on the 1st Bysákh, 3179. K. Y. which fell on Monday, 14th March, 78 A.D. Julian style.—*Ibid.* p. 22.

[23] Vishnu, in his future capacity of destroyer of the wicked and liberator of the world. This is to constitute the tenth and last *avatār* and is to take place at the end of the four *yugs.* He is to re-appear as a Brahman, in the town of Sambhal, in the family of Vishnu Sarmá.

[24] Properly 'Sanwat.' *Sāká* signifies an era or epoch and is generally applied to that of Salivāhan.

[25] The text is here in error. The full stop after *ást* nullifies the sense. It should be omitted together with the alif of *ást.* The sentence is then complete and the meaning obvious and consistent. *Sat* is the ordinary Persian transliteration of the Sanskrit *satya.*

of 365 days, 15 *gharis*,[26] 30 *pals*, and 22½ *bipals;* 2nd, "Chāndramās," which is computed from the first day of the moon's increase to the night of the new moon. This year is of 354 days, 22 *gharis*[27] and one *'pal.'* The beginning of the year is reckoned from the entry of the sun into Aries. This month consists of 30 lunar days (*tithi*). Each twelve degrees of the moon's course, reckoning from its departure from conjunction[28] with the sun is a *tithi* : and from the slowness or speed of the moon's progress there is a difference in the number of *gharis* from a maximum of 65 to a minimum of 54. The first, *tithi* is called Pariwā; the second Duj; the third Tij; the fourth Chauth; the fifth Panchamin; the sixth Chhath; the seventh Saptamin; the eighth Ashtamin; the ninth Naumin; the tenth Dasmin; the eleventh Ekādasi; the twelfth Duādasi; the thirteenth Tirudasi; the fourteenth Chaudas; the fifteenth Puranmāsi; and from the 16th to the 29th, they use the same names up to the 14th. The 30th is called Amāwas. From Pariwā the 1st to the 15th they call Shukla-pachch, and the other half Kishna-pachch. Some begin the month from the 1st of Kishna-pachch. In their ephemerides generally the year is solar and the month lunar.

And since the lunar year is less than the solar by ten days, 53 *gharis* 29 *pals* and 22½ *bipals*, on the calculation of a mean rate of motion *of the sun and moon*, the difference, after 2 years, 8 months, 15 days and 3 *gharis*, would amount to one month, and according to the reckoning in the ephemeris would occur in not more than 3 years or in less than 2 years and one month. According to the first calculation, there is this difference in every twelve months and in such a year they reckon one month twice : according to the latter system, in every solar month when there are two coniunctions,[29] and this must necessarily occur between

[26] A *ghari* is 24 minutes, a *pal* 24 seconds, a *bipal*, a second. This would give 6 hours, 12 minutes and 22½ seconds, whereas according to our calculation, it should be 5 hours, 48 m. 47½ s. very nearly.

[27] This minus the *pal* is our calculation exactly.

[28] The year commences at the true instant of conjunction with the sun and moon, that is on the new moon which immediately precedes the beginning of the solar year, falling, somewhere within the 30 or 31 days of the solar month Chaitra. The day of conjunction (*amāvasyā*) is the last day of the expired month; the first of the new month being the day after conjunction. The *tithis* are computed according to *apparent* time, yet registered in *civil* time. For the comprehension of this perplexing notation I refer the reader to the *Useful Tables*, Part II, p. 24.

[29] When two new moons fall within one solar month, the name of the corresponding lunar month is repeated, the year being then intercalary or

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Chait and Kuār (*āsvin*) and does not go beyond these seven months. They term this *intercalary* month Ādhik *(added)*, vulgarly called Laund.

The third kind of month is Sāwan Mās. They fix its commencement at any day they please : it is completed in thirty days. The year is 360 days.

The fourth, Nachhattar, is reckoned from the time the moon quits any mansion to her return thereto. This month consists of 27 days and the year of 324.

The number of the seasons is, with them, six[30] and each they call *Ritu*. The period that the sun remains in Pisces and Aries, they term *Basant* : this is the temperate season : when in Taurus and Gemini, *Girekham,* the hot season; in Cancer and Leo, *Barkha,* the rainy season; in Virgo and Libra, *Sard,* the close of the rainy season and the beginning of winter; in Scorpio and Sagittarius, *Hemant,* winter; in Capricornus and Aquarius, *Shishra,* the season between winter and spring.

They divide the year likewise into three parts : to each they give the name of *Kāl,* beginning from Phāgun. They call the four hot months *Dhupkāl;* the four rainy months *Barkhakāl* and the four cold months *Sitkāl*. Throughout the cultivable area of Hindustan, there are but three seasons. Pisces, Aries, Taurus and Gemini are the summer, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, the rains; Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus and Aquarius, the winter. The solar year they divide into two parts. The first beginning with Aries to the extreme of Virgo they term *Uttargol,* which is the sun's progress to the north of the Equator, and from the beginning of Libra to the extreme of Pisces, *Dakkhangol,* the sun's course to the south of the Equator. Also from the first of Capricorn to the end of Gemini, they call *Uttarāyan,* the sun's northern declination (the summer solstice) : and from the 1st of Cancer to the end of Sagittarius *Dachchhanāyan,* or the sun's southern declination (the winter solstice). Many events, occurring in the first of these divisions, especially death, are deemed fortunate.

The Nycthemeron they divide into 60 equal parts and to each they give the name of *ghatis,* more commonly *ghari.* Each *ghari* is subdivided into the same number of parts,

containing 13 months. The two months of the same name are distinguished by the terms *adhika* (added) and *nija* (proper or ordinary). *U. T.* p. 23.

[30] Of two sidereal months each, the succession of which is always the same : but the vicissitudes of climate in them will depend upon the position of the equinoctial colure.—*U. T.* II, 18.

each of which they call *pal*. In the same way they apportion the *pal*, and each part they term *nāri* and also *bipal*. Each *nāri* is equal to six respirations of a man of an equable temperament, undisturbed by running, the emotions of anger and the like.

A man in good health respires 360 times in the space of one *ghari*, and 21,600 times in a Nycthemeron. Some affirm that the breath which is respired, they term *Swās* and that which is inspired *Parswās*, and both together they called a *parān*. Six *parāns* make a *pal*, and 60 *pals* a *ghari*. An astronomical hour which is the 24th part of a Nycthemeron is equal to 2½ *gharis*. Each night and each day is again divided into 4 parts, each of which is called a *pahr*, but these are not all equal.

The Khatāi era.

They reckon from the creation of the world, which in their belief took place 8,884 *Wans* and 60 years previous to the present date. Each *Wan* is 10,000 years. They believe that the duration of the world will be 300,000 *Wans*—according to some 360,000. They employ the natural solar year and the natural lunar month. They begin the year from the sun's mid passage through Aquarius. Muhiuddin[31] Maghrebi places it at the 16th degree, others between the 16th and 18th. They divide the Nycthemeron into 12 *Chāghs*. Each of which is subdivided into 8 *Kehs*, and to evey one of these they give a different name.

They divide the Nycthemeron also into *Feneks*. For this computation of time they have three cycles, *viz.*, *Shāng Wan*, *Jung Wan*, and *Khā Wan*, each comprising 60 years and each year of the cycle is defined by a double[32]

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[31] He was a distinguished philosopher and mathematician in the service of the Sultan of Aleppo. Surnamed al Mughrebi from his having been educated in Spain and Africa, associated in A. H. 658 with Nasir-u'ddin Tusi in the superintendence of the observatory at Murāgha, and shared in the composition of the Elkhāni tables. D'Herbelot. See D'Herb. (Vol. IV. p. 42.) on this nomenclature and his tables of the cycles. For Chinese era, Hastings' *Ency.*, iii. 82.

[32] The word *badu* may also grammatically but in point of fact less accurately apply to the cycle. The following explanation taken from the *Useful Tables* (Part II. p. 14-15 under 'Chinese era'), will elucidate the text. They have two series of words, one of ten and the other of twelve words; a combination of the first words in both orders is the name of the 1st year; the next in each series are taken for the 2nd year, and so to the 10th; in the 11th, the series of 10 being exhausted, they begin again with the first combining it with the eleventh of the second series; in the 12th year, the second word of the first series is combined with the twelfth of the second;

notation. The revolution of the cycle is marked by a series of ten and a series of twelve *symbols*. The first is employed for the notation of the year and the day; the second is similarly applied and is likewise horary. By the combination of these two series, they form the cycle of 60 and work out detailed calculations.

The Turkish Era.

Called also the Uighuri. It is similar to the foregoing, except that this cycle is based on the series of 12. They reckon their years and days after the same manner, but it is said that some astronomical tables also employ the series of 10. The commencement of their era is unknown. Abu Raihān (Albiruni) says[33] that the Turks add nine to the incomplete Syromacedonian years and divide it by 12 : and in whatever animal the remainder terminates, counting from the Sign of the Mouse, the year is named therefrom. But weighed in the balance of experiment, this is found wanting by one year. The intention, undoubtedly, is to carry the remainder down the animal signs of the series,

for the 13th year, the third word of the first list with the first of the second list is taken, that list also being now exhausted. Thus designating the series of 10 by Roman letters, and that of 12 by italics, the cycle of 60 will stand thus.

1 a *a*	21 a *i*	41 a *e*
2 b *b*	22 b *k*	42 b *f*
3 c *c*	23 c *l*	43 c *g*
4 d *d*	24 d *m*	44 d *h*
5 e *e*	25 e *a*	45 e *i*
6 f *f*	26 f *b*	46 f *k*
7 g *g*	27 g *c*	47 g *l*
8 h *h*	28 h *d*	48 h *m*
9 i *i*	29 i *e*	49 i *a*
10 k *k*	30 k *f*	50 k *b*
11 a *l*	31 a *g*	51 a *c*
12 b *m*	32 b *h*	52 b *d*
13 c *a*	33 c *i*	53 c *e*
14 d *b*	34 d *k*	54 d *f*
15 e *c*	35 e *l*	55 e *g*
16 f *d*	36 f *m*	56 f *h*
17 g *e*	37 g *a*	57 g *i*
18 h *f*	38 h *b*	58 h *k*
19 i *g*	39 i *c*	59 i *l*
20 k *h*	40 k *d*	60 k *m*

The first cycle, according to the Jesuits, began in February 2397 B.C.; we are now, therefore, in the 72nd cycle, the 28th of which will begin in 1890. To find the Chinese time, multiply the elapsed cycle by 60, and add the odd years : then if the time be before Christ, subtract the sum from 2398; but after Christ, subtract 2397 from it; the remainder will be the year required.

[33] This reference I have not been able to trace in Albiruni's *Athār ul Baqiya*, or his India. [Jarrett] The Turkish era has fallen into disuse, but the names of the Cyclic years as borrowed in Indo-China, Champa and Japan, are given in Hastings, *Encycl.*, iii. 110-115. [J. S.]

and beginning from the Mouse, to adopt the name of the animal in which it terminates. Although the commencement of the era is unknown, yet we gather sufficient information regarding the year of the cycle and its name. And if 7 years be added to the imperfect years of the Maliki era, dividing by 12, whatever remains is the year of the animal reckoning from the Mouse. This will prove correct according[34] to the following series.

Names of the twelve years of the Cycle.

1. *Sijqān*, the Mouse. 2. *Ud*, the Ox. 3. *Pārs*, the Leopard. 4. *Tawishqān*, the Hare. 5. *Loiy*, the Dragon, 6. *Y'ilān*, the Serpent. 7. *Yunt*, the Horse. 8. *Qu*, the Sheep. 9. *Bij*, the Ape. 10. *Takhāku*, the Cock. 11. *Yit*, the Dog. 12. *Tankuz*, the Hog. They add the word *el* to each of these words, which signifies year.

The Astrological Era.

The astrologers reckon from the Creation and assert that all the planets were then in Aries. The year is solar. According to their calculation, from that time to the present 184,696 years have elapsed.

The Era of Adam.

Its beginning dates from his birth. The years are solar, the months lunar. According to the Elkhāni tables, 5,353 solar years have elapsed to the present date. But some of those possessing a book of divine revelation make it 6,346 solar years; others 6,938 solar: others again, 6,920, solar, but according to what has been reported from learned Christians, it is 6,793.

The Jewish Era.

Begins with the creation of Adam. Their years are natural, solar: their months, artificial, lunar. They reckon their months and days like the Arabians according to an intermediate system. The years is of two kinds, *viz.*, Simple, which is not intercalary, and Composite, in which

[34] These 12 signs of the Zodiac exactly correspond with the animals in the series of the Japanese Cycle given in the *Useful Tables*, but the vernacular names are different. The calculations based on them are vaguely stated: in Albiruni's *Chronology*, some information may be obtained from the Rules for the reduction of Eras.

an intercalation is effected. Like the Hindus they intercalate a month every three years.[35]

The Era of the Deluge.

This era is computed from this event; the year is natural, solar, the month natural, lunar. The year begins from the entry of the Sun into Aries. Abu Ma'shar of Balkh based his calculations regarding the mean places of the stars on this era from which to the present year 4,696 years have elapsed.

The Era of Bukht Nassar (Nebuchadnezzar).

This monarch instituted an era from the beginning of his own reign. The year is solar, artificial, of 365 days without a fraction. The month, likewise, is of 30 days and five days are added at the end of the year. Ptolemy in his Almagest computed the planetary motions on this era. Since its commencement 2,341 years have elapsed.

The Era of Philipus (Arrhidæus).[36]

Called also Filbus or Filqus. It is also known as the Era of Alexander of Macedon. It dates from his death. The years and months are artificial, solar. Theon of Alexandria has based his calculations of the mean places of the stars in his Canon on this Era, and Ptolemy has recorded some of his observations regarding it, in the Almagest. Of this period, 1,917 years have elapsed.

The Coptic Era.[37]

This is of ancient date. Al Battāni states that its years are solar, artificial, consisting of 365 days without a fraction. The Sultāni tables say that its years and months

[35] Or 7 months in 19 lunar years. Cf. Albiruni's *Chronology*, p. 13. For the Jewish era, Hastings's *Encyclo.* iii. 117-123, after which Prinsep's *Useful Tab*, ii. 8 is unnecessary. For the era of Nebuchadnezzar, *Encyclo. of Islam*, under *Bukht-Nasar* (i. 784) and under *Tarikh* (Suppl. 231.) The Arabs have confounded Nabonassar with Nebuchadnezzar (though 143 years separate the two.) Ptolemy makes this era begin in 742 B.C. For calculating dates in this system, see Prinsep's *Useful Tab.* ii. 9. [J. S.]

[36] He was half brother of Alexander the Great, the son of Philip and a female dancer, Philinna of Larissa. Prinsep's *U. T.* ii. 10. *Enc. Islam*, Supp. 231, this era began on 12 Nov. 324 B.C.

[37] This is the era of Diocletian or the Martyrs; was much used by the Christian writers till the introduction of the Christian era in the 6th century, and is still employed by the Abyssinians and Copts. It dates from 29th August, 284. Prinsep, ii. 7. *Ency. Isl.* iv. 1211.

resemble the Syro-Macedonian. It has the same intercalations, but the Coptic intercalary days precede those of the Syro-Macedonian by six months.

The Syro-Macedonian Era.

The years and months are artificial, solar, and they reckon the year at 365¼ days exactly. In some astronomical observations, the fraction in excess is less than ¼. According to Ptolemy, it is 14 m. 48 s. The Elkhāni observations make the minutes the same, but 32 seconds and 30 thirds. According to the calculations of the Cathayans the minutes are the same, and 36 seconds, 57 thirds; to the recent Gurgāni observations, the minutes agree, with 33 seconds; the Maghrebi has 12 m.: the Battāni, 13 m. 36 s. Muhiyuddin Maghrebi says that some of the Syro-Macedonian calculations make the fraction more than a quarter, others less than a quarter, and thus a quarter has been taken as the medium. Others assert that the Syro-Macedonians have by observation determined the fraction to be a full ¼. Consequently it is a natural solar year, although Mulla 'Ali Kushji makes it a solar year even on the first mentioned basis. This era dates from the death of Alexander the second, [corr. IV] *Bicornutus,* but was not employed till 12 years after his death. Others assert that he established it in the 7th year of his reign when he set out from Macedonia, his kingdom, bent on foreign conquest. Muhiyuddin Mughrebi on the other hand, states that it began with the reign of Seleucus (*Nicator*) who founded Antioch. This era was in use both with the Jews and Syrians. They relate that when Alexander the son of Philip marched from Greece to the conquest of Persia, he passed through Jerusalem. Summoning the learned Jews of Syria he directed them to discontinue the Mosaical era and to employ his own. They thus answered him. "Our forefathers never observed any era above a thousand years and this year our Era will complete the thousand; from next year, therefore, thy command shall be obeyed." And they acted accordingly. And this took place in Alexander's 27th year. Some maintain that this Grecian era is of Hebrew origin. Kushyar in his Jāmi' says that there is no difference between the Syro-Macedonian and the Syrian era, except in the names of the months. The Syrian year begins on the 1st day of Tishrin

ul Awwal. This happened formerly when the sun was in the 4th degree of Libra, and now falls on the 11th.[38] With the Syro-Macedonians, that date is the 1st of Qanuni i Sāni, when the sun is near the 20th degree of Capricorn. Battāni mentions this era[39] as beginning with Philip, father of Alexander Bicornutus, but that he called it after his son to exalt his fame; and he has based on it the calculation of the mean places of the planets in his Canon. Of this era 1905 years have elapsed.

The Augustan Era.

He was the first of the Roman Emperors. The birth of Jesus Christ happened in his reign. The era begins with his accession. The year is the same as the Syro-Macedonian, and the months are Coptic; the last month in the common years has 35 days and in leap years 36. Of this era 1623 years have elapsed.[40]

The Christian Era.

Begins with the birth of Jesus Christ. The year consists, like the Syro-Macedonian, of 365 d. 5 h. At the end of 4 years, they add a day to the end of the second month. The beginning of their Nycthemeron is reckoned from midnight. Like the Arabians, they name the days of the week, beginning with Sunday. The commencement of their year, some take to be the entry of the sun in Capricorn : others, from the 8th degree of the same.

The Era of Antoninus of Rome.

It begins with his accession [138 A.D.]. The years are Syro-Macedonian, the months Coptic. Ptolemy deter-

[38] Another reading is 15th. Gladwin has 16th. Better known as the Seleucid era, began on 1 Oct. 312 B.C. (acc. to Ginzel.) *Ency. Islam,* Supp 231; also iv. 1211.

[39] There is a discrepancy among chronologers as to the commencement of this era. Some determine it to the 1st October 312 B.C. (W. Smith, *Cl. Dic.* art Seleuc); the *U. T.* (ii. 11) places it, 311 y. 4 m. B.C. The Syrian Greeks began their years in September, other Syrians in October : the Jews, about the autumnal equinox. It is used in the book of Maccabees and appears to have begun in Nisan. Supposing it to begin on 1st September 312 B.C.; to reduce it to our era, subtract 311 y. 4 m.

[40] The Spanish era of the Caesars is reckoned from 1st January, 38 B.C., being the year following the conquest of Spain by Augustus. It was much used in Africa, Spain, and the south of France. By a Synod held in 1180, its use was abolished in all the churches dependent on Barcelona. Pedro IV of Arragon abolished it in 1350. John of Castile in 1382. It continued to be used in Portugal till 1455.—*U. T.*, ii. 11. But *Enc. Islam,* Supp. 231, differs; "its epoch 14 Feb. 27 B.C.".

mined the position of the fixed stars in his *Almagest* on this era of which 1,457 years have elapsed.

The Era of Diocletian[41] *of Rome.*

He was a Christian emperor. The era begins with his accession. The years are Syro-Macedonian, the months Coptic; 1,010 years have since elapsed.

The Era of the Hijra.

In pre-Islamic times, the Arabs had various eras, such as the building of the Ka'bah, and the sovereignty of Omar[42] b. Rabii'a to whom was due the rise of idolatry in Hijāz, and this continued in use till the year of the Elephant,[43] which they, in turn, observed as a fresh epoch. Every Arab tribe constituted any important event in their history, an era. In the time of the prophet this thread *of custom* had no coherence, but from the date of the Hijra, they gave each year a special name. Thus that year was called the "year of Permission," that is, the permission to go from Mecca to Medina. The second year was named the "year of Command," *i.e.*, to fight the unbelievers.[44]

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[41] The name in the text is Diocletian. Abul Fazl evidently meant Constantine, but probably following the text of Albiruni, (*Chronol*) he copied the heading of the Era of Diocletian, without noticing in the body of the passage, the change of name to Constantine, as the 1st Christian Emperor. The number 1010 is an error. Gladwin has 1410. If Abul Fazl counts from the era of Diocletian A.D. 284, the intermediate years would be about 1310; if from A.D. 324, the date of Constantine's sole mastership of the empire 1270, if from his proclamation as Emperor by the legions in 306, the number would be 1290. His father Constantius was proclaimed Caesar by Diocletian in A.D. 292.

[42] An error (taken from Albiruni) for 'Amr-b-Lohayy, born about 167 A.D., was king of Hijaz; for his genealogy see *Ency. Isl.* i. 336, and Caus. de Perc. *Essai Sur l'hist. Arab.* Tabl. II, VIII. The great tribe of Khuzaa'h trace their descent from him. Whilst at Balkā in Syria, he had seen its inhabitants practising idolatry; their idols, they averred, protected and favoured them, granting rain at their prayers. At his request they presented him with the idol, Hobal, which he set up in Mecca and introduced its worship.

[43] 570 A.D. the year in which Mahomed was born, and the name of which commemorates the defeat of Abraha, the Ethiopian king of Yaman. *Qurān*, Sura 105.

[44] The 3rd year was called, the year of the trial.
4th " " " year of Congratulation on the occasion of marriage.
5th " " " year of the earthquake.
6th " " " year of inquiring.
7th " " " year of victory.
8th " " " year of equality.
9th " " " year of exception.
10th " " " year of farewell.
Chronol. Albiruni, Sachau, p. 35.

At the accession of the second Caliph (Omar), Abu Musa Asha'ri,[45] governor of Yaman made the following representation: "Your despatches have arrived dated the month of Shabān. I cannot discover what date is understood by Shabān." The Caliph summoned the learned. Some of the Jews advised the use of their era. The sage Hurmuzān[46] said; "the Persians have a computation which they call Māhroz" and this he explained. But as there were intercalations in both, their skill in calculation was slight, he did not accept either but adopted the era of the Hijrah. The month according to their system is reckoned from the sight of one new moon, after the sun has completely set, till the next is visible. It is never more than 30 nor less than 29 days. It sometimes occurs that four successive months are of 30 days, and three of 29. Chronologers putting aside calculations based on the moon's appearance, reckon lunar months in two ways, *viz.*, Natural, which is the interval of the moon's departure from a determinate position, with the sun in conjunction or opposition or the like to its return thereto; 2ndly, Artificial; since the motions of the moon are inconstant and their methodisation as well as an exact discrimination of its phases difficult, its mean rate of motion is taken and thus the task is facilitated. In the recent (*Gurgāni*) tables, this is 29 days, 12 hours and 44 minutes.[47] The rule is this, that when the fraction is in excess of half, it is reckoned as one day. Thus when the excess is over a half, they take the month of Muharram as 30 days, and the second month 29, and so on alternately to the last. In common years, therefore, Dhil Hijjah is 29 days. The mean lunar year consists of 354 d. 8 h. 48 m.[48] which is less than a solar artificial year by

[45] Abu Musa Al Asha'ri was one of the Companions, a native of Kufah. He joined the prophet at Mecca and was a convert before the Flight to Medina. He was also one of the fugitives to Abyssinia and including his journey from Yaman to Mecca, shared in the unusual distinction of three flights. *Ency. Islam*, I. 481.

[46] Hurmuzan was a learned Persian, taken prisoner by Abu Musa and sent to the Caliph Omar by whom his life was spared, though the grace was obtained with some difficulty. He subsequently became a convert. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 338. Nawawi, *Tahzib-ul-Asmā*.

[47] This is a lunation or synodical month, the interval between two conjunctions of the Sun and Moon. The periodical month, as distinguished from this, is the time taken in transit by the moon from any point of the Zodiac back to the same point: it consists of 27 d. 7 h. 43 m. Hence a lunar month is sometimes taken in round numbers at 28 d. and this is the length of a lunar month according to the law of England. Lewis. *Astr. of the Anc.* p. 20.

[48] And 36 seconds. *Ibid.*

10 d. 21 h. 12 m. Mirza Ulugh Beg has based his new Canon on this era of which 1002 years have elapsed to the present time.

The Era of Yazdajird.

He was the son of Shahryār Aparwez[49] b. Hurmuz b. Noshirwān. It began with the accession of Jamshid. After him every succeeding monarch renewed his designation by his own accession and Yazdajird also re-instituted it from his assumption of sovereignty.[50] The years are like the Syro-Macedonian; but the fraction in excess was reserved till at the end of 120 years, it amounted to a whole month, and that year was reckoned at 13 months. The first intercalation was after *Farwardin*, and it was called by the name of that month. Then *Urdibihisht* was twice counted and so on. When the era was renewed under the name of Yazdajird, and his authority terminated in disaster, the continuity of intercalation was neglected. The years and months are artificial, solar. 963 years have since elapsed.[51]

Note on the Hijera era. "The question on what day the 1st Muharram of the year 1 A.H. fell is not yet decided." (Discussion of different theories; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Suppl. 231).

"Authorities are not agreed on the exact date of the Hidjra. According to the most usual account, it took place on the 8th Rabi' I (20th Sept. 622 A.D.). But this would not be the date of the departure from Mecca but of the arrival in Medina. According to other versions, it was the 2nd or the 12th. Rabi' I . . . . The 8th was preferred as it was a Monday. According to a tradition, the Prophet is said to have answered when asked why he observed Monday especially, 'on this day I was born, on this day I received my prophetic mission, and on this day I migrated'. The fixing of the Hidjra as the beginning of the Muhammadan era dates from the Caliph 'Omar. The traditions which try

[49] In Albiruni, Shahryār-b-Parwez. Parwez or Aparwez signifies Victorious. Era of Yazdajird, *Ency. Islam*, Supp. 232, also Prinsep's *Useful* T. ii. 12. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 178, gives Yazdigird III. (r. 632-651 A.D.) after Ardashir III. (r. 628-630), with "several ephemeral rulers" between them. J. S.

[50] A.D. 632.

[51] "In Persia, sinec the age of Zoroaster, the revolution of the sun has been known and celebrated as an annual festival, but after the fall of the Magian empire, the intercalation had been neglected: the fractions of minutes and hours were multiplied into days, and the date of he spring was removed from the sign of Aries to that of Pisces." Gibbon. *Decl. and Fall.* Vol. X. p. 367, Ed. 1797.

to trace it to the Prophet himself are devoid of all probability." (*Ency. Islam,* ii. 302).

In *Ency. Islam,* iv. 1210 (under *Zamān*), there is a full discussion of the calendar adopted by the Muslims.

"Although the era of Islam begins with the 15th (16th) of July, 622 A.D., the lunar year, peculiar to the Muslims, was not established till the year A.H. 10. When Muhammad in that year (A.D. 631) made his last pilgrimage to Mecca, ... he arranged . . . that the year should consist of 12 lunar months of 29, (28, 30) days each, and that intercalation (*nasi'*) was to be forbidden (*Quran,* ix. 36 ff.) . . . The Meccans had had a more or less perfect solar year (before this, as) the names of the months in part indicate clearly certain definite seasons of the year—a situation, in the case of a changeable lunar year, evidently out of the question. . . . The Arabs adopted the week of the Jews and Christians." (K. Vollers in Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion,* iii. 126-127).—*J. Sarkar.*

The Maliki Era.

It is also called Jalāli. The Persian Era was used at that period. Through the interruption of continuity in intercalation, the commencements of the years fell into confusion. At the instance of Sultān Jalāluddin[52] Malik Shāh Saljuki, Omar Khayyam and several other learned men instituted this era. The beginning of the year was determined from the sun's entry into Aries. The years and months were *at first* Natural, but now the month is the ordinary Artificial. Each month consists of 30 days and at the end of *Isfandārmuz,* they add 5 or 6 days. Of this era, 516 years have elapsed.

The Khāni Era

dates from the reign of Ghāzān[53] Khān and is founded on the Ilkhāni tables. The years and months are Natural,

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[52] A brilliant sketch of his life may be read in Gibbon, Ch. 57, and *Enc. Isl.* iii. 211. For his era *Ency. Islam,* i. 1006 (under *Djalāli*), also iv. 672 (under *Tarikh*) and iii. 888 (under *Nawruz.*) The era begins on 15 March 1079 A.D.

[53] Ghazan Khan, Mahmud, eldest son of Arghun, the 8th from Mangu Khan son of Jenghiz, of the Moghul Tartar or Ilkhanian Dynasty of Persia. He ascended the throne in A. H. 694 (A.D. 1294) and was succeeded by Ghiasu'ddin Au-gaptu Khuda bandah Muhammad, A. H. 703 (A. D. 1303). *U. T.* P. II, p. 146. The Ilkhani era, in *Ency. Isl.* Supp. 232. Ghāzān Kh. in *Ibid.* ii. 149.

solar. Before its adoption the State records bore date from the Hijrah and the lunar year was current. By this means the road was opened to grievous oppression, because 31 lunar years are equal to only 30 solar years and great loss occurred to the agriculturists, as the revenue was taken on the lunar years and the harvest depended on the solar. Abolishing this practice Ghāzān Khān promoted the cause of justice by the introduction of this era. The names of the month are the Turkish with the addition of the word *khāni*. Of this, 293 years have elapsed.

The Ilāhi Era.

His Majesty had long desired to introduce a new computation of years and months throughout the fair regions of Hindustan in order that perplexity might give place to easiness. He was likewise averse to the era of the Hijra (*Flight*) which was of ominous signification, but because of the number of short-sighted, ignorant men who believe the currency of the era to be inseparable from religion, His Imperial Majesty in his graciousness, dearly regarding the attachment of the hearts *of his subjects* did not carry out his design of *suppressing it*. Although it is evident to right-minded people of the world, what relevancy exists between the market-coin of commercial dealing and the night gleaming jewel of faith, and what participation between this chain of objective connection and the twofold cord of spiritual truth, yet the world is full of the dust of indiscrimination, and the discerning are heedful of the fable of the fox[54] that took to flight when camels were being impressed. In 992 of the Novilunar year, the lamp of knowledge received another light from the flame of his sublime intelligence and its full blaze shone upon mankind. The fortunately gifted, lovers of truth raised their heads from the pillow of disappointment and the crooked-charactered, drowsy-willed lay in the corner of disuse. Meanwhile the imperial design was accomplished. Amir Fathullah Shirāzi,[55] the representative

[54] *Gulistan* I. Story XVI. 'What connection, Madcap', they said to him 'has a camel with thee and what resemblance hast thou to it?' 'Peace!' he answered 'for if the envious should, to serve their own ends, say"—"This is a camel," who would care about my release so as to inquire into my condition?"'

The Ilāhi era was introduced by Akbar at the beginning of the 29th year of his reign, 8th Rabi-ul Awwal 992 A.H. = 10th March 1584 (*Akbarnamah*, tr. iii. 644.) Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, ii. 37.

[55] See *Ain Akb. trans.*, Vol. I, p. 33, *n.*

of ancient sages, the paragon of the house of wisdom, set himself to the fulfilment of this object, and taking as his base the recent Gurgāni Canon, began the era with the accession of his Imperial Majesty. The splendour of visible sublimity which had its manifestation in the lord of the universe commended itself to this chosen one, especially as it also concentrated the leadership of the world of spirituality, and for its cognition by vassals of auspicious mind, the characteristics of the divine essence were ascribed to it, and the glad tidings of its perpetual adoption proclaimed. The years and months are natural, solar, without intercalation and the Persian names of the months and days have been left unaltered. The days of the month are reckoned from 29 to 32, and the two days of the last are called *Roz o Shab* (Day and Night). The names of the months of each era are tabulated for facility of reference. [Tr.'s *note*. The Uighur and Coptic months are spelt differently by Albiruni from Abul Fazl. The spelling of the Jewish month names also is incorrect in the printed text of the *Ain*.]

1. Hindu months.	2. Khatāi months.	3. The Uighur Era.	4. The Era of the astrologers.	5. The Era of Adam.	6. The Era of the Jews.	7. The Era of the Deluge.	8. The Era of Nabonasar.	9. The Era of Philipus Arrhidaeus.	10. The Era of the Copts.
Chait	Chanweh	Arām Ay.	,,	,,	Tishri	,,	Thoth	Thoth	Thoth
Baisākh	Zhezheweh	Ikandi Ay.	,,	,,	Marhesh-wān	,,	Bāpeh	Bāpeh	Pāopi
Jeth	Sāmweh	Ochanj Ay.	,,	,,	Kislew	,,	Hātor	Hator	Athyr
Asārh	Harweh	Dardanj Ay.	,,	,,	Tebeth	,,	Kahak	Kehak	Khawāk
Sānwan	Uweh	Beshanj Ay.	,,	,,	Shebāt	,,	Tubah	Tubah	Tybi
Bhādon	Luweh	Altinj Ay.	,,	,,	Adhār	,,	Amsher	Amsher	Makhir
Kunwar	Cheweh	Yetinj Ay.	,,	,,	Nisān	,,	9	Barmahāt	Phamanoth
Kātik	Būweh	Saksanj Ay.	,,	,,	Iyār	,,	9	Barmulah	Pharmuthi
Aghan	Kheweh	Tuksanj Ay.	,,	,,	Siwān	,,	9	Bashans	Pachon
Pus	Shabweh	Onnanj Ay.	,,	,,	Tammuz	,,	9	Bonah	Payni
Māgh	Shayayweh	Onbaranj Ay.	,,	,,	Āb	,,	9	Abib	Epiphi
Phāgun	Sirweh	Haksabāt Ay.	,,	,,	Elul	,,	9	Misrī	Mesori

11. Syro-Macedonian Era.	12. The Augustan Era.	13. The Christian Era.	14. The Era of Antoninus.	15. The Era of Diocletian.	16. Era of the Hijrah.	17. Era of Yazdijird.	18. The Maliki Era.	19. The Khāni Era.	20. The Divine Era.
Tashrinul Awwal	Identical with those of Nabonasar.	January	Identical with those of Nabonasar.		Muharram	Farwadin Māh. Old Style	Farwardin Māh i Jalāli	Arām Ay. Khani	Farwardin Māh i Ilāhi
Tashrinu'l Ākhir		February			Safar	Ardibihisht Māh. O. S.	&c.	&c.	&c. like 18, substituting "Ilāhi" for "Jalāli."
Kānun'l Awwal		March			Rabia' I.	Khurdād Māh. O.S.	&c.	&c. like 3 with the word "Khāni" after "Ay"	
Kānunu'l Ākhir		April			Rabia' II.	Tir Māh. O. S.	&c.		
Shebāt		May			Jumāda I	Amurdād Māh. O.S.	like 17, with the word "Jalāli" after "Mah."		
Ādār		June			Jumāda II.	Sharewar Māh. O.S.		In the 4th month the word "Tortanj" occurs, where in Col. 3, it is "Dardanj."	
Nisān		July			Rajab	Mihr Māh. O. S.			
Ayyār		August			Sha'bān	Abān Māh. O. S.			
Huzurān		September			Ramadhān	Ādar Māh. O. S.			
Tamuz		October			Shawwāl	Day Māh. O. S.			
Āb		November			Dhi Ka'da	Bahman Māh. O.S.			
Aylul		December			Dhī Hijjah	Isfandārmaz Māh. O. S.			

The events of the world recorded in chronological sequence, are accounted the science of history, and he who is proficient in them, is a historian. Many writings in this branch of knowledge regarding India, Khatā, the Franks, Jews and other peoples are extinct. Of the Muhammadan sect, the first who in Hijaz occupied himself with this subject was Muhammad-b-Ishāq, then follow Wahab-b-Murabbih, Wāqidi, Asma'i, Tabari, Abu A'bdullah Muslim-b-Qutaybah, Aa'tham of Kufa, Muhammad Muqanna, Hakim A'li Miskawaih, Fakhruddin Muhammad-b-Ali, Dāud Sulaiman Binākiti, Abul Faraj, 'Imadu-ddin-b-Kathir, Muqaddasi, Abu Hanifah Dinawari, Muhammad-b-Abdullah Masa'udi, Ibn Khallākān, Yāfa'i, Abu Nasr Utbi; amongst the Persians, Firdausi Tusi, Abul Hasan Baihaqi, Abul Husain author of the *Tārikh-i-Khusrawi*, Khwājah Abul Fazl Baihaqi, A'bbās-b-Musa'b, Ahmad-b-Sayyār, Abu Ishāq Bazz'az, Muhammad Balkhi, Abul Qāsim Ka'bi, Abu'l Hasan Fārsi, Sadruddin Muhammad author of the *Tājul-Maāsir, (Corona monumentorum)*, Abu Abdullah Juzjāni (author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*), Kabiruddin Irāqi, Abul Qāsim Kāshi, author of *Zubdah (Lactis flos)*, Khwājah Abul Fazl, author of the *Makhzan ul Balāghat (Promtuarium eloquentiœ)* and *Fadhāil-ul-Muluk (Virtutes principum prœstantes)* A'laaddin Juwaini, brother of the Khwājah Shamsuddin, author of a Diwān, (he wrote the *Tārikh Jahānkushā, Historia orbis terrarum victrix*), Hamdullah Mustaufi Qazwini, Qādhi Nidhām Baydhāwi, Khwājah Rashidi Tabib, Hāfiz Abru, and other trustworthy writers.

For a long time past, likewise, it has been the practice to record current events by a chronogram and to make the computation of years appear from a single word, a hemistich and the like, and this too they term a date; as for instance, for the accession of his Majesty, they have devised the words *Nasrat-i-Akbar (victoria insignis)* and *Kām Bakhsh (Optatis respondens)*, but the ancients practised it little: thus the following was written on Avicenna,—

The Demonstration of Truth, Abu A'li Sina,
Entered in Shaja' (373) from non-existence into being.
In Shasā (391) he acquired complete knowledge.
In Takaz (427) he bade the world farewell.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

"The whole of this series of authors is taken bodily and in the same order by Abul Fazl from the *Raudhat-us-Safā* without acknowledgement." (*H. S. Jarett.*)

For convenience of printing and also of study, Jarrett's notes on the ancient authors, a bare list of whose names is given by Abul Fazl, have been here collected in one place, instead of being dispersed as separate footnotes. For more modern and detailed information consult the *Encyclopædia of Islam* under each name." (*J. Sarkar.*)

Md.-b-Ishāq,—author of the well-known work *Al Maghāzi wa's Siyar* (expeditiones bellicæ et biographiæ); he was a native of Medina and as a traditionist held a high rank, and regarded by Al-Bukhāri and As-Shāfa'i as the first authority on the Muslim conquests. He died at Baghdad A.H. 151 (A.D. 768). It is from his work that Ibn Hishām extracted the materials for his life of the Prophet.

Wahab-b-Murabbih,—was a native of Yaman and one of the "Abnā", *i.e.*, a descendant of one of the persian soldiers settled there. He died at Sana'ā in Yaman A.H. 110, in Muharram (April-May A.D. 728)—(others say in 114 or 116) at the age of 90. He was a great transmitter of narrations and legends. A great part of the information given by Moslem historians regarding the pre-Islamic history of Persia, Greece, Yaman, Egypt, etc., comes from him. He was an audacious liar, as Moslem critics of a later period discovered. Ibn Khall. De. Sl. IV p. 672-3.

Wāqidi,—Abu A'bdullah, Muhammad-b-Omar. Wāqid, al Wāqidi, a native of Mecca, author of the well-known "*Conquests*" of the Moslems, born A.H. 130 (Sept. A.D. 745), died on the eve of Monday 11 Zul Hijjah, A.H. 206 (27th April A.D. 823).

Asma'i,—Abu Sa'id A'bdu'l Malik-b-Kuraib al Asma'i, the celebrated philologer, a complete master of Arabic. He was a native of Basra, but removed to Baghdad in the reign of Hārun-ar-Rashid. It is said he knew by heart 16,000 pieces of verse; born A.H. 122 (A.D. 740) and died in Safar A.H. 213 (March-April A.D. 728). *Ency. Isl.* i. 490.

Tabari,—Abu Jafar M-b-Jarir at-Tabāri, author of the Great Commentary of the *Qurān* and of the celebrated history. He is regarded as an exact traditionist, born A.H.

224 (A.D. 838-9) at Amol in Tabaristān and died at Baghdad A.H. 319 (A.D. 923). *Ency. Isl.* iv. 578.

Abu Abdullah Muslim,—(213-270 A.H.) A native of Dinawar, some say of Marw, author of the *Kitāb-ul-Ma'ārif* and *Adāb-ul-Kātib* (=the Writer's Guide): the first a work of general knowledge, from which Eichhorn extracted his genealogies of the Arabs published in his *Monumenta historiæ Arabum*: it contains a number of short biographical notices of the early Moslems.

Aa'tham Kufi,—Muhammad-b-A'li, known as Aa'sim Kufi; his work the *Futuh Aa'thim* (H.K.) is a short account of events from the death of the prophet to the death of Husain at Karbalā. It was translated into Persian by Ahmad-b-Mustaufi.

Md. Muqanna',—Freytag gives his name from the Scholia as Muhammad-b-Ohmaizah. He is said to have been called Muqanna' from the veil he wore to protect the beauty of his person. He squandered his wealth in lavish gifts and in the time of the Omayyads was still living, of much account with his people, but in poverty. Not to be confounded with Abu 'Amr (afterwards Abu Md.) *Ibn al Muqaffa'* (*Ency. Islam* ii. 404), who was known as the Katib or Secretary and was the author of some celebrated epistles, and also translated *Kalila and Damna* into Arabic.

Abu Ali Ahmad-b-Miskawaih,—a Persian of good birth and distinguished attainments. He was treasurer tc Malik Adhd-ud-daulah-b-Buwaih, who placed the utmost trust in him. He was the author of several works. Abul Faraj relates (*Hist. Dynast.* p. 328) that Avicenna consulted him on a certian abstruse point; and finding him slow of intelligence and incapable of solving his difficulty, left him. His death is placed about A.H. 420.

Daud Sulaiman Binakiti,—author of the *Raudhat-ul-Albāb* (*Viridarium cordatorum*) a compendium of Persian history. He lived tempore Jinghiz Khan and wrote on the history of Khātāi kings at the request or command of Sultan Abu Said Bahādur.

Abul Faraj,—(1) 897-967 A.D., author of the great *Kitāb al Aghani*. (2) Barhebraeus, 1226-1286, author of a famous Universal History (See *Ency. Isl.* under the above two names).

Hafidh I'maduddin,—Ismail-b-A'bdu'llah ad Dimashqi died in A.H. 774 (A.D. 1372). The name of his history is

Al Bidāyah wa'l Nihāyah (*Initium et finis*) and is continued to his own time.

Muqaddasi,—There are several of this name. Shamsuddin Abdullah was the author of a geography entitled Ahsanu'l taqasim fi Ma'rifati'l aqalim, a description of the seven climates, died A.H. 341 (A.D. 1049, *Ency. Isl.* iii. 708); a second Husāmuddin Md. b. A'bul Wāhid author of a work on judicial decisions; died A.H. 642 (A.D. 1245); a third, probably the one alluded to, Shahābuddin Abu Mahmud as Shāfa'i author of the work *Muthirul Gharam ila' Ziāratil Quds wāl Shām* (*Liber cupidinem excitans Hierosolyma et Damascum visendi*). He died in 765 (A.D. 1363). H. K.

Abu Hanifa Ahmad-b-Dāud ad Dinawari, author of a work *Islah ul Mantiq* (*Emendatio sermonis*). He died 290 (A.D. 902) H. K.

Masāudi,—author of the *Muruj-ud-Dahāb*. (*Prata Auria*) which he composed in the reign of the Caliph Mutia' Billah and many other works. It begins with the creation of the world, and is continued through the Caliphs to his own time. He died in Cairo in 346 A.H. (A.D. 957). *Ency. Isl.* iii. 403.

Ibn Khallakan,—the famous biographer: his work the Wafayātul Aa'yān containing the lives of illustrious men is well-known. It was composed in Egypt under Sultān Baybars of the Mameluke dynasty. He has given a few particulars of his life at the close of this work which was finished in A.H. 672 (A.D. 1273-4). He was born in 608 (A.D. 1211) and died in 681 (A.D. 1282, *Ency. Isl.*, ii. 396).

Abdullah-b-Asa'd al Yafa'i al Yamani, died 768 A.H. (A.D. 1266). He wrote the *Mirat ul Janān wa I'brat ul Yakdhān* (speculum cordis et exemplum vigilantis), a historical work beginning with the Flight and continued to his own time. Another is the *Raudhatul Riahin* (*Viridarium hyacinthorum*) containing lives of Moslem saints. *Ency. Isl.*, iv. 1134.

Utbi,—author of the *Tārikh Yamini* which contains the history of the Ghaznivide Sultan Yamin ud Daulah Mahmud-i-Subuktigin of whom he was a contemporary: it is brought down to the year 427 (A.D. 1036-7).

Baihaqi,—(1) Abu Hasan' Ali-b-Zayd al Baihaqi author of the *Wishāhi Dumyatil Qasr*: a supplement to the *Dumyat ul Qasr* of al Bakharzi the poet, who died A.H. 467

(A.D. 1075), and author of work called *Tārikhi Baihaq. Ency. Isl.*, i. 592.

Baihaqi,—(2) Abul Fazl Md. b. Husain, author of a history of the Ghaznavids in more than 30 vols., of which only five volumes covering the reign of Masa'ud b. Mahmud has been preserved. *Ency. Islam*, i. 592-593.

Abul Husain,—Muhammad-b-Sulaiman Al Asha'ri; the *Tārikh Khusrawi*, is a history of the Persian kings.

Abbas b. Musa'b,—author of the *Tārikh Khorāsān*..

Ahmad-b-Sayyār-b-Ayyub,—the Hāfidh, Abul Hasan al Marwazi, a traditionist of great repute and accuracy. Died A.H. 268, A.D. 881. *Abul Mahasin* V. II. p. 45.

Abu Ishaq-Muhammad-b-al Bazzāz was the author of a history of Herat.

Muhammad-b-Akil al Balkhi-d—A.H. 316 (A.D. 928). (Abul Mahasin II. p. 235) author of a history of Balkh. H. K.

Abu'l Qāsim Ali-b-Mahmud, author of a history of Balkh.

Abu'l Hasan,—Abdul Ghāfir-b-Ismail *Al Fārsi*, author of the *Siyāq fi daili tārikh Nishabur* (*Cursus orationis appendix ad historiam Nishaburae*). He died A.H. 527 (A.D. 1132). H. K.

Juzjāni,—The *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri* is on the military expeditions of Nāsiruddin Mahmud Shāh-b-Iltamish of Delhi. The name of the author is Abu Omar, Othman-b-Muhammad al Minhāj, Sirāj al Juzjāni. Translated by Raverty in Biblio. Indica series.

Kabiruddin Irāqi,—son of Tajuddin Irāqi, who wrote of the conquests of Sultan Alāuddin Khilji. He was a skilled rhetorician, and writer; see a slight sketch of him in the *Tārikh Firoz Shāhi*, of Ziāuddin Barni, p. 361.

Abul Qāsim Jamāluddin Muhammad,—d. 836 (A.D. 1432), author of the *Zubdatut Tawārikh*, in Persian.

Abul Fadhl Ubaidullah—(H.K. : in *Raudhat us Safa*, 'Abdullah) -b-Abi Nasr Ahmad-b-Ali-b-al Mikāl; both the works mentioned are historical.

Alauddin Ata Malik al Juwaini,—the author of the *Jahān Kushā'* a Persian history, *Ency. Isl.*, i. 1067-1070, under *Djuwaini*.

Hamdullah Qazvini,—author of the *Tārikh Guzida* (*Præstantissima ex historia*) which ranks among the best general histories of the East, written for the Wazir Ghiāthuddin Muhammad. It was first composed in 50,000 verses,

and then turned into prose about A.H. 730 (A.D. 1329-30). *Ency. Isl.*, ii. 844.

Qadhi Nasiruddin Abdullah-b-Omar al *Baidhāwi-d*—A.H. 684 (A.D. 1285), author of the *Nidhamut Tawārikh* (*Ordo historiarum*), a compendium of Persian history with an account of Moslem dynasties from the house of Umayyah to that of Khwārazm and the Mongols (1275 A.D.). *Ency. Isl.*, i. 590.

Khj. Rashidi,—Khwājah Rashiduddin Fadhlullah, Tabib, "one of the greatest historians of Persia (put to death in 718, A.D. 1318), author of the *Jamiut Tawārikh* (*Historia universalis*). He began it just before the death of Ghāzān Khan A.H. 704 (1304 A.D.). His successor Khudabandah Muhammad ordered him to complete it and preface it with his name and to add to the history of the Jingiz dynasty, a more general account, *Ency. Isl.*, iii. 1124.

Hāfidh Abru,—Shihābuddin Abdullah b. Lutfullah b. Abdur Rashid al Khwāfi (and not *al-Haravi*), author of the *Zubdatut Tawārikh* composed for Baisonghor Mirzā, an account of the principal events and strange or extraordinary occurrences recorded in the history of the world, carried down to A.H. 829 (1425 A.D.). He died in 834 (A.D. 1430). *Ency. Isl.*, ii. 213.

Avicenna,—The full name of this philosopher is Abu Ali Husain-b-Abdullah-b-Sina, as Shaikh, ar-Rāis. He is therefore known in the East as *Ibn Sina* and *Pur-i-Sina*, from his father's name. *Ency. Isl.*, ii. 419-420 (under *Ibn Sina*). He was born in Bukhārā A.H. 370 (A.D. 980) and died in 428 (A.D. 1036) at the age of 58.

A'IN I.

The Provincial Viceroy, Sipah Sālār, literally, *Commander of the Forces.*[56]

He is the vicegerent of His Majesty. The troops and people of the provinces are under his orders and their welfare depends upon his just administration. He must seek the

[56] The Sipah-Sālār's duties are described also in a *farmān* of Akbar included in *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* (Gaekwad's Or. Series), i. 163-170. See *Mughal Administration* by Jadunath Sarkar, 3rd ed., ch. iv. §2 for further details and references to additional sources. The distinction between the provincial

will of God in all that he undertakes and be constant in praise and supplication. He must never lay aside the consideration of the people's prosperity nor suffer his zeal to sleep. He must not be prompt to vain converse or asperity of manner. Vigilance and the due distinction of ranks must be his care, especially towards subordinates near his person and officials at a distance. What is the duty of dependents must not be committed to his sons, and what these can perform he should not execute himself. In all transactions he should confide in one wiser than himself and if he can find none such, he should confer with a few chosen individuals and weigh carefully their deliberations.

It haps at times, the hoary sage
May fail at need in counsel right,
And unskilled hands of tender age
A chance shaft wing within the white.
[S'adi, *Gulistān*, Ch. 3.]

He should not admit many men to his secret councils, for the prudent, zealous, warm, disinterested adviser is rare, lest one of them should provoke dissension, and opportunities for timely action escape. He should regard his office of command as that of a guardian, and exercise caution, and making a knowledge of the disposition of men a rule of government, live as it behoves his office. Levity and anger he should keep under the restraint of reason. He should reclaim the rebellious by a just insight into the conduct of affairs and by good counsel, failing which, he should be swift to punish by reprimands, threats, imprisonment, stripes or amputation of limb, but he must use the utmost deliberation before severing the bond of the principle of life. He should not pollute his tongue with abuse which is the manner of noisy vagabonds of the market place. He should refrain from the use of oaths in speech for this is imputing falsehood to himself by implication and distrust in the person he addresses. In judicial investigations, he should not be

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viceroy (*sipah sālār*) and the revenue-head (*diwān*) is as old as the first government set up by the Arabs after the conquest of Egypt: "In the early centuries of Arab rule (in Egypt) two political functions are sharply distinguished, the governorship and the treasury. The governor, *Amir*, had control over the military and police only. . . . Alongside of him was the head of the treasury the *'Amil*. . . . These two officials had to keep a strict watch on one another." (C. H. Becker in *Ency. Islam*, ii. 13.) These provincial viceroys were afterways called *māzims* and *subah-dārs*. Akbar divided his empire into 12 provinces and appointed a uniform set of officials to each, first in his 24th regnal year (1579). See *Akbarnāmah*, tr. ii. 413. [*J. Sarkar.*]

satisfied with witnesses and oaths, but pursue them by manifold inquiries, by the study of physiognomy and the exercise of foresight, nor, laying the burden of it on others, live absolved from solicitude.

Beware lest justice to that judge belong,
Whose own ill-deed hath wrought the suppliant's wrong.

Let him not inflict the distress of expectation upon supplicants for justice. He should shut his eyes against faults and accept excuses, and adopt such a course of conduct as will not disparage his good breeding and dignity. He should not intefere with any man's creed. A wise man, in worldly affairs that are transient, seeks not his own loss, why then should he knowingly abandon the spiritual life that is eternal, for if it be true, disturbance is criminal and if otherwise it is the malady of ignorance and is deserving of kind treatment. Each division of the kingdom, he should entrust to zealous upright men and provide for the safety of the roads by the establishment of trusty guards and from time to time receive reports of them. He should select for purposes of secret intelligence honest, provident, truthful and unavaricious men, and if such needful individuals are not to be obtained, in every affair he should associate several who are unknown to each other and inspecting their several reports thus ascertain the truth. His expenditure should be less than his income, and from his treasury he should supply the needy, especially those who loose not their tongues in solicitation. He should never be negligent of the supplies and accoutrements of the troops. He should not refrain from the practice of horsemanship, and should use the bow and the matchlock and command this exercise to his men. In attaching individuals to his own person and in the increase of confidence, he should employ a cautious circumspection. Many are the evil dispositioned and licentious of nature who profess sincerity and sell themselves at a high price. He should turn his attention to the increase of agriculture and the flourishing condition of the land and earn the gratitude of the people by the faithful discharge of his obligations and account the befriending of the agriculturists as an excellent service to the Almighty. He should retain impartial collectors of revenue and from time to time obtain information regarding their actions. Let him store for himself a goodly reward in the making of reservoirs, wells, watercourses, gardens, serais and other pious foundations, and set about the repairing of what has fallen into

ruin. He should not be given to retirement nor be unsettled in mind which is the manner of recluses, nor make a practice of associating with the common people nor be ever surrounded by a crowd which is the fashion of blind worshippers of outward appearances.

Court not the world nor to it wholly die;
Walk wisely: neither phœnix be nor fly.

Let him hold in honour the chosen servants of God, and entreat the assistance of spiritually-minded anchorites and of mendicants of tangled hair and naked of foot. The imploring of blessings from the sun and the solar lamp, he should not consider as its deification or a worshipping of fire.[57] Let him accustom himself to night vigils and partake of sleep and food in moderation. He should pass the dawn and the evening in meditation and pray at noon and at midnight. When he is at leisure from worldly affairs and introspection of conscience, he should study works of philosophy and act according to their precepts. If this does not satisfy his mind, he should peruse the spiritual admonitions of the Masnawi [of Jalāl-ud-din Rumi] and regardless of the letter imbibe its spirit. He should entertain his mind with the instructive stories of Kalila and Damna, and thus gaining a knowledge of the vicissitudes of life, regard the experience of the ancients as his own. Let him apply himself to the cultivation of true knowledge and put aside childish tales. Let him associate with a discreet and trusty friend and give him permission to look carefully into his daily conduct in order that he may privately represent whatever, in the balance of his discretion, appears blameworthy and if at any time his penetration should be at fault he should not be thereat displeased for men have ever been backward in uttering a displeasing truth especially in a season of anger when reason slumbers and the spirit is aflame. Courtiers, for the most part, seek pretexts of evasion and lend a false colouring to error, and if perchance one of them should be really concerned, he will hold his peace for fear, for he is indeed difficult to find who would prefer another's benefit to his own injury. Let him not be roused to anger by the representations of detractors, but rest in the path of circumspection, for men of evil nature, dissemblers in speech, palm off their tales with the semblance of truth and representing themselves as disinterested, labour to in-

[57] See Vol. I, pp. 200-202.

jure others. He should not consider himself as fixed of residence but hold himself ever ready for a summons to the presence. Let him not be malevolent, but prefer courtesy and gentleness. He should not subvert ancient families but let an illustrious ancestry redeem unworthy successors. Let him see that the younger among his followers when they meet, use the greeting *Allāh u ākbar*,[58] 'God is greatest', and the elder reply *Jalla-jalāluhu*, 'His majesty is eminent'. Let him not take as food a sheep or a goat of under one year and he should abstain from flesh for a month after the anniversary of his birthday. He shall not eat of anything that he has himself killed. He should restrict himself in sensual gratification and approach not a pregnant woman. The food which is bestowed in memory of the deceased, he should prepare each year on his birthday and regale the needy.

> With heavenly treasures store thy grave—provide
> While yet in life—none may when he hath died.
> [*Gulistan.*]

When the sun advances from one sign of the zodiac to another, let him offer up a thanksgiving and discharge cannon and musketry to arouse the slumberers in forgetfulness. At the first beams of the world-illumining sun and at midnight which is the turning point of its re-ascension, let him sound the kettle-drum and enforce vigilance.

A'IN II.

The Faujdār

In the same way that His Majesty, for the prosperity of the empire, has appointed a Commander of the forces for

[58] *Allahu akbar.*—This formula, as the briefest expression of the absolute superiority of the One God (Allah) over the idols of the pagan Arabs, is used in Muslim life in different circumstances, in which the idea of Allah, His greatness and goodness is suggested. . . . The call to the daily prayer (*azan*) is opened with a four-fold *takbir* (=the cry *Allahu ākbar.*) The Prophet is said to have uttered very frequently the *takbir* during the Hajj. (*Ency. Islam*, iv. 627 under *takbir.*)

Akbar's order for its general use as a form of salutation among the public in the place of the customary *salām 'alaikum* (sanctified by its frequent occurrence in the *Qurān*, xvi. 34, xxxix. 73 &c.), led the ignorant populace to believe that he wished to be acknowledged as God. "This caused great commotion." (Badayuni, tr. ii. 308.) For Abul Fazl's vexation at this misrepresentation, *Akbarnāmah*, tr. iii. 397. V. Smith's *Akbar*, p. 177 ("ambiguous phrase"), 218 and *n.* [*J. Sarkar.*]

each province, so by his rectitude of judgment and wise statesmanship he apportions several pargannahs to the care of one of his trusty, just and disinterested servants,[59] appreciative of what is equitable, and faithful to his engagements; and him they style by the above name. As a subordinate and assistant he holds the first place. Should a cultivator or a collector of the crown lands or an assignee of government estates prove rebellious, he should induce him to submit by fair words, and if this fail, he shall take the written evidence of the principal officers and proceed to chastise him. He should pitch his camp in the neighbourhood of the body of rebels and at every opportunity inflict loss upon their persons and property but not risk at once a general engagement. If the affair can be concluded with the infantry he should not employ cavalry. He should not be rash in attacking a fort, but encamp beyond bowshot and the reach of its guns and musketry, and obstruct the roads of communication. He should be vigilant against night attacks and devise a place of retreat, and be constant in patrolling. When he has captured the rebel camp, he must observe equity in the division of the spoil and reserve a fifth for the royal exchequer. If a balance of revenue be due from the village, this should be first taken into account. He should constantly inspect the horses and accoutrements of the troops. If a trooper be without a horse, his comrades should be assessed to provide for him and if a horse be killed in action, it should be made good at the expense of the State. He must duly furnish a roll of the troops present and absent, to the royal court and ever bear in mind the duty of carrying out its sacred ordinances.

A'IN III.

The Mir A'dl and the Qāzi.

Although the supreme authority and the redress of grievances rests with sovereign monarchs, yet the capacity of a single person is inadequate to the superintendence of

[59] For the duties of the *faujdar* (modern district magistrate *cum* superintendent of police and commandant of local forces but *not* collector), see Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, 3rd. ed., IV. § 4.

the entire administration. It is therefore necessary that he should appoint one of his discreet and unbiassed servants as his judiciary delegate. This person must not be content with witnesses and oaths, but hold diligent investigation of the first importance, for the inquirer is uninformed and the two litigants are cognisant of the facts. Without full inquiry, and just insight, it is difficult to acquire requisite certitude. From the excessive depravity of human nature and its covetousness, no dependence can be placed on a witness or his oath. By impartiality and knowledge of character, he should distinguish the oppressed from the oppressor and boldly and equitably take action on his conclusions. He must begin with a thorough interrogation and learn the circumstances of the case; and should keep in view what is fitting in each particular and take the question in detail, and in this manner set down separately the evidence of each witness. When he has accomplished his task with intelligence, deliberation and perspicacity, he should, for a time, turn to other business and keep his counsel from others. He should then take up the case and reinvestigate and inquire into it anew, and with discrimination and singleness of view search it to its core. If capacity and vigour are not to be found united, he should appoint two persons, one to investigate whom they call a Qāzi;[60] the other the Mir A'dl to carry out his finding.

A'IN IV.

The Kotwāl.[61]

The appropriate person for this office should be vigorous, experienced, active, deliberate, patient, astute and humane. Through his watchfulness and night patrolling the citizens should enjoy the repose of security, and the evil-disposed lie in the slough of non-existence. He should keep a register of houses, and frequented roads, and engage the citizens in a pledge of reciprocal assistance, and

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[60] *Qazi* in Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, Ch. II, §

[61] *Kotwal* in *ibid.*, Ch. IV, § 5, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, i. 68. In the later Mughal Empire the inspection of markets was often entrusted to the *muhtasib* (from Aurangzib's reign).

bind them to a common participation of weal and woe. He should form a quarter by the union of a certain number of habitations, and name one of his intelligent subordinates for its superintendence and receive a daily report under his seal of those who enter or leave it, and of whatever events therein occur. And he should appoint as a spy one among the obscure residents with whom the other should have no acquaintance, and keeping their reports in writing, employ a heedful scrutiny. He should establish a separate *serāi* and cause unknown arrivals to alight therein, and by the aid of divers detectives take account of them. He should minutely observe the income and expenditure of the various classes of men and by a refined address, make his vigilance reflect honour on his administration. Of every guild of artificers, he should name one as guildmaster, and another as broker, by whose intelligence the business of purchase and sale should be conducted. From these also he should require frequent reports. He should see to the open thoroughfare of the streets and erect barriers at the entrances and secure freedom from defilement. When night is a little advanced, he should prohibit people from entering or leaving the city. He should set the idle to some handicraft. He should remove former grievances and forbid any one from forcibly entering the house of another. He shall discover thieves and the goods they have stolen or be responsible for the loss. He should so direct that no one shall demand a tax or cess (*bāj wa tamghā*) save on arms, elephants, horses, cattle, camels, sheep, goats and merchandise. In every Subah a slight impost shall be levied at an appointed place. Old coins should be given in to be melted down or consigned to the treasury as bullion. He should suffer no alteration of value in the gold and silver coin of the realm, and its diminution by wear in circulation, he shall recover to the amount of the deficiency. He should use his discretion in the reduction of prices and not allow purchases to be made outside the city. The rich shall not take beyond what is necessary for their consumption. Hs shall examine the weights and make the *ser* not more nor less than thirty *dāms*. In the *gaz* hereinafter to be mentioned, he should permit neither decrease or increase, and restrain the people from the making, the dispensing, the buying or selling of wine, but refrain from invading the privacy of domestic life. Of the property of a deceased or missing person who may have no heir, he shall take an

inventory and keep it in his care. He should reserve separate ferries and wells for men and women.

He should appoint persons of respectable character to supply the public watercourses, and prohibit women from riding on horseback. He should direct that no ox or buffalo or horse, or camel be slaughtered, and forbid the restriction of personal liberty and the selling of slaves. He should not suffer a woman to be burnt against her inclination, nor a criminal deserving of death, to be impaled, nor any one to be circumcised under the age of twelve. Above this limit of age, the permission may be accorded. Religious enthusiasts, calenders, and dishonest tradesmen he should expel or deter from their course of conduct, but he should be careful in this matter not to molest a God-fearing recluse, or persecute barefooted wandering anchorites. He should allot separate quarters to butchers, hunters of animals, washers of the dead, and sweepers, and restrain men from associating with such stony-hearted gloomy-dispositioned creatures. He shall amputate the hand of any who is the pot-companion of an executioner, and the finger of such as converse with his family. He should locate the cemetery outside of, and to the west of the city. He should prohibit his adherents from wearing sombre garments in mourning and induce them to wear red. From the first till the nineteenth of the month of Farwardin, during the whole month of Abān, the days of the sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac to another, *viz.*, the first of every solar month, the sixteenth of the same, the Ilāhi festivals, the days of the eclipse of the sun and moon, and on the first day of the week, he shall prohibit men from slaughtering animals, but hold it lawful as a necessity for feeding animals used in hunting and for the sick. He shall remove the place of execution to without the city and see that the Ilāhi festivals are observed. He shall have lamps lit on the night of the Nauroz (New Year's day) and on the night of the 19th of Farwardin. On the eve of a festival, as well as on the festival itself he shall cause a kettle-drum to be sounded at each watch. In the Persian and Hindu almanacs, he shall cause the Ilāhi era to be adopted and the beginning of the month according to the Hindu nomenclature he shall place in *Shukla-pachch*.

A'IN V.

The 'Aml-guzār or Collector of the Revenue.

Should be a friend of the agriculturist. Zeal and truthfulness should be his rule of conduct. He should consider himself the representative of the lord paramount and establish himself where every one may have easy access to him without the intervention of a mediator. He should deal with the contumacious and the dishonest by admonition and if this avail not, proceed to chastisement, nor should he be in apprehension of the land falling waste. He should not cease from punishing highway robbers, murderers and evildoers, nor from heavily mulcting them, and so administer that the cry of complaint shall be stilled. He should assist the needy husbandman with advances of money and recover them gradually. And when through the exertions of the village headman the full rental is received, he should allow him half a *biswah*[62] on each *bigha*, or otherwise reward him according to the measure of his services. He should ascertain the extent of the soil in cultivation and weigh each several portion in the scales of personal observation and be acquainted with its quality. The agricultural value of land varies in different districts and certain soils are adapted to certain crops. He should deal differently, therefore, with each agriculturist and take his case into consideration. He should take into account with discrimination the engagements of former collectors and remedy the produce of ignorance or dishonesty. He should strive to bring waste lands into cultivation and take heed that what is in cultivation fall not waste. He should stimulate the increase of valuable produce and remit somewhat of the assessment with a view to its augmentation. And if the husbandman cultivate less and urge a plausible excuse, let him not accept it. Should there be no waste land in a village and a husbandman be capable of adding to his cultivation, he should allow him land in some other village.

He should be just and provident in his measurements. Let him increase the facilities of the husbandman year by year, and under the pledge of his engagements, take nothing beyond the actual area under tillage. Should some

[62] The 20th part of a *bigha*.

prefer to engage by measurement and others by appraisement of crops, let him forward the contracts with all despatch to the royal presence. Let him not make it a practice of taking only in cash payments but also in kind. This latter is effected in several ways. First, *kankut* : *kan* in the Hindi language signifies grain, and *kut*, estimate. The whole land is taken either by actual mensuration or by pacing it, and the standing crops estimated in the balance of inspection. The experienced in these matters say that this comes little short of the mark. If any doubt arise, the crops should be cut and estimated in three lots, the good, the middling and the inferior, and the hesitation removed. Often, too, the land taken by appraisement, gives a sufficiently accurate return. Secondly, *bātāi*, also called *bhāoli*, the crops are reaped and stacked and divided by agreement in the presence of the parties. But in this case several intelligent inspectors are required, otherwise the evil-minded and false are given to deception. Thirdly, *khet batāi*, when they divide the fields after they are sown. Fourthly, *lāng batāi;* after cutting the grain, they form it in heaps and divide it among themselves, and each takes his share home to clean it and turn it to profit. If it be not prejudicial to the husbandman, he may take the value of the corn-bearing land in cash at the market rate. If on this land they sow the best kinds of produce,[63] in the first year he should remit a fourth of the usual assessment. If at the time of collection, the better produce is found to be larger in quantity than the previous year, but less land cultivated, and the revenue be the same, let him not be provoked or removed to contention. He should always seek to satisfy the owner of the crops. He should not entrust the appraisement to the headman of the village lest it give rise to remissness and incompetence and undue authority be conferred on highhanded oppressors, but he should deal with each husbandman, present his demand, and separately and civilly receive his dues.

He must take security from land surveyors, assessors and other officers of revenue. He should supply the officials engaged in the land measurements, for each day on which

[63] *Jins-i-Kāmil* such as sugaṛ, *pān*, indigo, opium or cotton : contradistinction to *jins-i-ādna*, inferior crops, such as maize

they are employed, with 16 *dāms* and 31 *sers*, and as a monthly ration, on the following scale :

	Flour. ser	Oil. ser	Grain. ser	Vegetables &c. dām
Superintendent of survey ...	5	½	7	4
Writer	4	½	4	4
Land surveyor and four thanadars, each ...	8	1	5	5

He shall affix a mark to the land surveyed and shall take a bond from the headman that there shall be no concealment regarding the land, and the various crops shall be duly reported. In the process of measurement if any inferior portion of land be observed, he shall at once estimate its quantity, and from day to day take a note of its quality and this voucher he shall deliver to the husbandman. But if this discovery be made after the collection of the revenue, he shall gather information from the neighbours and from unofficial documents and strike an average. In the same way as the *kārkun* (registrar of collections) sets down the transactions of the assessments, the *muqaddam*[64] (chief village revenue officer) and the *patwāri* (land-steward) shall keep their respective accounts. The Collector shall compare these documents and keep them under his seal and give a copy thereof to the clerk. When the assessment of the village is completed, he shall enter it in the abstract of the village accounts, and after verifying it anew, cause its authentication by the *kārkun* and *patwāri*, and this document he shall forward weekly to the royal presence and never delay it beyond fifteen days. After the despatch of the draft estimates to the imperial court, should any disaster to the crops occur, on ascertaining the exact particulars on the spot, he shall calculate the extent of the loss and recording it in writing, transmit it without delay in order that it may be approved or a commissioner despatched. He should collect the revenue in an amicable manner and extend not the hand of demand out of season. He should begin the collection of the spring harvest from the *Holi*, which is a Hindu festival occurring when the sun is about to pass from Aquarius and is entering or has reached midway in Pisces and the Autumn harvest from the *Dasharah*, which is a festival falling when the sun is in the middle or

[64] For *muqaddam*, Wilson, 351.

last days of Virgo or the first ten of Libra. Let him see that the treasurer does not demand any special[65] kind of coin, but take what is of standard weight and proof and receive the equivalent of the deficiency at the value of current coin and record the difference in the voucher. He should stipulate that the husbandman bring his rents himself at definite periods so that the malpractices of low intermediaries may be avoided. When there is a full harvest, he should collect the appropriate revenue and accept no adjournment of payments on future crops.

Whosoever does not cultivate land liable to taxation but encloses it for pasturage, the Collector shall take for each buffalo six *dāms*, and for an ox, three *dāms* yearly, but for a calf or a buffalo which has not yet calved, he shall make no demand. He shall assign four oxen, two cows and one buffalo to each plough and shall lay no impost on these. Whatever is paid into the treasury, he shall himself examine and count and compare it with the day-ledger of the *kārkun*. This he shall verify by signature of the treasurer and placing it in bags under seal, shall deposit it in a strong room and fasten the door thereof with several locks of different construction. He shall keep the key of one himself and leave the others with the treasurer. At the end of the month, he shall take from the writer (*bitikchi*) the account of the daily receipts and expenditure and forward it to the presence. When two lakhs of *dāms* are collected, he shall remit them by the hands of trusty agents. He shall carefully instruct the *pātwari* of each village to enter in detail in the memorandum which he gives to the husbandman, the amount he receives from the same; any balances he shall enter under each name in a book and forward it attested by the signatures of the headmen; and these, at the next harvest, he shall recover without distress. He shall carefully inspect the *suyurghal*[66] tenures, sending copies of them to the registry office to be compared. He should ascertain the correctness of the *chaknāmah*,[67] and resume the share of a deceased grantee or one who is an

[65] *Zar-i-khās* in the text should be translated as His present Majesty's coin. Jarrett took it to mean 'any special kind of coin', but this interpretation is wrong. It is not necesary to read *Khālis* for *Khās* (from a variant) as suggested by Jarrett (="fine gold"). *J. S.*

[66] An assignment of land revenue for charitable purposes: also a grant of land without stipulation of any condition or service. Wilson, 495.

[67] This is a grant of alienated lands specifying the boundary limits thereof. *Chak*, according to Elliot, is a patch of rent-free land detached from a village Wilson, 97

absentee or actually in service of the state. He should take care that land cultivated by the farmer himself and not by the tenant, as well as resumed lands, should not be suffered to fall waste; the property of the absentee or of him that dies without an heir he should duly keep under ward and report the circumstances. He should see that no capitation-tax be imposed nor interfere with the remission of dues granted by former governments.

He shall not make the occasions of journeying, feasting or mourning an opportunity for exactions, and refrain from accepting presents. Whenever a *muqaddam* or *patwāri* shall bring money or, advancing to the dais, shall present a *dām* in obeisance, he shall not accept it. In the same way he shall renounce *balkati*, which is the practice of taking a small fee from each village when the harvest is ready for reaping. He shall also waive all perquisites on handicrafts, market-booths, police, travelling passports, garden produce, temporary sheds, enclosure, fishing rights, port-dues, butter, oil of sesame, blanketing, leather, wool, and the like malpractices of the avaricious who fear not God. He shall provide for the periodic appointment of one among those best acquainted with the district, to reside at the royal court and furnish it with the minutest particulars. Every month he shall submit a statement of the condition of the people, of the *jāgirdārs*, the neighbouring residents, the submission of the rebellious, the market prices, the current rents of tenements, the state of the destitute poor, of artificers and all other contingencies. Should there be no *kotwāl*, the Collector must take the duties of that office upon himself.

A'IN VI.

The Bitikchi[68]

Must be conscientious, a good writer, and a skilful accountant. He is indispensable to the collector. It is his duty to take from the *kanungo*[69] the average decennial state

[68] A word of Turkish origin, signifying a writer or scribe. *Enc. Isl.* i. 34.

[69] An officer in each district acquainted with its customs and land-tenures and whose appointment is usually hereditary. He receives report from the *amīns* of new cases of alluvion and diluvion, sales, leases, gifts of land &c. which entail a change in the register of mutations. He is a revenue officer of subordinate to the tahsīldār. Carnegy, *Kachh Technical* Wilson, 260

of the village revenues in money and kind, and having made himself acquainted with the customs and regulations of the district, satisfy the Collector in this regard, and lend his utmost assistance and attention. He shall record all engagements made with the agriculturists, define the village boundaries, and estimate the amount of arable and waste land. He shall note the names of the *munsif*,[70] the superintendent (*zābit*), the land-surveyor and *thānadār*, also that of the cultivator and headman, and record below, the kind of produce cultivated. He should also set down the village, the pergunnah and the harvest, and subtracting the deficiency take the value of the assets, or after the manner of the people of the country, inscribe the name, the kind of produce, and the deficiency below the date of cultivation.

When the survey of the village is complete, he shall determine the assessment of each cultivator and specify the revenue of the whole village. The Collector shall take the revenue on this basis, and forward a copy of the survey, called in Hindi *khasra* to the royal court. When drawing out the rolls, if the former documents are not available, he should take down in writing from the *patwāri* the cultivation of each husbandman by name and thus effect his purpose, and transmit the roll together with the balances and collections punctually, and he shall enter the name of the *tahsildar* below each village, in the day-ledger. He shall record the name of each husbandman who brings his rent and grant him a receipt signed by the treasurer. Copies of the rolls of the *patwāri* and *muqaddam* by means of which they have made the collections, together with the *sarkhat*, that is the memorandum given to the husbandman, he shall receive from the *patwāri*, and inspecting them, shall carefully scrutinize them. If any falsification appears, he shall fine them and report to the Collector daily and the collection and balances of each village and facilitate the performance of his duty. Whenever any cultivator desires a reference to his account, he shall settle it without delay and at the close of each harvest he shall record the collections and balances of each village and compare them with the *patwāri's*, and enter each day in the ledger the receipts and disbursements under each name and heading, and authenticate it

[70] *Munsif*—An officer employed to superintend the measurement of the lands of a village in concert with the villagers. [Wilson, 356]. For the position of the *munsif* in Sher Shah's revenue system, see 'Abbās Sarwānī, near the end. [I. S.]

by the signature of the Collector and treasurer. At the end of the month, he shall enclose it in a bag under the seal of the Collector and forward it to the presence. He shall also despatch daily the price-current of mohurs and rupees and otl er articles under the seals of the principal men, and at the end of each harvest, he shall take the receipts and disbursements of the treasurer, and forward it authenticated by his signature. The abstract and settlement of the assessment, at the close of each year, he shall transmit under the signature of the Collector. He shall enter the effects and cattle plundered in any village, in the day-ledger, and report the circumstances. At the year's end, when the time of the revenue-collections has closed, he shall record the balances due from the village and deliver the record to the Collector and forward a copy to the royal court. When removed from office, he shall make over to the Collector for the time being his account under the heads of balances, advances &c., and after satisfying him in this regard, take the detail thereof and repair to the Court.

ĀIN VII.

The Treasurer (*Khazānadar*)

Called in the language of the day *Fotadār*.[71] The treasury should be located near the residence of the governor and the situation should be such where it is not liable to injury. He should receive from the cultivator any kind of mohurs, rupees or copper that he may bring,- and not demand any particular coin. He shall require no rebate on the august coinage of the realm but take merely the equivalent of the deficiency in coin-weight. Coinage of former reigns he shall accept as bullion. He shall keep the treasure in a strong room with the knowledge of the *shiqdār*[72] and the registrar, and count it every evening and

[71] The term *fota* is applied in Arabic, to cloths used as waist wrappers brought from Sind, and the word itself is supposed to be derived from that country and not to be of Arabic origin. The office was no doubt originally named from this distinguishing portion of apparel; whence the common name *Poddār* applied to a banker, cash-keeper, or an officer in public establishments for weighing money or bullion. See Wilson's *Gloss.*, 160 and 422.

[72] *Shiqdār*, an officer appointed to collect the revenue from a certain division of land under the Moghul government; it was sometimes applied to the chief financial officer of a province or to the viceroy in his financial capacity.—Wilson's *Glossary*, 480. For this officer in Sher Shah's system, see [illegible] the e[illegible]

cause a memorandum thereof to be signed by the Collector and compare the day-ledger with the registrar's account and authenticate it by his signature. On the door of the treasury as sealed by the Collector, he should place a lock of his own, and open it only with the cognisance of the Collector and registrar. He shall not receive any monies from the cultivator save with the knowledge of the Collector and registrar, and he shall grant a receipt for the same. He shall cause the *patwāri's* signature to be affixed to the ledger known in Hindustan as *bahi,* so that discrepancy may be avoided. He shall consent to no disbursements without the voucher of the *diwān,*[73] and shall enter into no usurious transactions If any expenditure should be necessary that admits of no delay, he may act under the authority of the registrar and *shiqdār* and represent the case to government. The aforementioned duties, from those of the commander of the troops up to this point, are primarily under the direct cognisance of the sovereign authority and as no one individual can perform them, a deputy is appointed for each function and thus the necessary links in administration are strengthened.

Currency of the means of Subsistence.

Since the benefit and vigour of human action are referrible to bodily sustenance, so in proportion to its purity is the spirit strengthened; the body, were it otherwise, would grow corpulent and the spirit weak: the thoughts too under such a regimen, incline to refinement and actions to virtue. The seekers of felicity, sober in conduct, are before all things particularly careful in the matter of food and do not pollute their hands with every meat. To the simple in heart who fear God, labour is difficult and their means of living straitened. They have not that luminous insight which penetrating to the essence of things, dwells in repose, but through fear of the displeasure of God, are sunk in exhaustion of soul from the pangs of hunger. As for instance in the case of the man who possessed a few cows, his legitimate property, and subsisted on their milk. By the accident of fortune, it chanced that they were

[73] *Diwān.* This term was especially applied to the head financial minister whether of the state or of a province, being charged in the latter with the collection of the revenue, its remittance to the imperial treasury and invested with extensive judicial powers in all civil and financial causes. Wilson's *Glossary,* 144-145. For a full description, see Sarkar's *Mughal Administration,* Ch. 3, § 1-5.

carried off, and he passed some days fasting. An active fellow after diligent pursuit brought them back, but he would not accept them and replied, "I know not whence those dumb animals have had food during these past few days." In a short space this simple soul died. Many tales are told of such dull-witted creatures who have thus passed away. There are also avaricious worldlings who do not recognize the difference between other people's property and their own, and gratify themselves at the expense of their spiritual and temporal good. The ignorant and distraught in mind, making their own necessities an occasion of spoliation and seizure, prepare for themselves eternal punishment.

Simple, innocent-minded folk consider that there are no unappropriated waste lands and were they obtainable, it would be difficult to furnish the implements of cultivation, and if these could be had, the means of providing food which would enable them to labour, are not manifest. They can discover no mine to excavate, and if one were pointed out to them which had no owner, it would be extremely onerous to obtain a living therefrom. They are averse too, from the profession of arms, lest dear life be the exchange for base lucre. They withdraw themselves also from commerce for this reason that many ask a high price for their goods, conceal their deficiencies and praise them for qualities which are not in them, while they close their eyes to the evident excellencies of what they purchase and disparage it for faults it does not possess, preferring their own benefit to another's loss. And they disapprove also of those who are content to hold lawful the sequestration of the goods of rival sectaries, and they affirm that if the fautor of such pretension be discerning and wise, it will seem an occasion for additional anxiety rather than a sanction to retain the property of another; for how can the illicit seizure of what is another's be commendable on the score of a difference of faith? On the contrary, it is a suggestion of the evil one, a phantasy of the dreams of the avaricious and unfit for the ears of the good. At the present time His Majesty has placed a lamp upon the highway before all men, that they may distinguish the road from the pitfalls, and sink not into the slough of perdition. nor pass their dear lives in unprofitableness.

Since there is infinite diversity in the natures of men and distractions, internal and external, daily increase, and

heavy-footed greed travels post haste, and light-headed rage breaks its rein, where friendship in this demon-haunted waste of dishonour is rare, and justice lost to view, there is, in sooth, no remedy for such a world of confusion but in autocracy, and this panacea in administration is attainable only in the majesty of just monarchs. If a house or a quarter cannot be administered without the sanctions of hope and fear of a sagacious ruler, how can the tumult of this world-nest of hornets be silenced save by the authority of a vicegerent of Almighty power? How, in such a case can the property, lives, honour, and religion of the people be protected, notwithstanding that some recluses have imagined that this can be supernaturally accomplished, but a well-ordered administration has never been effected without the aid of sovereign monarchs. That fiery wilderness of talismanic power, too, is haunted by spells and sorcerers, and storms of confusion from this sea of undiscernment have arisen and arise, and many souls, through simplicity and shortsightedness, in the turbulent billows of inexperience have been and are still ever engulfed, while those who by the light of wisdom and through the grace of acceptance have bridled their desires and garnered provisions for the long journey to come, have, in the cross-roads of distraction, become the reproach of high and low, for their folly, irreligion and unbelief. In that assembly of ignorance should a philosopher of experience enter, he must needs take up the fashion of fools and so escape from the contumely of the base.

It is evident that in all cultivated areas, the possessors of property are numerous, and they hold their lands by ancestral descent, but through malevolence and despite, their titles become obscured by the dust of uncertainty and the hand of firmness is no longer stretched above them. If the cultivator hold in awe the power of the Adorner of the universe and the Elixir of the living, and the merchant turn back from evil designing and reflect in his heart on the favour of the lord of the world the depository of divine grace, his possessions would assuredly be approved of wisdom. Thus the virtue of property lies in the pledge of intention, and a just ruler, like a saltbed, makes clean the unclean, and the evil good. But without honest coadjustors, abundant accessories of state and a full treasury even he could effect nothing and the condition of subserviency and obedience would lack the bloom of

discipline. Now the man of robust frame should, in the first place, choose the profession of arms and reflect on the assistance which he is capable of rendering, so as to regard his life as devoted to the task of preserving human society from dissolution. The means of sustenance are likewise as abundant to the labourer as forage for his cattle. But if a man is unequal to this, he should endeavour, in some way, to enter into the number of state servants. Thus the currency of the means of subsistence rests on a twofold basis, *viz.*, the justice of sovereign monarchs and regard to the welfare of well-disposed dependents. The base materialist understands not the language of reason and never transcends the limits of bodily sense. This unfertile soil needs the water of the sword, not the limpid spring of demonstration. In the presence of the majesty of the prince, the proud and perverse of disposition sink into obscurity while the prosperity of the good who seek after justice is ever continuous.

Of a truth, whatever be the recompense of the guardianship over the four[74] priceless elements of the constitution, it is both meet and expedient and according to the Almighty will. To the watchmen over the house, the lord thereof appoints the guerdon, and to the watchmen of the universe, its shepherds. If the whole of a man's possessions were spent for the protection of his honour, it would be but fitting if in gratitude he further pledged his whole credit, how much the more when it is a question of the guardianship of the four great elements of State polity? But just monarchs exact not more than is necessary to effect their purpose and stain not their hands with avarice; and hence it is that this principle varies, as has been stated, according to diversities of age and country. From this suggestive digression, it will be evident that whatever circumspect rulers exact from their subjects after due deliberation and to subserve the interests of justice and grant to their submissive dependents, has a perfect propriety and is universally in vogue. It is also clear that the maintenance of the soldier should be ampler and more choice. Next follow the cultivators and then other artisans.

[74] In Vol. I. Abul Fazl's preface, they are named as (1) the warriors, (2) the artificers and merchants, (3) the learned, and (4) the husbandmen and labourers,—who are respectively likened to the four elements, fire, air, water and earth. [J. S.]

Ancient Greek[75] treatises affirm that professions are circumscribed to three classes, the Noble, the Base, and the Intermediate. The former refers to the mind and is, also, of not more than three kinds: the first concerns the pure intellect, as sagacity and capability of administration; the second, acquired knowledge, as composition or eloquence. the third personal courage, as military duty. The Base also is of three kinds: the first is opposed to the common weal of mankind, such as the hoarding of grain; the second is the contrary of any one virtue, as buffoonery; the third is such as the disposition is naturally averse from, as the trade of a barber, a tanner or a sweeper. The Intermediate comprises various callings and trades; some that are of necessity, such as agriculture; others which could be dispensed with, as dyeing; others again simple, as carpentry and ironmongery; and some compound, as the manufacturing of scales or knives.

From this exposition the distinguished character of the military profession is evident. In short, the noblest source of maintenance is to be found in a profession which is associated with just dealing, self-restraint and bravery and apart from evil doing and sensuality. The good regard three things as necessary in a profession—avoidance of tyranny, refraining from what is dishonourable, abstinence from all that is mean; by what is dishonourable, is meant buffoonery and the like low pursuits; by what is mean, is understood an inclination to base callings.

When an appropriate means of maintenance is secured, it is a requisite condition of economy to husband a portion of one's means, provided that the household is not thereby straitened. The mendicant should not be turned away disappointed nor subjected to the reproof of covetousness and greed. The proper control of an estate is conditional on the expenditure being less than the income; it is permitted to indulge a little in commercial speculation and engage in remunerative undertakings, reserving a part in coin and valuables, a part in goods and wares, and somewhat invested in the speculations of others, and yet a por-

[75] The reference is, no doubt, to Aristotle's *Politics* z. (△) the true sense of which has been lost by filtration through some Arabic version or paraphrase. [H. S. J.]

The reader will find most of these ideas in a rather different form in Aristotle's *Politics*, Walford's translation in Bohn's Classical Library (1898), Bk. IV. Ch. IV (pp. 130 *sqq.*) Bk. III. Ch. V (p. 91). [J. S.]

tion in lands and immoveable estates, and a share may be entrusted to borrowers of credit, and expenditure regulated with circumspection, justice and modesty. Let such a one be frank in his commercial dealings and give no place in his heart to self-reproach. He should keep in view of his purpose, the will of God, not the hope of gratitude, the increase of reputation or the expectation of reward. He should also give freely to the needy whose destitution is unexposed. There is also a twofold manner of munificence which if exercised in just measure, is meritorious. Firstly, what is given in pure generosity or largesse such as a present and the like. This should be done quickly and secretly and without setting store on its amplitude or abundance, nor yet so as to cripple one's resources or exhaust them.

Secondly what is called for by occasional exigencies, either in procuring comforts or removing grievances, such as what is given to oppressors or to the profligate in order that person, property and honour may escape their injury. But in this he should use moderation. In procuring the conveniences of life, however, it is better that the bounty should be liberal.

People of the world in the matter of living are to be resolved into three classes. One class are fallen into such heedlessness that spiritual needs do not enter their comprehension, much less are practically considered. Another through their luminous fortune are so immersed in the consideration of essential truths that they give no thought to their means of sustenance. But those who seek the felicity to come, the circumspect in conduct, neglect not a just appreciation of life but make external conditions the instrument of interior well being in the hope of admission among those absorbed in divine love, and so attaining to the third degree of felicity, whence after traversing the arid waste of deliverance, they may repose in the second.[76]

The dues of sovereignty have thus been set forth. The circulation of the means of sustenance, thus, is seen to rest on the justice of prudent monarchs and the integrity of conscientious dependents. And because the conditions of

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[76] That is, according to the theology of the mystics, the third stage in the progressive spiritual life is the attraction of the soul to God *Allah;* the second is immersion in the Divine love *fi-Allah;* the supreme stage is the unitive *Ma' Allah* reserved for his chosen saints.

the royal state and prerogative vary in different countries, and soils are diverse in character, some producing abundantly with little labour, and others the reverse, and as inequalities exist also, through the remoteness or vicinity of water and cultivated tracts, the administration of each state must take these circumstances into consideration and fix its demands accordingly. Throughout the whole extent of Hindustan where at all times so many enlightened monarchs have reigned, one-sixth of the produce was exacted; in the Turkish empire, Irān and Turān a fifth, a sixth, and a tenth respectively. In ancient times a capitation tax was imposed called, *khirāj*. Kubād disapproved of this practice, and resolved that the revenue should be fixed upon arable land accurately surveyed. But his death occurred before he could accomplish his design. Noshirwān (his son) carried it to completion and made the *jarib* of ten square reeds.[77] This was sixty royal yards square. One fourth of this was taken as a *qafiz*[78] and valued at three dirhams,[79] and the third part was fixed as the contribution due to the state. *Qafiz* is a measure, called also *sāa'* weighing eight *ratl*,[80] and, some say, more. The dirham is equal in weight to one *misqāl*. When the Caliphate fell to Omar, at the suggestion of the learned, he adopted the plan of Noshirwān but through the vicissitudes of temporal conditions, he introduced some alterations which may be gathered from ancient volumes. In Turān and Irān from ages past, they have exacted a tenth, but the exactions have increased to more than a half which does not appear exorbitant to a despotic government. In Egypt they take for a

Faddān of the best soil,	3	*Ibrahimis*
,, ,, ,, middling,	2	,,
,, ,, ,, worst,	1	,,

[77] In the original, the word *qabzah* is written erroneously for *qasbah* which is corrected in the subsequent page with the following note. "According to the glossaries, 6 barleycorns make an *asba'*, (finger breadth) : 4 *asba'*, a *qabzah* : 8 *qabzah*, a *zarāa'* (cubit) : 10 cubits, a *qasbah* : 10 *qasbah*, an *ashl* : a *jarib* is 1 square *ashl*, *i.e.*, 10 square *qasbah* or 100 square cubits. According to the *quddāmah*, 4 *asba'* is equal to a *qabzah*, and 10 *qabzah* a cubit, and 60 cubits an *ashl*. According to this, a *jarib* would be 60 square cubits."

[78] *Qafiz*.—A space of ground containing from about 124 to 144 cubits square. It is also a dry measure. *Enc. Isl.* ii. 622.

[79] *Dirham* in *Ency. of Islam*, i. 978; and *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr. I. Ain II.

[80] *Ratl* is variously rated at 12 to 16 oz. At Bombay it is said to be equal to 36 Surat rupees. In the Red Sea littoral the Rottolo, as it is corruptly called, varies from 10 to 24 oz. avoirdupois. Wilson's *Gloss.*, 441.

The *faddān*[80a] is a measure of land of 100 square reeds, each of which is equal to one *bāa'*. An *Ibrahimi* is current for 40 *kabirs* and 14 *kabirs* is equal to a rupee of Akbar Shāh. In some parts of the Turkish empire, they exact from the husbandman 30 *Ākchehs* for every yoke of oxen. The *Ākcheh* is a silver coin equal to 81 *Ibrahimis*. And from crown lands the demand is 42 *Ākcheh*, and from each soldier 21, besides which the governor of the Subah takes 15 more. In some parts for each plough 20, and from each soldier 7 *Ākcheh*, while the Governor takes six. In others, the *Sanjaqbegi*[81] receives 27 and the *Subashi* (kotwāl) twelve. Other systems are also given which obtain in that empire.

Note on Islamic land-tax.

The very obscure and complicated subject of the land system of early Islam can be best studied in the *Encylopædia of Islam* by piecing together information scattered under the following words :—*Kharadj* (ii. 902), *Muqasama* (Suppl. 154), *'Ushr* (iv. 1050-1052), *Dār-al-Sulh* (i. 919), and *Fai'* (ii. 38). Abu Yusuf Ibn Yaqub's *Kitāb-ul-Khirāj* (Fr. tr. by E. Fagan) is not very helpful. The application of the system to India in Aurangzib's reign is discussed in detail in Jadunath Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, 3rd ed., ch. XI.

The term *sulhiy*, for the meaning of which Abul Fazl refers us to "ancient documents," will be understood from the following passages of the *Ency. Islam* (i. 919, under *Dār ul Sulh*) : "With the Christian population of Najran Muhammad himself entered on treaty relationships, guaranteeing their safety and laying on them a certain tribute. See on the whole story, Baladhuri, *Futuh-al-Buldān*. The constitutional situation on the matter is thus

[80a] *Faddān*, a certain measure of land, subdivided into 24 *qirāt*—loosely reckoned as the quantity which a yoke of oxen will plough in one day and commonly defined as consisting of 333¼ *qasabehs*, the latter being 24 *qabdah*, and the *qabdah* being the measure of a man's fist with the thumb erect, or about 6¼ inches. Lane's *Arab. Lex. Ency. Islam*, ii. 36.

[81] *Sanjaq* is a word in Turkish, signifying a flag or standard : it also means a minor province of which several form one Eyālat or Government. It is in this latter sense that the word should probably be taken, signifying the provincial governor. An *Akchch* is ¼ of a *pāra* and consequently the $\frac{1}{110}$ of a piastre or the $\frac{1}{3}$ of a penny; it is frequently mentioned under the name of *asper*, a corruption of the Greek equivalent for the proper Turkish word. [*Ency. Islam*, iv. 148. *Aqcha*, in *ibid.*, i. 229].

formally laid down by Mawardi: All territories . . . under Muslim control . . . fall into three divisions: (*i*) those taken by force of arms; (*ii*) those taken without fighting after the flight of their previous owners; (*iii*) those taken by treaty (*Sulh*). . . In the last (class) if the title to the soil remains with the original owners, . . . the terms of the treaty are that the owners retain their lands and pay a *Kharāj* from their produce; that this *kharāj* is regarded as a *jizya* which falls away when they embrace Islam; that their lands are absolutely their own to sell or pledge; and that their country is neither *Dar-ul-Islām* nor *Dār-ul-Harb* but *Dār-ul-Sulh*. When these lands pass to a Muslim, *Kharāj* can no longer be collected . . . Mawardi includes among the *Bilād al Islām* this *Dār-ul-Sulh*." Also, *ibid.*, ii. 38 under *Fai'*:—"Verses lix. 6, 3 and 10 of the *Qurān* were revealed when Muhammad had resolved not to divide the fields and orchards left by the Ban u'l Nādir, who had been driven out of the country, as booty of war among those who had taken part in the siege, but to give them to the Muhājirs exclusively. He justified this action by arguing that these were really obtained not by fighting, but in a peaceful fashion, by surrender."

"At a later period 'Umar I thought that this principle should be applied to the newly conquered territories also. He ordered that only movable property captured should be divided among the Arab conquerors, but not the land. . . . As a rule only the native population was to till the ground and pay . . . tribute to the Muslim treasury. This payment (*kharāj*) was to be bound up with the possession of land for all time . . . The only exception was those districts, whose inhabitants had voluntarily surrendered on the approach of the Arab army on condition that they were allowed to retain possession of their lands. In such districts (the so called *Dār-al-Sulh*) the land did not belong to the *fāi*." [*J. Sarkar.*]

The Muhammadans account conquered lands of 3 kinds: *U'shri*, *Khirāji* and *Sulhiy*. The first two are subdivided into five kinds and the last into two. *U'shri*, 1st kind; the district of Tehāmah which comprises Mecca, Tāif, Yemen, O'mān, Bahrayn.[82] 2nd kind; land of which

[82] The text has a word following "Bahrayn" which may possibly be read as a proper name. Either Rabah or Rayah, but Abu'l Fazl quotes evidently from the Fatāwa of Qāzi Khan (A.H. 592, Hāj. Khal.) where the definition

the owner has voluntarily embraced that faith. 3rd, Lands which have been conquered and apportioned. 4th, Land on which an adherent of that faith has built a mosque or planted a vine or laid out a garden or fertilized it with rain water; otherwise other conditions apply. 4th, Waste land which has been brought into cultivation by permission of the owner. *Khirāji* 1st kind; Persia proper and Kirmān. 2nd, Land which a tributary subject has laid out as grounds round about his house. 3rd, Land which a Muslim has reclaimed and irrigates from a source constructed from the public revenues. 4th, Land which has been acquired by convention. 5th, Land cultivated by means of water that pays revenue. *Sulhiy*, Lands of the Bani Najrān and Bani Taghlib;[83] the details of these may be learnt from ancient documents. Likewise, in some treatises, land is regarded under three heads. 1st, Land cultivated by Muslims which they deem *U'shr*:[84] 2nd, Land of which the proprietors have accepted that faith. According to some, this is *U'shri*, and others say that it is *U'shri* or *Khirāji*, according to the determination of the Imām. 3rd, Land acquired by conquest, which some make *U'shri* and others *khirāji*, and others again affirm that its classification rests with the Imām. 4th, Land which those outside the faith retain on convention. This they call *khirāji*. Tribute paid by *khirāji* lands is of two kinds. 1. *Muqāsamah* (divided), is the 5th or 6th produce of the soil. 2. *Wazifah*[85] which is settled according to the capability and convenience of the tributaries. Some call the whole produce of the revenue *khirāj*, and as the share of the producing body is in excess of their expenditure, the *Zakāt*[86] is taken from the amount under certain stipulations and this they call a tithe, but on

of the limits of *U'shri* are laid down exactly as in the text with the omission of Rabah. The Fatāwa i A'lamgiri follows Qāzi Khān. From the variants of this doubtful reading given in the notes, it is clear that there is some corruption and perhaps the variant of M.S. *Dal* is correct.

[83] The text has Tha'lab, a misprint. The details of the submission of these two tribes may be gathered from Caussin De Perc. *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes. Ency. Islam*, iii. 825 (under *Nadjirān*), *Sup.* 254 (under *Uqail*), Sup. 223 (under *Taghlib*).

[84] This word signifies a tenth and is the tithe assessed on lands under Muslim rule. *U'shri* are therefore those lands subject to the tithe.

[85] *Wazifah* signifies a stipend or any thing stipulated or agreed upon; hence, revenue collected at a stipulated or fixed rate for a certain quantity of land. Wilson's *Gloss.*, 557.

[86] *Zakat*, the poor rate, the portion therefrom given as the due of God by the possessor that he may *purify* it thereby, the root of the word, *zakā*, denoting purity. The proportion varies, but is generally a fortieth or 2½ p.c. provided that the property is of a certain amount and has been in possession eleven months. See *Ency. Isl.* iv. 1202-1204.

each of these points there is much difference of opinion. The Caliph Omar, during his time, taxed those who were not of his faith at the rate of 48 dirhams for persons of condition, 24 for those of the middle class, and 12 for the lowest class. This was called the *Jaziyah* (capitation tax).

In every kingdom government taxes the property of the subject over and above the land revenue and this they call *Tamghah.*[87] In Irān and Turān they collect the land tax from some, from others the *Jihāt* and from others again the *Sāir Jihāt,* while other cesses under the name of *Wajuhāt* and *Farua'āt* are exacted. In short, what is imposed on cultivated lands by way of quit-rent is termed *Māl.* Imports on manufactures of respectable kinds are called *Jihāt,* and the remainder *Sair*[88] *Jihāt.* Extra collections over and above the land tax if taken by revenue officers are *Wajuhāt:* otherwise they are termed *Furua'āt.*

In every country such demands are troublesome and vexatious to the people. His Majesty in his wise statesmanship and benevolence of rule carefully examined the subject and abolished all arbitrary taxation, disapproving that these oppressions should become established by custom. He first defined the *gaz,* the *tanāb,* and the *bighah* and laid down their bases of measurement : after which he classed the lands according to their relative values in production and fixed the revenue accordingly.

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[87] The Turkish word *tamghā* means a royal seal or stamp : sometimes written *altamgha* from the Turkish *āl,* red. The word also signifies a royal grant under the seal of some of the former native princes and recognised by the British Government as conferring a title to rent-free land in perpetuity, hereditary and transferable. Although, perhaps, originally bearing a red or purple stamp, the colour of the imperial seal or signature became in Indian practice indifferent. Wilson's *Gloss.,* 19. *Ency. Isl.* ii. 171.

[88] In its original purport, the word signifies moving, walking, or the remainder : from the latter it came to denote the *remaining* or all other sources of revenue in addition to the land tax from a variety of imposts, as customs, transit dues, houses, fees, market tax &c., in which sense it is current throughout India : the several imposts under this name were abolished by the British Government, except customs, duties on spirituous liquors and other minor items. The privilege of imposing local taxes under the name of *Sāir,* was also taken away from private individuals, but it still applies to various items of the income from landed property not comprised in the produce of cultivation, as rent from fisheries, timber, fruit-trees, bees'-wax &c.; it also designates certain admitted manorial rights or prescriptive fees and cesses levied from residents in a village, or from cultivators by the proprietors, which have long been established and are upon the record : the former of these additions are usually taken into account, the latter not, in fixing the assessment. It is also a tax on personal property. In Marathi it also signifies the place where the customs are levied. Wilson's *Gloss.,* 454.

A'IN VIII.

The Ilāhi Gaz

Is a measure of length and a standard gauge. High and low refer to it, and it is the desire of the righteous and the unrighteous. Throughout Hindustan there were three such measures current, *viz.*, long, middling and short. Each was divided into 24 equal parts and each part called *Tassuj*.[88a] A *Tassuj* of the 1st kind was equal to 8 ordinary barley-corns placed together breadthways, and of the other two respectively, to 7 and 6 barley-corns. The long *gaz* was used for the measurement of cultivated lands, roads, distances, forts, reservoirs and mud walls. The middling was employed to measure buildings of stone and wood, bamboo-built houses, places of worship, wells and gardens, and the short *gaz* for cloth, arms, beds, seats of state, sedan chairs, palanquins, chairs, carts and the like.

In some other countries, although they reckon the *gaz* as consisting of 24 *Tassuj*, they make

1 Tassuj	equal to	2	Habbah (grain).
1 Habbah	,,	2	Barley-corns.
1 Barley-corn	,,	6	Mustard seeds.
1 Mustard seed	,,	12	Fals.
1 Fals	,,	6	Fatila.
1 Fatila	,,	6	Naqir.
1 Naqir	,,	8	Qitmir.
1 Qitmir	,,	12	Zarrah.
1 Zarrah	,,	8	Habā.
1 Habā	,,	2	Wahmah.

Some make 4 Tassuj equal to 1 Dāng.
6 Dāng ,, 1 Gaz.

Others reckon the *gaz* as 24 fingers, each finger equal to the breadth of 6 barley-corns, and each barley-corn equal in thickness to 6 hairs from the mane of a cob. In some ancient books they make the *gaz* equal to two spans and twice round the joint (*girih*) of the thumb, and they divided it into 16 *girih* and each *girih* was subdivided into 4 parts

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[88a] *Tassuj* is an arabicized word from the Pers. *tasu*, a weight of 4 barley-corns, the 24th part of a weight measure or day. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 692 (under *Tassūdj*).

which they called 4 *pahr*, so that a *pahr* was the sixty-fourth part of a *gaz*.

In other ancient records the *gaz* is reckoned of seven kinds. 1st, The *Gaz i Sauda* (*Gaz* of traffic) consisting of 24 digits and two-thirds of a digit. Harun ur Rashid of the House of 'Abbās took this measure from the hand of an Abyssinian slave who was one of his attendants: the Nilometer[88b] of Egypt is on this measure, and houses and cloths are also measured by it. 2nd, *Ziraa' i qasbah*, (Reed-yard) called also *A'āmah*, and *Daur*, of 24 digits: this was introduced by Ibn Abi Laila.[89] 3rd, The *Yusufiyah*, used by the provincial governors of Baghdad for the measurement of houses: it consisted of 25 digits. 4th, The short *Hāshimiyah*, of 28 digits and a third. Bilāl[90] the son of Abi Bardah introduced it: according to some it was Abu Musa Ash'ari his grandfather. 5th, The long *Hāshimiyah* of 29 digits and two-thirds which Mansur the A'bbaside favoured. It is also called the *Maliq* and *Ziyādiyah*. Ziyād[91] was the so-called son of Abu Sufiyān who used it to measure the lands in Arabian I'rāq. 6th, The *Omariyah* of 31 digits. During his Caliphate, Omar carefully considered the long, short and middling *gaz*. He took the three kinds together and to one-third of the aggregate he added the height of the closed fist and the thumb erect. He closed both ends of the measure with tin and sent it to Hudaifah[92] and Othmān[93]-b-Hunaif which they used for the measurement of the villages in Arabian Irāq. 7th, The *Māmuniyah* of 70 digits less a third. Mamun brought it into use, and it was employed for measuring rivers, plains and road distances.

[88b] The cubit of the Nilometer is supposed to be the same as that of the Jews, which is exactly two feet English: if so the 24 digits will be precisely inches. A finger's breadth may be safely taken as three quarters of an inch. *Useful Tables*, pp. 87, 88. For *Ziraʿ* see *Ency. Isl.* i. 959 (under *Dhiraʿ*).

[89] *Muhammad-b-Abdur Rahmān*, surnamed Ibn Abi Layla, was a distinguished jurisconsult and one of the *Tābiis*. He was Qadhi of Kufa where he was born A.H. 74, and died in A.H. 148. D'Herb.

[90] *Bilāl*.—The grandson of Abu Musa al Ashari, Qādhi of Basrah, of which his grandfather had been Governor. See a brief notice of him in Ibn Khall. Vol. II, p. 2.

[91] *Ziyād*, the governor of Irāq. (*Enc. Isl.* iv. 1232).

[92] *Hudaifah*, one of the most eminent of the Companions of Muhammad. Omar appointed him to the government of Madāin, where he died after the assassination of Othmān and 40 days after the accession of 'Ali. Ibn Hajar. *Biog. Dict.*

[93] *Othmān*.—He was governor of Basrah under the Caliph 'Ali. Ibn Khall, p. 391, Vol. IV.

Some in former times reckoned the cloth-measure (*gaz*) to be seven times the fist, and the fist was equal to four fingers closed; according to others, one finger less. The survey *gaz*, according to some, was the same seven fists: others made it seven fists together with one finger (thumb?) erect added to the seventh fist. Others again added another finger to that fist; while some made it seven fists with one finger adjoined to each fist.

Sultan Sikander Lodi in Hindustān introduced another *gaz* of the breadth of 41 *Iskandaris* and a half. This was a copper coin mixed with silver. Humayun added a half and it was thus completed to 42. Its length was 32 digits. But some authors anterior to his time make mention of a similar measure. Sher Khān and Salim Khān [Sur], under whom Hindustān was released from the custom of dividing the grain and its apportionment, in measuring land used this *gaz*. Till the thirty first-year of the Divine Era, although the *Akbar Shāhi gaz* of 46 fingers was used as a cloth-measure, the *Iskandari gaz* was used for cultivated lands and buildings. His Majesty in his wisdom, seeing that the variety of measures was a source of inconvenience to his subjects, and regarding it as subservient only to the dishonest, abolished them all and brought a medium *gaz* of 41 digits into general use. He named it the *Ilāhi gaz* and it is employed by the public for all purposes.

A'IN IX.

The Tanāb.[94]

His Majesty fixed for the *jarib* the former reckoning in yards and chose the measurement of sixty square, but adopted the *Ilāhi gaz*. The *Tanāb* (tent rope) was in Hindustān a measure of hempen rope twisted which became

[94] The *Tanāb*, *Jarib* and *Bigha* seem to have been indiscriminately used as nearly interchangeable terms. The *Jarib* in its original use, according to Wilson (*Glossary*), was a measure of capacity equal to 60 *qafiz* or 384 *madd*, about 708 pounds. It then became applied to a land measure, or as much land as could be sown with a *jarib* of seed-corn, and then appears to have been loosely used for a *bigha*. In course of time it occurs as a measure of land of various extent, and as the chain or rope for measuring. In the N. W. P. the measurements were made by a chain, and the *jarib* is=to 5

shorter or longer according to the dryness or moisture of the atmosphere. It would be left in the dew and thus fraudfully moistened. Oftentimes it would be employed in the early morning when it had got damp and had shrunk, and by the end of the day it had become dry and had lengthened. In the former case, the husbandmen suffered loss, in the latter the royal revenues were diminished. In the 19th year of the Divine era, the *jarib* was made of bamboos joined by iron rings. Thus it is subject to no variation, and the relief to the public was felt everywhere while the hand of dishonest greed was shortened.

A'IN X.

The Bigha

Is a name applied to the *jarib*. It is a quantity of land 60 *gaz* long by 60 broad. Should there be any diminution in length or breadth or excess in either, it is brought into square measure and made to consist of 3600 square *gaz*.[95] They divide the *bigha* into 20 parts, each of which is called *biswah*, and this is divided into 20 parts each of which is termed *biswānsah*. In measuring they reduce no further. No revenue is required from 9 *biswānsah*, but ten they account as one *biswah*. Some, however, subdivide the biswānsah into 20 parts, each of which they called *taswān-*

chains of 11 yards each, or to 60 *gaz* or 20 gathas or knots. A square of one *jarib* is a *bigha*. Before the new system of survey, it was usual to measure lands paying revenue with a *jarib* of 18 knots only, two being coiled round the measurer, but free lands were measured with the entire rope of 20 knots. In Sindh a *jarib* is a measure of a 150 square feet. In Telegu, it is applied to garden land or its produce. The standard *bigha* of the revenue surveyors of the N. W. P. is=to 3,025 sq. yds. or ⅝ of an acre. In Bengal the *bigha* contained only 1,600 sq. yds. or a little less than ½ of an acre. In Benares at the time of the settlement, it was determined at 3,136 sq. yds. In other perganahs it was equal to 2,025 to 3,600 or 3,925 sq. yds. A *kachha bigha* is in some places a third, in others only a fourth of a full *bigha*. Akbar's *bigha* of 3,600 Ilahi *gaz* was considered=to 3,025 sq. yds. of the *bigha* of Hindustān. In Cuttack the *bigha* is now considered to be an English acre. The Maratha *bigha* is called 20 *pānds* or 400 sq. *kāthis* or rods of (each) 5 cubits and 5 hand-breadths. The Guzerāt *bigha* contains only 2847 sq. yds. Mr. Elliot specifies six variations found in the Upper Provinces. See Wilson's *Gloss.* under *Bigha* and *Jarib*. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 530-539 (under *al-Mizān*) and i. 1018 (under *Djarib*). Elliot *Memoirs*, ii. 189 (*jarib*).

[95] The text has an error of 60 for 600. 3600 sq. *gaz*=2,600 sq. yards=0·538 or somewhat more than half an acre. *U. T.*, p. 88.

sah, which they again divide into 20 parts, calling each *tapwānsah.* This again they partition into 20 portions, and name them severally *answānsah.* A *bigha* as measured by the *tanāb* of hemp, was two *biswah* and 12 *biswānsah* smaller in extent than the *bigha* measured by the *tanāb* of bamboo. This makes a difference of 10 *bigha* in a hundred. Although the *tanāb* of hemp was of 60 *gaz,* yet in the twisting it shrank to 56. The *Ilāhi gaz* was longer than the *Iskandari* by one *biswah,* 16 *biswānsah,* 13 *taswānsah,* 8 *tapwānsah,* and 4 *answānsah.* The difference between the two reduced the *bigha* by 14 *biswah,* 20 *biswānsah,* 13 *taswānsah,* 8 *tapwānsah, and* 4 *answānsah.* In one hundred *bighas* the variation in the two measures amounted to 22 bighas, 3 *biswah* and 7 *biswānsah.*

A'IN XI.

Land and its classification, and the proportionate dues of Sovereignty.

When His Majesty had determined the *gaz,* the *tanāb,* and the *bigha,* in his profound sagacity he classified the lands and fixed a different revenue to be paid by each.

Polaj is land which is annually cultivated for each crop in succession and is never allowed to lie fallow.

Parauti is land left out of cultivation for a time that it may recover its strength.

Chachar is land that has lain fallow for three or four years.

Banjar is land uncultivated for five years and more.

Of the two first kinds of land, there are three classes, good, middling and bad. They add together the produce of each sort, and a third of this represents the medium produce, one-third part of which is exacted as the royal dues. The revenue levied by Sher Khān, which at the present day is represented in all provinces as the lowest rate of assessment, generally obtained, and for the convenience of the cultivators and the soldiery, the value was taken in ready money.

Produce of Polaj Land.[96] *Spring Harvest, called in Hindi Asādhi.*

	Produce of a *bigha* of the best sort of *Polaj*.		Produce of a *bigha* of the middling sort.		Produce of a *bigha* of the worst sort.		Aggregate produce of three *bighas* of different sorts.		One third of the preceding, being the medium produce of a *bigha* of *polaj*.		One third of the medium produce, being the proportion fixed for the revenue.	
	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.
Wheat	18		12		8	35	38	35	12	38½	4	12½
Nukhud—(Vetches) ...	13		10	20	7	20	31	0	10	18½	3	18
Adas—Pulse (Cicer lins) in Hindi. *Masur* ...	8	10	6	20	4	25	19	15	6	18½	2	6
Barley	18	0	12	20	8	15	38	35	12	38½	4	12½
Linseed	6	20	5	10	3	30	15	20	5	7	1	29
Safflower—(carthamus tinctorius)	8	30	6	30	5	10	20	30	6	36½	2	12
Arzan—Millet (Penicum miliaceum (in Hindi *China*)	10	20	8	20	5	5	24	5	8	1½	2	27½
Mustard	10	20	8	20	5	5	24	5	8	1½	2	27½
Peas	13	0	10	20	8	25	32	5	10	23	3	28
Fenugreek (*Methi*) ...	14	0	11	0	9	35	34	35	11	25	3	35
Kur rice	24	0	18	0	14	10	56	10	18	30	6	10

The revenue from musk melons, *ajwāin* (*Ligusticum ajowan*), onions and other greens not counted as produce, was ordered to be paid in ready money at the rates hereinafter mentioned.

[96] I have copied the *form* of the 4 following tables from Gladwin. Abul Fazl makes the calculation for the 4th and 5th columns for wheat only. For vetches and pulse he omits the 4th column and omits the 4th and 5th of all the remainder. The fractions below a quarter of a seer are discarded in calculating the proportion fixed for revenue: the thirds are not always mathematically exact, and fractions are sometimes raised to a unit or altogether omitted.

Polaj Land.

The Autumn Harvest, called in Hindi SĀWANI.

	Produce of a *bigha* of the best sort of *Polaj*.		Produce of a *bigha* of the middling sort.		Produce of a *bigha* of the worst sort.		Aggregate produce of three *bighas* of different sorts.		One third of the preceding, being the medium produce of a *bigha* of *polaj*.		One third of the medium produce, being the proportion fixed for the revenue.	
	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.
Molasses[11]	13	0	10	20	7	20	31	0	10	13½	3	18
Cotton	10	0	7	20	5	0	22	20	7	20	2	20
Shāli Mushkin—Dark coloured, small in grain and white, fragrant, that ripens quickly and pleasant to taste ...	24	0	18	0	14	10	56	10	18	80	6	10
Common rice, not of the above quality ...	17	0	12	20	9	15	38	35	12	38½	4	13
Māash—in Hindi *Mung* (Phaseolus mungo) ...	10	20	7	20	5	10	28	10	7	80	2	23½
Mush Siah—H. *Uridh* (a kind of vetch) ...	10	20	7	20	5	10	28	10	7	80	2	28½
Moth (lentils), coarser than the white *mung* and better than the dark ...	6	20	5	10	3	30	15	20	5	6½	1	29
Jowār (Andropogon Sorghum. Roxb.) ...	13	0	10	20	7	20	31	0	10	13½	8	18
Shamākh—H. *Sanwān* (Panicum frumentaceum. Roxb.)	10	20	8	20	5	5	24	5	8	1½	2	27½
Kodron[12] (like Sanwān) but its outer husk darkish red	17	0	12	20	9	15	38	35	12	38½	4	12½
Sesame	8	0	6	0	4	0	18	0	6	0	2	0
Kanguni (Panicum italicum)	6	20	5	10	3	30	15	20	5	7	1	29
Turiya, like mustard seed, but inclined to red ...	6	20	5	10	3	30	15	20	5	7	1	29
Arzan (Panicum miliaceum) generally a spring crop	16	0	13	20	10	25	40	5	13	1½	4	18½
Lahdarah grows in ear, the grain like *Kanguni*	10	20	7	20	5	10	28	10	7	30	2	23½
Mandwah (Cynosurus corocanus) the ear like Sānwan, the seed like mustard seed, but some red, some white ...	11	20	9	0	6	20	27	0	9	0	3	0

[11] The 4th and 5th columns have been omitted by Abul Fazl.

[12] A variant gives *Kodon* and *Koderam* probably the same as *Kodo*—a small grain (Paspalum frumentaceum). Wilson's *Glossary*, 292.

The Autumn Harvest, called in Hindi SĀWANI.—*Contd.*

	Produce of a *bigha* of the best sort of *Polaj*.		Produce of a *bigha* of the middling sort.		Produce of a *bigha* of the worst sort.		Aggregate produce of three *bighas* of different sorts.		One third of the preceding, being the medium produce of a *bigha* of *polaj*.		One third of the medium produce, being the proportion fixed for the revenue.	
	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.
Lobiya (Dolichos sinensis), resembles a bean, somewhat small	10	20	7	20	5	10	28	10	7	30	2	20½
Kudiri, like *Sānwan* but coarser	6	20	5	10	3	30	15	20	5	7	1	29
Kult, (Dolichos uniflorus) like a lentil somewhat darker, its juice good for camels: it softens stone and renders it easy to cut	10	20	7	20	5.	10	23	10	17	30	2	20½
Barti, like *Sanwān* but whiter (a species of Panicum)	6	20	5	10	3	30	15	20	5	7	1	29

As a consideration for watching the crops a quarter of a seer (per maund) is allowed in some places and in others more, as will be shown.

The revenue from indigo, poppy, *pān*, turmeric, water chestnut[99] (trapa bispinosa), hemp, *kachālu* (arum colocasia) pumpkin, *hinna* (Lawsonia inermis) cucumbers, *bādrang* (a species of cucumber), the egg-plant (solanum melongena), radishes, carrots, *karelā* (momordica charantia) *kakura* (Momordica Muricata), *tendas*,[100] and musk-melons,

[99] This is the *Singārah* or Singharah. In the month of November, the nut ripens and such of the fruit as remains ungathered, falls off and sinks to the bottom of the pond. When the water dries up in May or June, these nuts or bulbs are found to have thrown out a number of shoots. They are then carefully collected and placed in a small hole in the deepest portion of the tank and covered with water. In the rains when the ponds begin to fill, the bulbs are taken up, each shoot is broken off, enveloped in a ball of clay to sink it and thrown into the water at different distances. They at once take root and grow rapidly until in a short time the surface of the water is covered with leaves. The fruit forms in October. The produce of a standard *bigha* is about 2½ *mans* which at the selling price of 10 *sers* for the rupee, represent a total value of Rs. 10. It is much more extensively consumed by the Hindus than the Mahomedans. Carnegie's *Kachhari Technicalities*.

[100] Also called *tendu*: res nous fruit of the tree Diospyros glutinosa.

not counted as produce, was ordered to be paid in ready money at the rates hereafter mentioned.

Parauti land when cultivated, pays the same revenue as *polaj*.

His Majesty in his wisdom thus regulated the revenues in the abovementioned favourable manner. He reduced the duty on manufactures from ten to five per cent. and two per cent. was divided between the *patwari* and the *qānungo*. The former is a writer employed on the part of the cultivator. He keeps an account of receipts and disbursements, and no village is without one. The latter is the refuge of the husbandman. There is one in every district. At the present time the share of the *qānungo* (one per cent.) is remitted and the three classes of them are paid by the State according to their rank. The salary of the first is fifty rupees: of the second, thirty; of the third, twenty; and they have an assignment for personal support equivalent thereto. It was the rule that the commissaries of the *shiqdar, karkun,*[101] and *Amin* should receive daily 58 *dāms* as a perquisite, provided that in spring they did not measure less than 200, nor in autumn less than 250 *bighas*. His Majesty whose heart is capacious as the ocean, abolished this custom and allowed only one *dām* for each *bigha*.

Many imposts, equal in amount to the income of Hindustān were remitted by His Majesty as a thank-offering to the Almighty. Among these were the following:

The capitation tax, *jizya*.
The port duties, *mir-bahari*.
Tax[102] per head on gathering at places of worship, *kar*.
A tax on each head of oxen, *gāo-shumāri*.
A tax on each tree, *sar-i-darakhti*.
Presents, *peshkash*.
Distraints, *qurq*.
A tax on the various classes of artificers, *peshawar*.
Dārogha's fees, *dāroghānah*.
Tahsildār's fees, *tahsildāri*.
Treasurer's fees, *fotahdāri*.

[101] *Kārkun*, the registrar of the collections under a *Zamindar*. The *Amin* was an officer employed either in the revenue department to take charge of an estate and collect the revenues on account of government, or to investigate and report their amount: or in the judicial department, as a judge and arbitrator in civil causes. Wilson's *Gloss.*, 261.

[102] The word is *kar* in the text, and is probably from the Sansk. कर an impost, fee or cess. These imposts are called *wajuhāt* in the text, and *ābwābs* in the later Mughal days. For a full account of the *ābwābs*, see Sarkar's *Mughal Adm.*, 3rd ed., ch. v. § 8 and 9.

Complimentary offerings on receiving a lease and the like, *salāmi.*

Lodging charges, *wajih kirāya.*
Money bags, *kharitah*
Testing and exchanging money, *sarrāfi.*
Market duties, *hāsil-i-bāzār.*

Sale of cattle (*nakhās*); also on hemp, blankets, oil, raw hides, weighing (*Kayyāli*), scaling; likewise butcher's dues, tanning, playing at dice,[103] passports for goods, turbans,[104] hearth-money [*dudi, har ke ātish āfruzad chize bar dehad, i.e.,* fee for illumination?] fees on the purchase and sale of a house, on salt made from nitrous earth, *balkati* on permission to reap the harvest, felt, manufacture of lime, spirituous liquors, brokerage, catching fish, the product of the tree Āl (*Morinda citrifolia*);[105] in fine all those imposts which the natives of Hindustān include under the term *Sair Jihāt,*[106] were remitted.

ĀIN XII.

Chachar land.

When either from excessive rain or through an inundation, the land falls out of cultivation, the husbandmen are, at first, in considerable distress. In the first year, therefore, but two fifths of the produce is taken: in the second three-fifths; in the third,[107] four-fifths and in the fifth, the ordinary revenue. According to differences of situation, the revenue is paid either in money or in kind. In the third year the charges of 5 per cent. and one *dām* for each bigha[108] are added.

[103] Two words follow which are marked in the text as doubtful, there is doubtless an omission.

[104] The word is *pag,* contraction of *pagri,* a turban. It was a kind of poll tax levied on every turbān.

[105] From which a dye is extracted.

[106] See p. 63.

[107] There is probably an error in the text as the fourth year is omitted. Gladwin has "the third *and fourth* years fourth-fifths ea[illegible]

[108] I take the *wa* between *dah wa nim* to be an error, as by retaining it the percentage would rise to 15 or at least to 10½. Five per cent. was levied on manufactures; it may therefore have been an extra charge on land though I do not see its reason or its justice. Gladwin translates as I have done.

AIN XIII.

Banjar land.

When through excessive inundations production has seriously diminished, the revenue is collected in the following proportions :

Spring Harvest.

Proportion of revenue from one Bigha of Banjar land for five years.

		1st year		2nd year		3rd year		4th year		5th year
		Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	
Wheat	I.	0	20	1	0	2	0	3	0	as *polaj*
Mustard	R.	0	5	0	25	0	35	1	10	,,
Vetches *Nukhud*	I.	0	10	0	30	1	10	2	10	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	30	1	10	2	10	,,
Barley	I.	0	20	1	0	2	0	3	0	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	35	1	20	2	20	,,
Pulse (*Cicer lens*) *Adas* ...	I.	0	10	0	30	1	10	1	30	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	30	1	10	1	30	,,
Millet (*Panicum miliaecum*) *Arzan* ...	I.	0	10	0	25	0	35	1	0	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	25	0	35	1	0	,,
Linseed	I.	0	10	0	20	0	30	1	10	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	5	0	30	1	10	,,

Note. I stands for inundated land, and R for that which has suffered from rain.

Autumn Harvest.

Proportion of revenue from one Bigha of Banjar land for five years.

		1st year		2nd year		3rd year		4th year		5th year
		Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	
Māsh	I.	0	20	1	0	1	20	2	10	as *polaj*
Do.	R.	0	5	0	20	1	0	1	20	,,
Jowār	I.	0	20	1	0	2	0	3	0	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	20	1	0	2	0	,,
Moth	R.	0	5	0	20	0	30	1	10	,,
Lahdarah	R.	0	5	0	20	1	10	2	0	,,
Kodron	I.	0	20	1	0	2	0	3	0	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	20	1	20	2	20	,,
Mandwah	I.	0	20	1	0	2	0	3	0	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	30	1	10	2	10	,,
Kudiri	I.	0	10	0	25	0	35	1	10	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	25	0	35	1	10	,,
Kanguni, (Pers. *kāl*) ...	I.	0	10	0	25	0	35	1	10	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	25	0	35	1	10	,,
Turiya	I.	0	20	1	0	1	10	1	20	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	25	0	35	1	10	,,
Sanwān (Pers. *Shamākh*) ...	I.	0	10	0	25	0	35	1	10	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	25	0	35	1	10	,,
Arzan	I.	0	10	0	30	1	0	1	10	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	30	1	0	1	10	,,
Sesame	R.	0	5	0	20	0	30	1	10	,,

In the 4th year the charges of 5 per cent. and one *dām* for each *bigha* were collected and this is still in force.

In *Banjar* land for the 1st year, one or two *sers* are taken from each *bigha;* in the 2nd year, 5 *sers;* in the 3rd year, a sixth of the produce; in the 4th year, a fourth share together with one *dām*: in other years a third suffices. This varies somewhat during inundations. In all cases the husbandman may pay in money or kind as is most convenient. *Banjar* land at the foot of the hills and land subject to inundations in the districts of Sanbhal and Bahrāich, do not remain as *banjar,* for so much new soil is brought down with the overflow that it is richer and more productive than *polaj*. His Majesty, however, in his large munificence places it in the same class. It is in the option of the cultivator to pay in ready money or by *kankut or bhaoli.*

ĀIN XIV.

The Nineteen Years' Rates.[109]

Intelligent people have from time to time set themselves to record the prices current of the Empire, and after careful inquiry the valuation of grain was accepted on this basis.

The revenue rates for *a bigha of polaj* land were fixed as has been stated. From the 6th year of the Divine Era which runs with the Novilunar year 968 (A. D., 1560-1) and concluding with the 24th year of this reign, the statistics were collected and have been tabulated for reference after the most diligent investigation. The figures are entered under the heading of each year.

[109] Nineteen years correspond with a cycle of the moon during which period the seasons are supposed to undergo a complete revolution. Gladwin, p. 292, Vol. I.

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Agra. Nineteen years' rates,

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year	18th year.	19th year	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
Wheat ...	90 *dams* D.	80 to 90 D	90 D.	50 to 60 D.	56 to 60 D.	56 to 60 D.	56 to 60 D.	52 to 60 D.	38 to 48 D.	86 to 52 D.	86 to 74 D.	43 to 54 D.	32 to 50 D.	40 to 58 D.	42½ to 80 D.	64 to 94 D.	40 to 58 D.	52 to 116 D.
Cabul Vetches	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	33-57	33-57	33-57	33-57	33-57	33-57	33-57	33-57	26-52	50-85
Indian do ...	80	76-80	80	44-56	44-56	44-56	44-56	32-40	20-33	20-30	20-48	19-28	19-20	21-38	19-44½	26½-40	22-37	40-86
Barley ...	80	60-76	60	38-50	38-50	40-52	40-54	36-40	21-28	21-34	21-54	28-80	20-40	26-40	28-52½	36-54	28-36	40-90
Pot-herbs ...	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	52-60	50-70	50-60	40-54	40-60	44-62	44-60	44-60	46-60	46-60
Poppy ...	160	160	160	140	140	140	140	140	130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130
Safflower	20 *sers*	20 sers.	20 sers	80 D.	80	80	80	70-76	60-70	60-70	52-70	50-70	40-78	54-78	54-78	54-78	54-73	54-73
Linseed	...	...	80 D.	60-80	60-80	60-80	60-80	50-56	24-30	18-30	18-28	23-26	24-28	24-26	16-34½	16-34½	18-26	24-42
Mustard	80 D	80	80	60-80	60-80	60-80	60-80	50-56	22-30	20-30	24-32	22-30	22-26	19½-30	19-32	20½-32	18½-26	30-48
Adas (Pulse)	60	60-68	50	32-50	32-50	32-50	32-50	26-32	15-24½	15-28	15-30	15-22	15-28	17-25	16-40½	16-20½	16-24	25-50
Arzan (Millet)	44	44	20	30	30	30	30	26-28	14-20	15-22	15-24	14-18	14-17	16-19	11½-25	12½-24	12-24	16-34
Peas ...	...	68	...	...	...	...	44	15-26	15-42	15-42	15-42	19-24	17-28	17-30	17-30	17-30	18-28	32½-56
Persian Muskmelons ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	86-120	86-120	86-120	86-120	86-120	86-120	82-120	82-120	82-120	82-120
Indian do ...	10	10	...	...	8	8	8	16	16	15-16	15-16	8-16	15-16	15-16	10-16	12-16	12-16	12-16
Kur rice ...	60	60	60	50-60	54-60	60	54-70	40-54	36-48	36-44	36-54	32-50	32-42	32-54	34-56	34-48	34-48	50-70
Ajwain Ligusticum ajowan ...	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	70	70-90	70-71	60-90	70	50-80	70-90	70-90	70-74	72-74

Note. In these tables D stands for *dām* and J for *Jetal* the 25th part of a *dām* which is the 40th part of a rupee.

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Agra, continued. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th & 7th years	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
									D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Onions ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17 to 73	54-70	70-73	70-72	72-80	72-80	70-80	70-80	70-80	70-80
Fenugreek ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	70	50-70	40-70	70	50-80	60-70	28-80	32-80	40-80
Carrots ..	*1 man*	*1 man*	*1 man*	...	...	...	...	...	20-30	20-30	20-28	20-40	20-40	16-26	16-26	18-25	18-25	22-40
Lettuce ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	25	25	25	16	16

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Agra.

	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Sugar-cane (*paunda*) ..	...	...	...	180-200	180-200	180-200	180-200	180-200	150-200	150-200	180-200	170-200	160-200	180-200	180-200	180-200	180-200	180-200
Common sugar-cane ..	180	180	180	140-160	140-160	140-160	140-160	184-154	112-174	100-150	90-184	96-184	96-134	94-189	104-170	100-140	76-100	88-128
Shali Mushkin Dark coloured rice ..	...	...	...	70-80	70-80	70-80	70-80	64-70	52-64	29-74	40-64	52-70	42-70	47-87	47-80	47-80	56-80	60-80
Common rice	70	70	70	60	52-60	52-60	56-65	44-52	86-45	36-52	86-45	36-42	84-50	29-50	25-58	40-74	38½-66	46-48
Munji rice ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	....	48	48-65	48-65	48-65	48-65	48-65	48-65	48-65	48-65	48-65
Cotton ..	120	120	130	110	110	110	110	70-92	90	85-90	70-90	62-90	70-90	59-94	76-101½	60-90	44 58	44-60
Potsherbs ..	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	70	60-70	50-70	50-70	60-80	60-80	60-80	56-70	56-76
Seasame seed	60	60	80	70	70	70	70	60-64	50	50	40-50	28-50	25½-50	21-38	21-32½	19-36½	24-37	10½-42
oth lentils	48	48	54	36-44	40-50	40-48	80-86	20-28	19-86	19-26	14-22	18-23½	16-21	10½-25	19-26	13-21	18-25	16½-32
Mash ..	48	48	54	36-44	44	44-50	40-44	32-86	28-32	25½-82	26-32 D. and 18 J	25-36	22-40	25½-45	22-40	22-89½	27-47½	26½-50

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Agra, continued. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Mung ..	48	48	48	44	44	44	44	32-40	32-40	32-40	32-40	26-40	22-34	27½-48	22-65½	22-50	27-44	32-50
Jowar ..	50	50	60	40-48	40-48	40-48	40-48	30-40	26-30	24-38	24-30	24-34	22-34	20-84½	22½-46½	26-47	34-48	34-53
Lahdarah ..	48	48	48-50	36-44	36-50	36-44	20-24	20-36	20-24	20-36	18-24	18-24	17-31½	17-31½	18-38	18-38	20-30	24-40
Lobiya ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20-32	15-42	20-32	14-32	19-32	19-37	16-36½	20-36½	19-27	22-37
Kodaram ..	44	44	50	44	40-44	40-48	30-36	20-28	20-32	21-22½	19-24	16-32	18½-35	18½-35	21-41	21-42½	21-39½	24-50
Kori ..	40	40	50	24	24	24	24	16-20	10-28	8-28½	8-26	10-26	7-23½	5-28½	5-28½	7-28½	7-20	7-28
Shamākh ..	36	36	50	26-30	26-30	30-36	26-34	18-20	10-12	10-20	10-12	7-12	8-16	6½-15½	6½-14	7-17	7-18	9-14
Gāl (a sort of millet) ..	44	44	50	36-40	36-40	40	40	22-28	13-14	13-28	18-14	18-14	8-14	9-17	9-23	8½-28	8½-18½	12-18
Arzan ..	44	44	50	30-40	32-40	36-40	36-40	34-36	15-24	15-36	15-24	15-36	13-24	18-24	13-24	12-28	12-28	12-26
Mandwah ..	48	48	50	36-40	32-40													
Indigo ..	140	140	160	140	140	130	126-130	126-136	124-132	116-140	116-136	130-160	136-140	136-140	137-140	130-140	136-140	136-140
Hemp ..	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70-78	70-76	70-78	70-76	60	60-76	70-76	74-78	68-80	60-84	60-84
Turiya ..	80	80	...	...	...	...	...	...	32-40	30-40	32-40	24-40	28½-32	29-40	17½	17½-40	23-40	23-40
Turmeric ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Kachālu (arum-colocasia) ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	70	60-70	54-70	54-70	60-70	60-70	60-70	60	60
Kulī ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	26	26	22	22	28	24	24	20	26
Hinna ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	58	58	58	58	60-70	24	53-72	58	53
Watermelons	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10	10-12	9-11	9½-15	10-13	10-18	10-13	10-13	10-14
Pān ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	180	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Singhārah ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Allahabad. Nineteen years' Rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Wheat ..	90	90	90	60-64	80-100	80-100	70	62	48-70	42-100	42-100	48-70	40-70	42½-64½	48½-86	62½-86	40-62	40-75
Cabul Vetches	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38-50	50	50	50	50	33-50	33-50	83-75	26-75	40-68½
Indian do. ..	80	80	80	56-64	76-80	76-80	76-80	76-80	24-70	18-40	32-45	20-45	20-45	30-74½	48½-57½	38-50	22½-44	24-43
Barley ..	70	80	80	80-120	80	80	80	70-76	50-106	50-100	50-100	40-100	40-100	40-100	44-60	46-60	43-60	87-60
Pot-herbs ..	80	80	80	80-120	80	80	70-76	60-70	44	28-70	32-50	30-50	21-50	22-50	22½-47	45-83	38-56	24-56
Poppy ..	160	160	160	140	140	140	140	130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130
Safflower ..	½ *man*	½ *man*	½ *man*	70-80	80	80	80	76	60-70	60-70	60-70	52-70	50-70	48-70	56-70	56-70	56-70	56-70
Linseed ..	80	80	80	70-80	80	80	80	64	30-80	28-64	30-64	18-64	20-64	22-81	28-28	20-28	18-22	18-24
Mustard ..	80	80	80	70-80	80	80	80	20-60	30-80	28-44	28-44	22-44	24-44	25-48	28½-46½	28-36	22-80	22-44
Adas ..	60	60	50	40-54	54-60	54-60	54-60	42	17-60	18-40	24-40	15-40	15-40	18-43	24-86	21-35½	25-28	17-38½
Arzan ...	44	44	20	30	40	30-40	26-86	19-86	17-36	17-86	14-36	16-86	16-23	14-28	16-28	14-23	14-28	14-80½
Peas ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15-60	18-43	17-40	14-40	15-40	17-34	17-44	17-44	17-44	17-28	18-41½
Persian Musk-melons ..	....	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	120-160	120-160	120-160	80-160	66-160	43-160	86-120	86-120	86-120	86-120
Indian do. ..	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10-12	12-16	12-16	12-16	8-16	9-16	12-40	12-16	12-16	12-16	12-16
Kur rice ..	60	60	60	60	54-80	60	60-70	40-60	44-46	40-48	40-48	36-46	38-46	22-42	36-42	32-42	40-42	42-50
Ajwāin ..	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70-100	70-100	70-100	60-100	52-100	52-70	52-73	70-73	52-78	52-78
Onions ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70-100	70-100	70-100	70-100	70-100	70-76	62-76	72-76	72-76	70-95½
Fenugreek ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	36-70	36-70	36-70	36-70	36-70	50-73	52-72	52-72	28-80	40-80
Carrots ..	1 *man*	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	24-30	24-80	24-80	28-40	20-40	20-32	20-26	20-25	14-25	16-24
Lettuce ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	24	24	24	25	25	25	25	16	25

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Allahabad. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Sugar-cane (*paunda*) ..	...	...	...	...	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	170-200	160-200	180-200	180-200	180-200	180-200
Common sugar-cane	180	180	180	180	180	180	180	170-180	174-180	100-144	86½-102	100-120	100-130	86½-184	86½-165½	86-70	86-70	70-126
Dark coloured rice (*Shāli Mushkin*) ..	...	...	...	80	80	80-90	80	80	56-100	56-76½	56-76	56-76	50-76	54½-77	49-77	49-77	56-76	56-76
Common rice	70	70	70	60	80-90	80-90	70	48	86-80	36-50	36-57½	84-57½	37-57½	37-58	42-59	40-50	86-44	80-61
Munji rice ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	48	48	48	48	48	60	44½	65	65	65
Cotton ..	120	120	130	110	120	120	120	96	90-120	90-120	70-120	70-120	70-120	70-120	70-128	80½-102½	70-102½	50-70
Pot herbs ..	70	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	70-100	60-100	50-100	50-100	60-94	60-94	60-94	60-86	60-99½
Sesame seed	60	60	80	70	80	80	80	64	50-100	39-50	39-40	28-40	28-40	26½-38	22-82	24-82	24-52	24-46
Moth (lentils)	48	48	54	44	54-70	50	50	36	22-60	29-46	22-46	20-46	18-46	18-80	22-28	16½-20	16-27	16½-28
Māsh ..	48	48	54	44	54-70	50	48	36	28-70	28-42	28-42	24-42	25-42	27-44	21-44	21-40	24-45	24-45
Mung ..	48	48	48	44	44	44	44	44	32-72	32-46	32-46	30-46	38-46	32½-48	28½-56	34-56	30-50	26-56
Jowār ..	50	50	60	48	60	48	48	40	26	26	26	26-27	22-26	29-46½	22½-54	30-54	32-40	24-44
Lakdarah ..	48	48	48	44	50-56	50-56	50-56	40-56	20	20	20	20-22	16-40	20-48	20-48	20-48	24-40	23-61
Lobiya ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	56	42	32-42	32-42	32-42	21-48	34-44½	28-58	20-36½	20-44
Kodāram ..	44	44	44	44	44-64	54-64	54-64	36	21-60	21-33	20-44	20-22	16-36½	20½-38	76-48	31-48	22-30	21-39½
Kori ..	40	40	50	24	30	30	30	20	10	10	10	10	7-22	7-14	7-14	7-14	10	7-14
Shamākh ..	36	36	50	30	36	54	36-54	30	30	20	10-40	10-22	10-22	7-22	8-22	7-14	10½-18	10-17
Gāl ..	44	44	50	40	50-56	50-56	50-56	28	18-44	13-24	18-24	10-24	8-24	10½-21½	15-23	15-23	14½-24	12-22½

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Allahabad (continued). Nineteen years' rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D	D	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Arṭan ...	44	44	50	40	40	40	40	86	20-86	20-86	20-86	20-36	18-36	20-88	14-28	14-28	14-28	14-30
Mandwah ...	46	48	50	40	40	52-56	52-56	84	22-56	22-29½	22-29½	17-29½	18-29	19-39½	25-32	25-32	22-28	18-28
Indigo ...	140	140	160	140	140	140	140	186	150-160	130-160	120-180	130-160	180-180	130-140	132-140	132-140	132-140	132-160
Hemp ...	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	77	70-120	70-80	70-80	76-80	76-80	60-88	60-90½	80	80	80
Turiya ...	80	80	80	...	...	...	...	...	32-80	32-44	32-44	24-44	24-44	32-40	26-40	26½-40	26½-40	26½-40½
Turmeric ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Kāchāin ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	70	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
Kult ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	96	86	36	36	24	24	24	18	29½
Hinna ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	58	58	58	58	60-80	60-80	60-80	60-80	60-80
Watermelons	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	19½-12	10-14	10-14	10-14	10-14	10-14
Pān ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	180	180	180	180	180	160	200	200	240	240
Singhāra ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Arhar (Cytisus Cajan) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	20	20	20	20	20

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Oudh. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Wheat ...	90	90	90	52-60	52-80	52-80	52-70	46-65	48	42-50	50-52	33-46	33-43	46-50½	46-70	54-74½	32-44	38-46
Cabul vetches ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Indian do. ...	80	80	80	40-56	48-76	48-76	48-74	34-58	24-38	26-33	26-33	20-27	20-28	30-41	42-57	30-57½	19-44	21-40
Barley	80	70	60	42-50	42-60	52	48-50	36-44	28-32	30-32	32-61	20-27	20-28	29½-45	48-62	34-56½	2 -30	24-40
Pot-herbs	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	62-72	56-60	50-60	50-60	40-62	40-60	40-52	40-52	40-52	44-60	24-60
Poppy	160	160	160	140	140	140	140	130	130	130	100-180	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130
Safflower	½ *man*	½ *man*	½ *man*	80	80	80	80	60-70	70	60-70	60-70	52-70	52-70	54-60	54-60	54-70	54-70	54-70
Linseed	80	80	80	68-80	68-80	68-80	68-80	50-68	30-31	26-31	26-31	30-31	18-31	20-27	21-31	17½-28	17-20	17-24
Mustard	80	80	80	68-80	68-80	68-80	68-80	54-60	30-38	28-33	26-38	22-33	22-33	25-39	19-31	25-31	20-28	21-22
Adas	60	60	50	40	40-54	40-54	50-54	32-40	18-27	19-20	20	14-19	14-18	17-24	20-24	19-28	19-22	18½-25
Arzan	44	44	20	30	30-40	30-40	30-40	26	15-17	17-20	17-20	14-18	14-16	16-18	14-17	16-17	14-16	14-17
Peas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	28	16-28	15-31½	15	16-28	16-22	16-24	16-31
Persian Muskmelons	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	120	120	120	160-180	60-120	80-120	80-120	80-120	80-120	80-120
Indian do. ...	10	10	10	10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	16	8-16	16	18-16	8-16	15-16	12-16	12-16	12-16	12-16
Kur rice	66	66	66	50-60	50-60	50-60	60-72	52-60	44-46	36-46	36-46	36-46	28-46	22-42	32-42	35-42	35-42	36-58
Ajwain	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	70	70	70-71	60-70	70	52-70	52-78	70-78	52-78	52-73
Onions	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70-73	70	70-73	70-73	70	70-74	70-74	70-74	70-74	70-74
Fenugreek ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	70	70	70	70	52-80	52-80	50-80	52-80	50-80
Carrots	1 *man*	do.	do.	...	...	...	...	...	80	24	24	50-90	24	20-25	20-28	20-28	14-28	17-28
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	24	24	24	25	25	25	25	16	25

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Oudh. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Sugar-cane (*paunda*)	...	...	...	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
Common Sugar-cane	180	180	180	160	160-180	160-180	160-180	160-180	144	124-144	100-110	100-110	100-110	90-106	70-100	70-100	64-80	64-107
Dark coloured rice (*Shaāli Mushkin*)	...	...	...	80	80	80	80	60	56	56-68	56	56-70	50-70	54-70	49½-68	44-76	40-76	36-60
Common rice ...	70	70	70	60	60-80	60-80	60-80	48-52	36	36-48	36-38	36-38	28-36	24-38	22-46	36-40	21-36	22-36
Munji rice ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	48	48	48	48	48	60	44½	65	65
Cotton ...	120	120	130	110	110-130	110-120	110-120	88	90	90	70-90	70-74	72-130	72-130	65-79	64-70	50-60	46-90
Pot-herbs ...	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	70	60-70	50-76	60-70	64-94	64-94	64-94	64-94	60 70	60-64
Sesame seed ...	60	60	80	70	70-80	70-80	70-80	64	50	50	40-50	28-50	24-50	28-32	29-90½	21½ 33	21½-30	18-26
Moth ...	48	48	54	44	44	44	44	44	22	22-36	22	20-22	20-22	13-21½	18-25	16-25	12-20	16-20
Māsh ...	48	48	54	44	44-54	44-50	50-54	36	28	28-36	28	27-28	26-28	23-35	28-42½	28 34	19-36	16-28
Mung ...	48	48	48	44	44	44	44	44	32-40	32-40	32-40	32-40	32-40	32-48	28½-44	30-52	36-46	25-30
Jowār ...	50	50	60	48	48-60	46-60	48-60	40	26	26-40	26	26-27	24-26	23-40	23-48	25½-48	30-40	24-46
Lahdarah ...	48	48	48-50	44	16-44	44-50	44-50	20-70	20-40	20	20-40	18-48	18-48	20 40	18-48½	30 40	18-30	18-30
Lo ya ...	...	...	16-44	44	44-54	...	...	...	24	15-50	32	32	30	36½	35	20	20	20
Kodaran ...	44	44	44-50	44	44-54	44-54	50-54	36	21-23	21-36	20 21	20-21	16-24	22-30	28-41	22-34	18-28	15-28
Kori ...	40	40	50	24	24-30	24-30	30	20	10	10	8-10	10	10	9-10	9-12½	9-12½	9-12½	10½-18½
Shamākh ...	33	36	50	30	30-36	30	36	20	10	10-20	10	9-10	9-10	9-12½	8½-18	10-16	8-12	11-16½
Gūl ...	44	44	50	40	40-50	40-50	44-50	26	13	13-28	13	10-13	10-13	11-15	12-23	12-23	14-14½	12-14
Arzan ...	44	44	50	40	40	40	40	34-36	20	20	20	18-28	20-28	20-28	14-28	14-28	14-22	14-25
Mandwah ...	48	48	50	40	40	40-52	50-52	34	22-25	22-23	22-23	16-22	18-20½	18-31½	22-31	18-28	14-28	14-28
Indigo ...	140	140	160	140	140	140	140	136	132	130-136	130-136	136	130-136	140	140	140	140	140
Hemp ...	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70-78	70	70-78	70	70	70	70-80	80	80	60-80	60-80
Turiya ...	80	80	80	...	...	...	...	...	32	32	32	24-32	24-32	20-32	18-32	20-32	20-32	14½-24

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Oudh (continued). Nineteen years' rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
Turmeric	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D. 100	D. 100	D. 100	D. 100	D. 100	D. 100	D. 100	D. 100	D. 100	D. 100
Kachalu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	60	70	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
Kulth	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	36	36	36	36	24	24	24	18	29½
Hima	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	58	58	58	58	58-70	58-70	60-70	60-70	60-70
Water melons	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	16-18	10	10	10	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12
Pan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	180	180	180	180	180	300	200	200	240	240
Singhárah	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Arhar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	20	20	20	20

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Delhi. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
Wheat ...	D. 90	D. 84-90	D. 90	D. 44-60	D. 48-56	D. 56	D. 56	D. 50-56	D. 44-57	D. 36-48	D. 37-64	D. 40-48	D. 24-40	D. 31½-50	D. 45-83	D. 36½-82	D. 20-56	D. 65-102
Cabul vetches	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	54½	54	54	54	33-58	54	54-57	54½-57	50-57	57-60½
Indian do. ...	70	70-86	80	44-56	40-44	40-50	40-50	30-44	20-30	21-30	21-30	21-40	19-30	19-50	19-24	21-30½	24-38	19-37
Barley ...	80	60-70	80	32-50	32-40	40	40	36	16-37	16-39	20-44	12-37	12-30	12-30	20-34	19-37	26-42	40-72½
Pot-herbs ...	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	40-70	40-70	40-60	40-54	40-60	40-60	40-60	40-69	40-60	40-60
Poppy ...	108	108	108	108	140	140	140	130-140	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130
Safflower ...	½ man	½ man	½ man	80	80	80	80	76-80	60-70	60-70	60-70	50-70	50-70	50-70	54-70	54-70	54-70	54-70
Linseed ...	...	...	80	60-80	60	...	60-70	50	20-30	20-30	20-30	19-30	19-30	19-30	28-70	14½-28	8-19	26-30
Mustard ...	80	80	80	60-70	60	60-70	60-70	48-60	22-30	19-30	27-28	19-28	19-27	19-27	14½-24	19½-30	19½-24	28-48

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Delhi (continued). Nineteen years' rate.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24t year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Adas	60	60-70	50	34-40	84-86	86-40	86-40	26-28	19-24	19-24½	19-28	15-18	15-18	15-18	14-30	16-25	16-25	30-40
Arzan	44	44	20	60	80	80	80	24-28	15-20	15-20	15-20	12-30	12-17	12-17	12½-18	12-18	12-20	16-30
Peas	...	66-70	...	...	...	...	...	...	15-26	15-24	15-30	15-44	15-24	15-24	15-25	17-32	17-24	20-56
Persian Muck Melons	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	80-120	80-120	80-120	80-120	80-120	66-130	80-120	80-120	80-120	80-120
Indian ditto ..	10	10	...	...	8-10	8-10	8-10	11-15	11-16	11-16	10½-16	11-16	11-16	10-16	12-16	12-16	12-16	12-16
Kur rice ...	60	60	60	40-60	40-60	60	54	40-54	86-64	34-45	34-48	28-52	24-54	24-54	30-56	30-56	30-56	30-70
Ajwāin	80	80	...	70-80	70-80	70-80	70-80	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70-73	70-73	70-73	70-73
Onions	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70-78	70-78	70-78	70-78	70-73	70-73	70-73	70-74	70-74	70-74	70-74
Fenugreek	...	...	...	...	—	...	...	70	70	70	70	70	70	30-70	22-70	30-40	42-60	42-60
Carrots	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	19-24	19-26	19-26	19-24	19-25	22-25	16-25	16-25	16-25	28-40	28-40
Lettuce	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	25	25	25	25	25	16-18	24-25

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Delhi. Nineteen years' rate.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D	D.	D.
Sugar-cane (*paunda*)	...	...	...	200	180-200	180-200	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
Common sugar-cane	180	180	180	106-140	106-140	106-140	106-140	106-140	112-164	104-130	90-134	96-134	90-134	90-106	90-123½	94-104	60-100	80-102
Dark coloured rice *Shāli mushkin* ...	...	...	...	70-80	70-80	70-80	70-72	64	47-57	48-57	47-57	48-57	44-57	64-77	47½-70	47½-77	54-78	42-90
Common rice ...	70	70	70	70	52-60	52-60	52-60	56	44-48	32-45	31-45	30-49	28-50	18-50	32-57	20-58	36-64	34-66
Munji rice ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	47-65	48-65	43-65	48-65	40-65	50-65	44½-65	43-65	43-65	38-65

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Delhi—(continued). *Nineteen years' rates.*

	6th & 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Cotton	120	120	130	110	110	110	110	90	90	75-90	70-90	60-90	70-90	76-112	88-150	56-120	44-68	45-70
Pot-herbs	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	70	44-70	54-70	54-70	54-70	54-70	57-60	57-60	57-60
Sesame seed	60	60	80	80	80	80	80	80	30-64	50	32-50	35-80	35-50	21-50	21-43	19½-45	19½-36½	20-36
Moth	48	48	54	36-44	40	40	32	20-22	18-22	18-22	19-21	16-22	19½-22	10-19½	10-18	16-21	19-36	19-36
Māsh	48	48	54	36-44	36-44	44	40	32	28-30	25½-35	26-35	22-32	19-31	22-36	19-29½	16-22	25-44	28-54
Mung	48	48	48	44	44	44	44	44	28-32	28-32	28-32	28-32	22-45	24-40	22-40½	23-36	30-44	30-55
Jowār	50	50	60	40-48	40-48	40-48	40-44	32-34	26	22-26	22-26	22-26	18-26	20-42	19-42	19-42	25-32	26-53
Lahdarah	48	48	50	40-44	36-44	36-44	36-44	28-30	20	20	20	18-20	16-21	19-27	17-22	19-28	18-31	18-44
Lobiya	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20-32	20-32	20-32	20-32	14-23	19-33	20-33	20-33	20-33	20-33
Kodaram	44	44	50	44	40-44	40-44	40	30	20-21	21	21	16-20	14-24	17½-35	17½-36	19½-43	20-39	29-30
Kori	40	40	50	24	24	24	24	16	10	9½	10	10	6-10	4-10	5-10½	5-14	5-12½	10½-15
Shamukh	36	36	50	30	26-30	30-36	26	16-20	10-15	9½-15	9½-15	9½-15	6½-15	6½-11½	5½-12	12-28	7-13	10½-15
Gāl	44	44	50	32-40	32-40	36-40	36-40	34-36	20	20	16-20	16-20	13-20	12-22	8½-21	12½-22	16-25	14½-25
Arzan	44	44	50	32-40	32-40	36-40	36-40	34-36	20	20	16-20	16-20	13-20	12-22	8½-21	10½-22	14-25	14½-25
Mandwah	48	48	50	36-40	36-40	40	40	30-34	22	22	22	16-22	14-22	14½-25	13-22	17½-33	24-35	23-44
Indigo	140	140	160	140	140	140	140	136	120-136	126-132	200-136	124-136	126-136	126-136	134-136	136-150	136-150	130-150
Hemp	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	78	70	67-70	67-70	66-70	66-70	66-70	50-66	66-70	60-80	60-80
Turiya	80	80	80	...	60-80	...	...	...	32	32	32	28-32	32	19½-40	17½-40	30½-38	18½-40	18½-38
Turmeric	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100-120	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Kachālu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	70	60-70	54-70	54-70	57-60	57-60	57-60	52-60	54-60
Kulī	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	26	26	22	22	28	24	24	20	26
Hinna	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	58	58	58	58	60-70	60-70	60-70	60-70	60-70
Water-melons ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10	10-12	10-12	9½-15	10-12	10-12½	15	10-12½	10-12½

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Lahore—(*continued*). Nineteen years' rates.

	6th & 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Wheat	90	80	90	50	56	56	60	60	44-52	48-52	40	24	30	40-43	28-38	44-55	39-64	55-68
									* D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.		D. J.	D. J.		
Cabul Vetches ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	43½-53	57½-3½	do.	57-16	57½-3½	57	57½-3½	57-3½	57½-63	do.
Indian ditto ...	80	70	80	48	48	48	50	50	26-30	32-33	25	16	20	24½-28	16-21	28-34	28-34	40-53
Barley ...	70	70	60	40	40	40	40	40	26-34	32-36	24	12	21	22-27	18-24	26-40	30-51	40-51
Potherbs	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	60-70	50-60	60	50	50	54	54	54	54-74	54-74
Poppy	160	160	160	...	...	...	...	130	120	100	100	100	104	104	104	104	104	104
Safflower	½ *man*	do.	do.	80	80	80	80	80	76	70	60	60	70	64	64	64	64	64
Linseed	...	...	50	60	60	60	50	50	28-30	28-30	25	19	24	20-23	14-23	15-30	16-30	25-40
Mustard	80	80	80	60	60	60	60	60	28-30	25	19	30	22-23	16-23	18-28	18-28	20-26	30-42
Adas	60	60	50	36	36	36	40	40	27-28	24-27	20	12	16	12½-19	13-16½	19-26	26-42	29-42
Arzan	44	44	20	30	30	30	30	24	19-22	20-22	16	13	20	16-18	7½-10½	7½-14	12-20	18-24
Peas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	15	19-28	28-36	15	19-23	19	19-28	19-30	28-36
Persian Muskmelons	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50-100	120	120	120	120	80	66	86	86	86
Indian ditto ...	10	10	...	...	8	8	12-24	12-24	13	13	13	15	15	11-12	12	12	12	12
Kur rice	60	60	60	54	54	60	54	40-44	40-44	24	24	27	27	26-27	26-27	34-40	36-50	36-50
Ajwāin	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70-74	70-76	70-76	73-74	73-74
Onions	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	73	73	73	73	73	70-74	70-74	70-74	70-74	70-74
Fenugreek	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	70	70	70	70	42-54	20-74	20 32	30-64	40-64
Carrots	½ *man*	½ *man*	½ *man*	...	...	...	...	...	24	24	24	24	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	18-26	21-32
Lettuce	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	25	25	25	21	21	18½	18½	16-20	25-50

* D stands for *Dām* and J for *Jetal*. In these six columns, the J applies only to the Cabul Vetches and not to the following figures.

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Lahore. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th & 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Sugarcane (*paunda*) ...	...	...	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
Common sugarcane ...	180	180	180	160	160	160	160	150	100-120	100-120	100-120	100-120	117½-120	40-107½	94-131	94-130	70-130	105-130
Dark coloured rice (*Shāli Mushkin*) ...	...	...	...	80	80	80	80	60	60	46	46	42	40	50-60	40½-62	44-60	43-60	60-75
Common rice ...	80	70	70	60	60	60	60	44	45-50	36-40	36-40	32-36	26-32	32½-42½	22-32½	24-38	30-48	45-56
Munji do. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	65	65	65	65	65	50	50	43-50	30-56	50-52
Cotton	120	120	130	110	110	110	110	99	120	96-104	70	64	80	90-95½	90-120	80-160	44-70	55-68
Pot-herbs	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	76	70	60-70	50-60	50-60	60-70	60-70	60-70	60-70	60-70
Sesame seed	60	60	80	70	70	70	80	64	50-58	48	40	36	36	25-40	22-28	18-26	20-34	32-40
Moth	48	48	54	44	44	44	46	30	36	28-30	30-38	24-25	20-21	20-21	18½-23	12-17	10½-17	14-28
Māsh	48	48	54	44	44	44	46	36	30-28	36-50	24-25	24-25	34	20-26	18-32	22-60	39-50	39-50
Mung	48	48	48	44	44	44	44	30	28-30	26-28	20-28	24-26	21	23	15-20	18½-23	16-24	26-34
Jowār	50	50	60	48	48	48	44	32	30-32	82	32-36	25-27	25	38½	24½-30	23-30	18-40	40 60
Lahdarak	48	48	50	44	44	44	44	30	30-32	26-28	20-28	24-26	21	23	15-23	15½-23	16-24	26-34
Lobiya	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	30	30	30	30	23	14-23	12½-27	20-30	24-28
Kodaram	44	44	50	44	44	44	44	30	30-32	32	30-32	30	26	24-30	18½-28	18½-28	18½-28	26-44
Kori	40	40	50	24	24	24	24	16	16	10	10	10	5	10	5-12	6½-10	8-12	5-14½
Shamākh	36	36	50	30	30	30	30	16	16	10	10	10	7	7-10½	7-10	8-10	9-12	12-18
Gāl	44	44	50	40	40	40	40	20	18-20	17	16-17	12-14	13-14½	7½-15½	8½-11½	10-14	10-14½	12½-20
Arzan	44	44	50	40	40	40	40	36	18-20	20-24	20-24	16-20	14-18	16-21½	6½-15	8-15	10-20	15-20
Mandwah	48	48	50	40	40	40	40	30	28-30	26-28	26-28	26-28	22-26	21	25	18-25	20-26	26-36½
Indigo	140	140	160	140	140	140	140	136	136	136	136	120	120	130-134	130-134	134	134	134
Hemp	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	78	78	78	78	70	70	72	...	60-80	60-80	60-80
Turiya	80	80	80	...	...	...	...	...	32	32	32	32	34	34	34	34	29-34	23-34
Turmeric	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	120	120	104	104	104	104	104	104	104
Kachālu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	76	70	70	60	60	68-70	70	68-70	68-70	28-70
Kulī	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	26	26	22	22	24-28	24	24	48	26-32
Hinna	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	58	58	68-71	67-70	67-70	67-70	67-70	67-70	67-70
Water melons ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10	10	10	10	11	11	11	11	11
Pān	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	223-5 D. J. to 283	...	...

Spring Harvest of the Subah of the Multān. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Wheat	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	52	52	36	24	30	36-60	21½-40	...	40-52	46-64
									57-16	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
									D. J.									
Kabul Vetches	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	32	23-25	16	20	21½-40	13½-40	20½-40	20-48	26-48
Indian ditto	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	34	36	22	12	21	20½-40	16-40	20½-40	20-48	26-48
Barley	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	60	56-60	50	50	53-60	44-50	34-40	52-60	52-60
Potherbs	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	130	130	100	100	100	60-104	60-104	60-104	60-104	60-104
Poppy	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	76	70	60	60	70	60-64	40-64	64-70	64-70	60-70
Safflower	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	30	20	19	24	24	23	23	16-30	28-30
Linseed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	30	25	19	30	18-60	15½-40	14½-28	20-36	36
Mustard	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	28	19	12	16	6-20½	12½-40	18½-40	10-42	27-42
A'das	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	22	16	13	20	16-37	18½-40	10-16	13-20	17-24
Arzan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	15	19-20	26-30	15½	19	19	18½	9-22	26-30
Peas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	120	120	82	66	60-80	86	86	86	86
Persian Muskmelons ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	13	13	11	11	12-19	12-40	11-12	11-16	12
Indian ditto	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	44	44	44	44	27	26	28-36	40	40	40
Kur **rice**	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	73	70	70	70	70	64-70	44-70	52-74	56-74	44-60
Afwāin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	70	70	70	70	60-74	40-74	52-74	56-74	44-60
Onions	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	72	70	70	70	70	60	35-40	14½-52	40-70	40-70½
Fenugreek	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	24	24	24	20-21	20-21	20-21	20	16	24-26
Carrots	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	25	25	25	21	20	18½	18¼	20	25
Lettuce	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...										

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Multān. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th & 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Sugarcane (*paunda*) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
Common sugarcane ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	150	120	100-120	100-120	100-120	100-120	100	100-110	70-100	100
Dark coloured rice ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	60	46	46	40	40	*80	45-62	45-62	54-62	65-72
Common rice ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	40	40	32	32	48½-48	28-40	28-40	32½-40	38-48
Munji do. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	65	65	65	65	65	50	50	50	56	52
Cotton ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	104	70	64	80	70-96	40-95½	70-76	44-90	56-90
Potherbs ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	76	70	60-70	60	50	40-76	40-70	70	60-70	60-70
Sesame seed ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	48	40	36	36	40-48	19½-40	24-26	20-26	26-40
Moth ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	31	25	25	21	20	23-40	13-40	13-40	14-18	24-26
Māsh ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	36	30	30	25	24-25	34-48	18-40	20-32	20-26	26-40
Mung ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	32	32	32	27	34-48	34-40	26-36	32-23	32-50
Jowār ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	39	32	32	27	25	39-48	15½-40	24-26	25-32	32-48
Lahdarah ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	28	28	26	21	23-48	23-40	13	16	26-30
Lobiya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	32	32	32	25	23-36	22-40	26-27½	22-26	26-38
Kodaram ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	32	32	32	32	23-36	22-40	26-27½	22-26	26-38
Kori ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	32	32	32	26	24-30	18½-30	18½-30	16	26
Shamākh ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	18	10	16	10	5	10-16	9-10	9-10	10-12	5-12½

* Gladwin has 46½ but the text has no variant.

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Multān—(continued). Nineteen years' rates.

	6th & 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Gāl	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	10	10	10	7	10-12½	9-10	9-10	8-10½	12-12½
Arzan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	24	24	24	14	20½-48	20½-40	10-21	10-20	15-20
Mandwah	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	80	28	28	24	21	25	25	25	18-25	26-30
Indigo	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	136	136	136	120	120	130-134	134	134	134	134
Hemp	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	78	78	78	70	70	48-72	48-72	48-72	60-70	70-82
Turiya	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	82	82	32	82	82	84	84	34	24-84	23-34
Turmeric	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	120	120	104	104	104	104	104	104	104
Kāchālu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	76	70	70	60	60	68-70	68-70	68-70	70	70
Kuli	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	26	26	22	22	28	24	24	24	24-30
Hinna	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	58	58	58	58	48-70	40-70	70	70	70
Water melons ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10	10	10	10	11	11	11	11	11
Pān	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	180	6½ Rp.	do.	do.	do.	300	200	200	200	200
Singhāran	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Arhar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	20	20	20	20

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Mālwah. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th & 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D,	D.										
Wheat	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	Muzaffairs[1] 2 to 50	do.	do.	do.	do.	1¾M to 43½	do.	do.	do.	do.
Cabul Vetches ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1¾M to 48½	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
Indian do. ...	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	2M to 50D	do.	do.	do.	do.	1¾M to 43½	do.	do.	do.	do.
Barley	70	...	...	...	...	...	...	...										
Pot-herbs ...	75	75	75	75	75	75	75	75										
Poppy	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50		3	Muzaffaris to 75 dams.							
Safflower ...																		
Linseed ...	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50										
Mustard ...																		
Adas and *Arzan*	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50										
Peas ...										2	Muzaffaris to 50.							
Persian muskmelons																		
Indian do. ...																		
Kur rice ...	10	10	10	10	50	50	50	50										
Ajwāin ...	60	60	60	54	54	60	54-70	56										
Onions, Fenugreek	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80		8	Muzaffaris to 75.							
Carrots, lettuce ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		2	Muzaffaris to 50.							

[1] See Vol. I, p. 23. There were three Sovereigns of Gujarāt of the name of Muzaffar: the 1st reigned A.H. 799 (A.D. 1396): the 2nd in A.H. 917 (A.D. 1511): the 3rd in 969 (A.D. 1561). The last named abdicated in favour of Akbar in 980 (A.D. 1572), but in 991, he collected a force, defeated Akbar's general and re-ascended the throne. His second reign was brief and the kingdom became a province of the Empire. Mālwah was united to Gujarāt under Bahādur a king of the latter dynasty A.H. 937, (A.D. 15 0). I take these details from Mr. Oliver's note on the the coins of the Muhammadan kings of Gujarāt. In the list of coins there are two of copper of Muzaffar Shāh II, of 169 and 160 grains respectively, and three of silver of Muhammad Shāh III, of 73 and 175 grains. The latter, No. XXXI, of the Catalogue, is remarkable as having been struck during the second brief accession of this monarch to power. See also History of Gujarāt, Bayley, Index, Muzaffar.

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Málwah. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th & 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	M. D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	M. D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Sugarcane (*paunda*) ...	...	...	...	...	150	150	150	150	6-150	do.	do.	do.	do.	7 to 75	do.	do.	do.	do.
Common Sugarcane ...	150	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	6-150	do.	do.	do.	do.	M. 7 to 75	do.	do.	do.	do.
Dark coloured rice ...	...	...	...	62½	do.	do.	do.	do.	2½-62½	do.	do.	do.	do.	M. 3 to 75	do.	do.	do.	do.
Common rice ...	50	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	2-50	do.	do.	do.	do.	M. 1 to 48½	do.	do.	do.	do.
Munji „ ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2-50	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	M. 1-43½	do.	do.
Cotton	50	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	2-50	do.	do.	do.	do.	M. 2½-62½	do.	do.	do.	do.
Pot-herbs	75	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	3-75	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
Sesame seed																		
Moth																		
Máash																		
Peas																		
Jowár																		
Bahádarah																		
Lobiya	50	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	M. D. 1-48½	do.	do.	do.	do.
Kodarary																		
Kori																		
Shamákh																		
Cál																		
Arzan																		
Mandwáh																		
									M. D.									
Indigo	150	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	6-150	do.	do.	do.						
Hemp	50	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	2-50	do.	do.	do.						
Turiya	50	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	2-50	do.	do.	do.						

AIN 15.

The Ten Years' Settlement.

From the beginning of this immortal reign, persons of intelligence and void of rapacity, together with zealous men of experience, have been annually engaged in noting the current prices and reporting them to His Majesty, and taking the gross produce and estimating its value, they determined the rates of collection, but this mode was attended with considerable inconvenience. When Khwajah Abdul Majid Āsaf Khan was raised to the dignity of Prime Minister, the total revenue was taken at an estimation, and the assignments were increased as the caprice of the moment suggested. And because at that time the extent of the empire was small, and there was a constant increase of dignities among the servants of the State, the variations were contingent on the extent of corruption and self-interest. When this great office devolved on Muzaffar Khān and Rajah Todar Mull, in the 15th year of the reign, a re-distribution of the imperial assessment was made through the *qanungos,* and estimating the produce of the lands, they made a fresh settlement. Ten *qanungos* were appointed who collected the accounts from the provincial *qanungos* and lodged them in the imperial exchequer. Although this settlement was somewhat less than the preceding one, nevertheless there had been formerly a wide discrepancy between the estimate and the receipts.

When through the prudent management of the Sovereign the empire was enlarged in extent, it became difficult to ascertain each year the prices current and much inconvenience was caused by the delay. On the one hand the husbandman complained of extensive exactions, and on the other the holder of assigned lands was aggrieved on account of the revenue balances. His Majesty devised a remedy for these evils and in the discernment of his world-adorning mind fixed a settlement for ten years : the people were thus made contented and their gratitude was abundantly manifested. From the beginning of the 15th year of the Divine era to the 24th, an aggregate of the rates of collection was formed and a tenth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment; but from the 20th to the 24th year the collections were accurately determined and the five former ones accepted on the authority of persons of probity.

The best crops were taken into account in each year and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted, as the table shows.

(A Note on *Dastur-ul-'aml*: *Sarkar*, &c.)

For a full description and discussion of the official manuals called *Dastur-ul-'aml*, see J. Sarkar's *Mughal Administration* 3rd. ed., ch. XIV. § 2.

Sir Henry Elliot writes, in his *Supplemental Glossary*, revised ed. by J. Beames, entitled *Memoirs of the History* &c. of *N.W.P.* (1869), :—"*Dastur-ul-aml*, a body of instructions, and tables for the use of revenue officers under the Native Government. . . . No two copies can ever be found which correspond with each other, and in most respects they widely differ. Those which profess to be copied from the *Dastur-ul-'aml* of Akbar, are found to contain on close examination sundry interpolations of subsequent periods.

"Besides the *Dastur-ul-'aml*, another book, called the *'Aml Dastur*, was kept by the Qanungoes, in which were recorded all orders which were issued in supersession of *Dastur-ul-'aml*." (ii. 156-157.)

"A *Sarkār* is a subdivision of a *subah*. Each *subah* is divided into a certain number of *sarkārs*, and each *sarkār* into *parganahs* or *mahals* (which are used as equivalent expressions), and the parganahs again are aggregated into *Dasturs* or districts. . . .

"*Dastur* besides signifying a rule, is also a minister, a munshi. *Parganah* means tax-paying land; the *Burhan-i-Qati'* gives the meaning *Zamine ke āz ān māl wa kharāj bagirand*. . . .

"The words used before Akbar's time to represent tracts of country larger than a *parganah* were *shiqq*, *Khita*, *'arsa diyār*, *vilāyat*, and *iqta'*, but the latter (term) was generally applied when the land was assigned for the support of the nobility or their contingents." (See *Ikta'* in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ii. 461, for a fuller treatment. J.S.)

"I have endeavoured to restore the *sarkars*, *dasturs*, and *parganahs* (in the N. W. Provinces of Allahabad and Agra) as they stood in the time of the Emperor Akbar. The copies of the *Ain-i-Akbari* vary so much, and such ignorance is frequently exhibited by the transcribers, that to verify the names of *parganahs* has been a work of great labour. . . . .

"But it is in separating the *sarkārs* into *dasturs* that the ignorance of the copyists has been chiefly exhibited, for all the *parganahs* are frequently mixed together, as if there were no meaning at all attached to *dastur*." (ii. 201-203.)

The word *dastur* in the sense of a subdivision of land for revenue purposes, went out of use in the official histories of the Mughal empire after Akbar's time. It may have lingered on in the N.W. Provinces up to the Mutiny, but only in the village records, as it does not occur in any history or revenue-manual of the Central Government of the later Mughals known to me. (*Jadunath Sarkar.*)

The *Subah* of *Allahabad* comprises nine *sarkārs* (districts) and possesses fifteen separate revenue codes. (*dastur-ul-'aml.*)

1. The *Sarkār* of *Allahabad* includes fifteen mahals and has three revenue codes.

The suburban district of Allahabad comprises three mahals, *viz.*, the suburbs of *Allahabad, Kantit,* and a tract on the extreme limits of the *subah* of Agra, and possesses one revenue code.

Jalālābād [*i.e.*, Arail] has three mahals and a revenue code.

Bhadoi, seven mahals, *viz., Bhadoi, Sikandarpur, Sorāon, Singror, Mah, Kewāi, Hādiābās* [=Jhusi]—and a revenue code.

2. The *Sarkār* of *Benāres* has eight mahals and a revenue code. The detail is as follows—the suburban district of *Benares,* the township of *Benares, Pandrah, Kaswār, Harhwā, Byālisi.*

3. The *Sarkār* of *Jaunpur* has 41 mahals and two codes.

The suburban district of *Jaunpur,* 39 mahals, one code, *viz.* :—

Aldimao, Angli, Bhileri, Bhadāon, Talhani, Jaunpur, Suburban Jaunpur, Chandipur Badhar, Chāndah, Chiriyā Kot, Chakesar, Kharid, Khāspur Tāndah, Khānpur, Deogaon, Rāri, Sanjholi, Sinkandarpur, Sagdi, Sarharpur, Shādi-ābād, Zafarābād, Karyāt Mittu, Karyāt Dostpur, Karyāt-Mendia, Karyāt Swetah, Gheswah, Ghosi, Kodiya, Gopālpur, Karākat, Mandiāho, Muhammad-ābād, Majhorā, Mau, Nizāmābād, Naigun, Nathupur,

4. The *Sarkār of Chanādah* [=Chunār], 14 mahals and one revenue code, *viz.*, the suburban district of *Chanadah, Aherwārah, Bholi, Badhol, Tāndah, Dhos, Rāghupur*[110]—the villages on the western bank of the river, *Majhwārah, Mahāech, Mahwāri, Mahoi, Silpur, Naran.*

5. The *Sarkār* of *Ghāzipur,* 18 mahals, one code, *viz.*, the suburban district of *Ghāzipur, Baliā, Pachotar, Balhābās, Bhariābād, Barāich, Chausā Dehma, Sayyidpur Namdi, Zahurābād, Karyāt Pali, Kopā Chhit, Gadhā, Karandah, Lakhnesar, Madan Benāras, Muhammadābād, Parhābāri.*

6. The *Sarkār* of *Karrah,* 12 mahals, one code, *viz.*, the township of *Karrah,* its suburban district, *Aichhi, Atharban, Ayāsā, Rāri, Karāri, Kotla, Kaunra* commonly called *Karson, Fatehpur Hanswah, Hatgāon, Hanswah.*

7. The *Sarkār* of *Korah,* 8 mahals, 3 codes, *viz.*, thus detailed. The suburban district of *Korah* has one code and 2 mahals, *viz.*, itself and *Ghātampur; Kotiā,* 3 mahals, *Kotiā, Goner, Keranpur Kinār,*[111] and one code ; *Jajmau,* 3 mahals, *viz., Jājmau, Muhsinpur, Majhāon,* and one code.

8. The *Sarkār* of *Kālinjar,* 10 mahals, one code, *viz., Kālinjar* with its suburbs, *Ugāsi, Ajigarh, Sihonda, Simoni, Shādipur, Rasan, Khandeh, Mahobā, Maudhā.*

9. The *Sarkār* of *Mānikpur,* 14 mahals, 2 codes. The suburbs of *Mānikpur* have 10 mahals and one code, *viz., Mānikpur* together with its suburban district, *Arwal Bhalol, Salon, Jalālpur Balkhar, Karyāt Karārah, Karyāt Paegāh, Khatot, Nāsirābād.*

Rāe Bareli, etc., 4 mahals, one code, *viz., Rāe Bareli, Talhandi, Jāes, Dalmau.*

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[110] A note to the text gives *Rālhupār* as the present name of this mahal—the other names have nearly all variants in the MSS., no doubt due as much to dialectic variations in pronunciation as to errors of copyists. Tieffenthaler adds to the above, the fortress of *Tschinarghar* (Chanār) built of stone, on an eminence on the western bank of the Ganges.

[111] Thus in all MSS. but Elliot has *Kiratpur Kanauda.*

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Allahabad—Ten Years' rates.

	Suburban district of Allahabad. 3 Mahals.	Jalālābās, &c. 5 Mahals	Dhadoi, &c. 7 Mahals.	Sarkār of Benāres 8 Mahals.	Suburban district of Jaunpur. 39 Mahals.	Parganah of Mongrah, &c. 2 Mahals.	Sarkār of Chanādah 14 Mahals.	Ghāzipur, &c. 18 Mahals.	Parganah of Karrah 12 Mahals.	Parganah of Kora-rah. 2 Mahals.	Parganah of Kotia. 3 Mahals.	Jājmau, &c. 3 Mahals.	Sarkār of Kālinjar. 10 Mahals.	Sarkār of Mānik-pur. 10 Mahals.	Rāe Bareli. 4 Mahals.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Wheat	60-9	58-4	64-21	64-1	64-1	58-4	64-21	64-21	60-3	69-18	60-3	60-23	83-15	58-4	62-15
Cabul Vetches	...	.....	...	71-14	71-14	...	71-14	71-14	...	55-23	...	...	55-23	...	71-14
Indian do.	38-0	39-3	...	41-9	41-9	39-3	41-9	41-9	38-0	34-17	38-0	37-0	34-17	39-3	39-3
Barley ... ... }	40-6	40-12	...	48-2	67-2	40-12	47-2	47-2	...	40-6	40-6	40-6	40-6	42-12	45-21
Green barley not in ear }				67-3			68-2	68-2							67-2
Adas	24-15	23-12	...	38-0	38-0	23-12	38-0	38-0	24-15	24-15	24-15	25-16	24-15	23-14	35-8
Safflower	83-15	83-21	...	70-3	70-3	83-21	70-3	83-3	83-21	70-17	83-21	69-22	72-17	83-21	82-3
Poppy	150-13	150-13	...	115-20	115-20	156-13	115-20	115-20	156-13	127-15	153-13	128-0	55-23	156-18	115-8
Potherbs	27-2	28-5	...	80-13	80-13	67-5	82-13	80-13	67-2	55-23	67-20	21½-0	30-15	68-5	76-1
Linseed	31-8	27-4	...	40-6	40-6	32-15	40-6	40-6	31-8	32-15	31-20	30-5	32-15	32-18	35-8
Mustard	35-8	28-4	...	40-6	40-6	27-24	40-6	40-6	35-8	32,15	35-8	31-21½	20-3	38-21	38-21
Arzan	20-3	15-19	...	6-21	26-21	16-19	26-21	26-21	20,3	20-3	20-3	20-3	20-2	16-19	24-15
Peas (*Mashang*)	24-15	29-2	...	40-6	40-6	29-2	40-6	40-6	24-15	22-6	24-0	20-2	26-21	29-2	38-0
Carrots	25-18	26-21	...	26-21	26-21	16-21	26-21	26-21	25-18	32-21	25-18	31-21	70-18	26-21	26-21
Onions	83-21	79-2	...	80-13	80-13	79-10	80-13	80-13	83,21	82-18	83-21	82-18	...	64-10	80-03
Fenugreek	74-23	87-4	...	54-29	54-24	54-24	54-24	54-24	74-23	...	74-23	82-18	109-14	58-4	54-20
Persian muskmelons	144-6	150-13	...	134-4	134-11	150-1	134-4	134-4	144-6	109-14	144-6	119-16	115-16	150-1	134-4
Indian ditto	19-0	7-22	...	14-14	14-14	17-20	14-14	14-14	19-0	15-16	19-0	14-13	...	17-7	14-13
Cumin seed	...	61-12	...	83-15	89-15	61-12	89-15	89-15	...	82-18	...	...	82-18	61-12	89-15
Coriander seed	...	...	...	105-2	105-2	...	105-2	105-2	...	...	...	...	...	...	105-2
Kur rice	52-14	56-24	...	56-24	46-24	46-24	46-24	46-24	52-14	50-20	52-14	46-24	50-20	46-24	46-24
Ajwān	83-21	79-10	...	89-15	89-15	89-15	89-15	89-15	83-4	86-15	83-21	83-21	86-2	83-10	97-7

* In these tables, *D* stands for *dām* and *J* for *jetal*, the 25th part of a *dām* which is the 40th part of a rupee.

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Allahabad.

	Sub-District of Allahabad.	Jalálábás.	Bhadoi.	Sarkár of Benáres.	Sub-District of Jaunpur.	Parganah of Mongrah.	Sarkár of Chanádah.	Gházipur.	Parganah of Karrah	Parganah of Kora-rah.	Parganah of Kotia.	Jájmau.	Sarkár of Kálinjar.	Sarkár of Mánikpur.	Ráe Bareli.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Sugarcane (*paundah*)	240-9	...	230-20	208-15	223-15	234-20	223-15	223-15	240-3	223-15	240-9	231-15	223-15	232-20	223-15
Common Sugarcane	...	...	126-9	123-0	123 0	126-9	123-9	123-0	109-17	143-3	103-17	143-3	143-17	126-6	123-0
Dark coloured rice	71-14	...	71-14	71-14	71-14	71-14	71-14	71-14	81-14	67-2	81-14	73-20	67-2	71-14	71-14
Common rice	44-18	...	42-12	49-5	49-5	43-12	49-5	49-5	44-18	46-24	44-28	43-24	46-24	42-12	46-24
Al (morinda citrifolia, from which a red dye is extracted) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	205-18	...	205-18	...	...	...
Cotton	89-15	...	91-18	96-4	96-4	91-17	96-4	96-4	89-15	91-18	89-0	93-3	91-18	91-18	93-23
Moth	25-18	...	26-21	33-14	33-14	26-21	33-14	33-14	25-18	24-15	25-18	22-23	14-11	26-21	31-8
Urad	23-12	...	18-24	26-21	26-21	17-22	32-21	26-21	23-12	24-15	23-16	26-21	24-15	17-20	24-18
Indigo	163-6	...	162-3	162-3	162-3	162-3	162-3	162-3	163-5	163-6	163-6	163-6	163-6	162-6	162-6
Hinna	76-0	...	89-15	89-15	89,15	89-15	89-15	89-15	76-0	79-20	86-0	86-1	69-20	89-15	89-15
Hemp	84-24	...	84-24	84-24	84-24	84-24	84-24	84-24	84-24	89-24	84-24	84-24	89-15	84-4	84-24
Potherbs	80-0	...	87-5	83-15	83-15	87-5	89-15	89-15	82-17	84-23	82-18	87-7	84-20	87-5	87-0
Pán	210-0	...	244 ...	268-20	268-20	244-21	268-14	268-14	210-3	267-20	210-4	268-20	267-20	267-20	267-20
Singhárah	120-18	...	115-2	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	120-18	120-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20
Jowári. (Jawár) ...	34-17	...	35-20	40-6	40-6	35-20	40-6	40-6	34-4	33-7	34-17	32-15	37-7	35-8	38-0
Kuri (a kind of wild grain) ...	...	...	...	13-15	13-15	...	13-15	15-15	...	13-15	...	...	18-15	...	13-15
Persian muskmelons	...	...	...	105-2	105-2	...	205-2	105-2	...	...	...	...	...	...	105-2
Sesame seed	40-0	...	43-15	44-18	44-15	44-18	44-18	42-12	42-12	42-12	41-9	101-9	43-15	43-15	43-15
Jhung	42-12	...	48-2	49-5	49-5	48-5	49-5	49-5	42-12	42-6	42-12	41-9	40-6	48-2	48-2
Turmeric	...	...	...	115-20	115-20	...	115-20	115-20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

The Subah of *Oudh* comprises five *sarkārs* and possesses twelve codes.

1. The *Sarkār* of *Oudh*, 21 mahals, 3 codes. The suburban district has 19 mahals and one code. Two parganahs are comprised in Khairābād. They are as follows:

Oudh with its suburban district; *Anbodha, Anhonah, Pachhamrāth, Bilehri, Basodhi, Thānah Bhadāon, Bakthā, Daryābād, Rudauli, Selak, Sultānpur, Sātanpur, Supahah, Sarwāpāli, Satrakah, Gawārchah, Manglasi Naipur.*

Ibrahimābad and Kishni are each a parganah with one code.

2. The *Sarkār* of *Bharāitch* has 11 mahals, one code. The suburban district of *Bharāitch*, &c. 8 mahals, one code. *Bharāitch* with its suburbs 6 mahals, *Bahrah, Husampur, Wankdun, Rajhāt, Sanjhauli, Fakhrpur,* Fort *Nawāgarh.*

Firuzābād, &c., two parganahs, one code, *viz., Firuzābad, Sultānpur.*

Kharosna, one mahal, one code.

3. The *Sarkār* of *Khairābad,* 2 mahals, 3 codes. *Khairābād,* &c., 12 parganahs, one code, *viz.,* suburbs of *Khairābād, Basārā, Baswah, Basrah, Chhitāpur, Khairigarh, Sadrpur, Kheri, Kharkhela,* and *Laharpur,* two mahals; *Machharhattah,* and Hargarāon, two mahals. *Pāli,* &c. has 8 mahals, one code, *viz., Pāli, Barurānjnah, Bāwan, Sāndi, Sirah, Gopamau, Khankatmau, Nimkhā; Bharwārah,* &c. two mahals, included in *Oudh viz. Bharwārah* and *Pilā,*— and one code.

4. The *Sarkār* of *Gorakhpur,* 24 parganahs, one code. The suburban district of Gorakhpur with the town, 2 mahals, *Atraulā, Anholā; Binaekpur* &c. 4 mahals, *Bāhmnipārah, Bhāwāpārā, Tilpur, Chilupara, Dharyapara, Dhewapārā* and *Kotlah* [*Kuhānā*] 2 mahals, *Rihli; Ramgarh* and *Gauri* 2 mahals, *Rasulpur* and *Ghaus* 2 mahals; *Kathlā, Khilāpārā* [=*Rihlāpara*] *Maholi, Mundwah, Mandlah; Maghar* and *Ratanpur,* 2 mahals; *Maharanthoi.*

5. The *Sarkār* of *Lucknow* has 55 mahals, 2 codes. The suburban district of Lucknow, &c., 47 parganahs, one code. *Abethi, Isauli, Asiyun, Asohā, Unchah Gāon, Balkar Bijlour?* [*Bijnor*], *Bāri, Bharimau Pangwan, Betholi, Panhan, Parsandhān, Pātan, Bārāshākor, Jhaloter, Dewi, Deorakh, Dadrah, Ranbirpur, Rāmkot, Sandilah, Saipur, Sarosi, Sahāli, Sidhor, Sidhupur, Sandi, Saron, Fatehpur,*

Fort of *Ambhati, Kursi, Kakori, Khanjrah, Ghātampur, Karanda, Konbhi Lucknow* with its suburbs, *Lashkar Malihābād, Mohān, Morāon, Madiāon, Mahonah, Manawi, Makrāed, Hadha, Inhār.*

Onām &c., 8 parganahs, one code, *viz., Onām, Bilgrāon, Bangarmau, Hardoi, Sātanpur, Fatehpur Chaurāsi, Kachhāndu, Malāwah.*

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Oudh.

	Parganah of the suburban of Oudh, &c.	Ibrahimabād, &c.	Kishni, &c.	Bharāitch, &c.	Firuzabād, &c	Kharānsah, &c.	
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	
Wheat	54-20	62-15	58-4	54-20	55-23	55-20	*Note.*—The difference in the two classes of mustard seed is in the size and colour of the grain.
Indian Vetches ...	34-17	39-3	39-3	33-14	32-11	33-14	
Mustard seed (*Khardal*)	...	40-6	...	...	...	...	
Barley ...	39-3	45-21	42-12	38-0	35-20	38-0	
Adas	23-12	35-20	23-12	22-9	21-6	22-10	
Safflower	71-14	72-0	83 21	71-14	69-8	71-14	
Poppy	127-15	115-20	156-13	127-12	127-11	127-11	
Potherbs	69-9	76-1	68-5	56-12	54-20	56-12	
Linseed	29-0	35 20	32-15	27-24	26-21	27-24	
Mustard seed (*Sarshaf*)	30-5	38-0	27-24	29-2	29-2	29-2	
Arzan	20-3	24-15	16-19	15-3	7-22	23-4	
Peas	29-2	38-0	29-2	25-8	24-15	25-15	
Carrots	30-5	36-21	36-21	28-7	29-2	29-2	
Onions ...	78-0	80-18	79-10	78-7	78-7	78-7	
Fenugreek	55-22	54-20	58-4	58-4	78-20	...	
Persian Muskmelons ...	115-20	230-4	150-1	110-20	115-20	115-30	
Indian do. ...	4-13	14-23	17-22	15-16	15-16	15-16	
Cumin seed	79-15	61-12	...	...	...	...	
Coriander seed ...	...	150-2	...	...	...	...	
Kur rice	...	46-24	46-24	45-21	44-18	45-21	
Afwāin	...	97-5	79-10	83-21	83-21	82-21	

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Oudh.

	Parganah of the suburban district of Oudh, &c.	Ibrahimā bād, &c.	Kishni, &c.	Bharāitch, &c.	Firuzābād, &c.	Kharonsa, &c.	Suburban district of Khairābād.	Pāli, &c.	Bharwārah, &c.	Suburban district of Gorakhpur.	Lucknow, &c.	Onām, &c.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Sugarcane (*paundah*) ...	240-9	223-15	230-8	240-9	203-15	240-9	220-15	231-15	240-9	240-9	231-15	231-35
Common sugarcane ...	190-15	123-0	126-0	123-0	134-4	123-0	134-4	131-23	190-15	123-0	127-15	131-3
Dark coloured rice ...	67-2	71-14	71-14	62-5	65-4	62-15	65-24	73-20	67-2	62-15	74-20	73-20
Common rice	43-15	46-24	42-12	40-6	41-9	40-6	41-9	46-24	43-17	40-6	44-18	46-24
Māsh	33-15	34-17	40-6	31-8	32-15	31-8	32-15	34-17	33-15	31-8	34-2½	34-17
Cotton	83-21	93-23	91-18	89-15	89-11	89-15	89-15	93-23	83-21	89-15	93-18	93-23
Moth	35-18	41-20	26-21	24-15	23-12	24-15	23-12	22-23	25-18	24-15	24-15	22-23
Gāl	16-19	21-6	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16	...	...	...	...	...	...
Turiya	31-8	38-0	35-20	31-8	33-14	31-6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Arzan	25-18	24-15	17-22	22-9	24-15	22-9	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indigo	123-15	162-3	162-3	163-6	163-6	162-6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hinna	70-15	79-15	79-15	69-8	71-14	69-20	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hemp	89-15	84-24	84-24	85-21	89-15	89-15	...	...	...	...	...	...
Potherbs	89-2	84-5	87-5	82-18	82-16	83-21	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kachrah (*Cucumis melo*)	12-20	4-3	13-15	12-8	14-4	12-8	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pān	230-14	260-3	244-21	223-15	223-15	223-15	..	...	...	...	...	...
Singhārah	115-8	115-8	115-8	115-8	115-8	115-8	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lobiya	...	38-0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jowāri, (millet)	35.20	38-0	35-8	38-0	33-14	38	33-14	32-15	35-2	38-0	85	32-15
Carrots	...	81-15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kuri (a kind of wild grain)	...	13-15	...	15-5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Persian* watermelon ...	105-2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Arhar	...	...	...	22-9	...	22-9	23-12	25-4	...	...	...	...
Lahdarah	24-15	25-18	24-15	23-12	24-15	23-12	24-15	25-18	24-18	23-12	25-4	25-18
Kodaram	28-20	31-8	29-2	26-22	25-18	26-15	25-18	31-8	28-8	26-21	28-24	41-8
Mandwah	25-18	31-8	26-21	25-18	24-15	25-18	24-15	29-2	35-18	55-18	32-21	23-2
Sesame seed	41-9	31-8	43-15	44-18	45-1	44-18	45-21	41-9	41-1	44-18	40-20	41-9
Shamākh	18-15	19-0	12-8	12-8	12-8	12-8	12-8	13-10	13-11	12-8	12-8	13-10
Mung	43-15	48-2	48-3	41-2	43-15	41-9	43-15	41-9	43-15	41-10	43-15	41-9

* So the text, but it is probably a misprint of tarbuja for kharbuja.

1. The *Sarkār of Agra*—the royal residence. 44 parganahs, 4 codes. The suburban district of Agra, &c., 6 mahals, one code, *viz.*, *Agra* and its suburbs, *Chanwār, Jalesar,* the city of *Agra, Dholpur, Mahāwan, Beānah* &c., 33 mahals, one code; the suburbs of *Beānah,* 2 mahals, *Oudehi, Od, Ol, Bhasāwar Todahbhim, Bināwar, Chausath, Khānwā, Rajhohar, Fatehpur* known as *Sikri, Seonkar Seonkri, Mathura, Maholi, Mangotlah, Bhaskar, Wazirpur, Helak, Hindon, Rāpari, Bāri, Bajwārah. Etāwah* &c. 3 mahals, one code, *viz.*, *Etāwah, Rāpri,*[112] *Hatkānt. Mandāwar* &c. 2 mahals, one code, *viz.*, *Mandāwar, Kakhonmar.*

2. *Sarkār* of *Alwar.* 43 paragraphs, 3 codes. The parganahs of *Alwar* &c. 33 mahals, one code, *viz.*, the suburbs of *Alwar, Dharā, Dadekar, Bahādurpur, Panāin, Khelohar, Jalālpur, Bihrozpur, Rāth, Bālhattah, Bahrkol, Hājipur, Budahthal, Anthulah Hābru, Parāt, Balhār, Barodah Fathkhan, Barodahmeo, Basānah, Hasanpur, Badohar, Hasanpur Gori, Deoli Sājāri, Sakhan, Kiyārah, Ghat Seon, Kohrana, Monkonā, Mandāwarah, Naugāon Nāhargarh, Harsori* and *Harpur,* 2 mahals, *Harsānā. Bachherah,* &c. 5 mahals, one code, *viz.*, *Bachherah, Khohariranā, Bhiwān, Ismailpur, Amran, Mubārakpur,* &c., 5 mahals, one code, *viz.*, *Mubārakpur, Harsoni. Mandāwar, Khirtahali, Mojpur.*

3, 4. *Sarkārs* of *Tijārah* and *Erāj,* 4 codes. The *Sarkār* of *Eraj,* 16 mahals, *viz.*, *Eraj, Parhār, Bhānder, Bijpur, Pāndur, Chhatrah, Riyābānah, Shāhzādahpur, Khatolah* &c., *Kajhodah, Kedār, Kunj, Khekas, Kānti, Khāerah, Maholi.* The *Sarkār* of *Tijārah,* 18 mahals, 1 code, *viz.*, *Tijārah, Indor, Ujaina, Umarā Umari, Por, Begwān, Basohrā, Chamrāwat, Khānpur, Sākras, Santhadāri, Firuzpur, Fatehpur Mongarta, Kotlah, Karherā, Naginān. Thānah* of *Kahwār,* one code. *Besru,* one code.

5. *Sarkār* of *Kanauj,* 5 codes. The suburban district of *Kanauj,* &c. 11 mahals, one code. The suburbs of *Kanauj Bārā, Bithur, Bilhur, Bilgrāon, Deohā, Sikandarpur, Seoli, Seonrakh, Malkusah, Nānamau. Saketh* &c. 6 mahals, one code. *Sāketh, Karāoli, Barnah, Sahār, Patiāli, Sahāur. Bhagaon,* &c. 10 mahals, one code. *Bhogāon, Sonj, Sakrāon, Sakatpur, Saror, Chhabarmau,*

[112] A note to the text suggests this name to be an error, as not in Elliot nor in the account of the province of Agra. Neither is it in Tieffenthaler.

Shamshābād, Pati 'Alipur, Kanpal, Bhojpur. Sinkandarpur, one code. *Phapund,* one code.

6. *Sarkār* of *Sahār. Sahār,* &c. 6 madals, one code, *viz., Sahār, Pahāri, Bhadoli, Kāmah, Koh Majahid, Hodal. Nonhera,* one code.

7, 8, 9. *Sarkār* of *Gwalior,* &c., one code. *Sarkār* of *Gwalior,* 13 mahals, one code. *Sarkār* of *Narorpanj,* 5 mahals, one code. *Sarkār* of *Beanwan,* 28 mahals, one code.

10. *Sarkār* of *Kalpi,* 16 parganahs, one code. *Ulai, Bilāspur, Badhneth Derāpur, Deokali, Rāth, Rāipur, Suganpur, Shāhpur, suburbs of Kālpi, Kenār, Khandot, Khandela, city of Kālpi, Muhammadābād, Hamirpur.*

11. *Sarkār of Kol,* 4 codes. *Thānah Farida;* &c. 10 mahals, one code, *viz., Thānah Farida, Pahāsu, Danbhāi, Malikpur, Shikārpur, Nuh, Chandos, Khurjah, Ahār, Tapal.* Suburban district of *Kol,* &c., 4 mahals, one code, *viz., Kol, Jalāli, Sikandar rāo, Gangeri. Mārharah,* &c., 5 mahals, one code, viz., *Mārharah, Balrām, Soron, Pachlānah* and *Sidhpur,* 2 mahals. *Akbarābād,* 2 mahals, one code, *viz., Akbarābād, Atrauli.*

12. *Sarkār* of *Nārnol,* 4 codes. Suburban district of *Nārnol,* &c., 8 mahals, *viz.,* suburbs of *Nārnol* and city, *Bārh, Kot Potli, Bābāi, Khandela, Sankhāna, Kānori,* villages at the foot of the hill. *Barodah rana,* &c. 2 mahals, *viz., Barodah ranā Lāpoti. Chāl Kalānah,* &c. 2 mahals, *Chālkalānah, Khodānā. Kanodah,* &c. 3 mahals, *Kanodah, Narharah, Jhojeon.*

See Table next page.

Spring Harvest of the royal residence of Agra.

	Suburban district of Agra.	Etáwah.	Suburban district of Bayánah.	Mandáwar.	Alwar.	Bachherah.	Mubárakpur.	Ejraj.	Tijárah.	Thánah of Kalwár.	Besru.	Sahár	Pahári	Nonhera.	Kanauj.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Wheat	67-2	0-9	67-2	67-2	67-2	64-21	63-10	63-17	64-21	67-2	67-2	67-2	64-21	68-2	66-21
Cabul Vetches	67-9	...	...	...	...	...	...	55-23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indian do.	44-18	35-20	42-12	40-6	40-6	36-23	35-20	34-17	36-23	40-6	36-23	36-23	36-23	40-6	37-15
Barley	49-5	40-6	44-17	44-18	44-18	42-12	41-9	46-0	42-12	44-17	42-12	42-12	42-12	44-17	40-0
Adas	29-2	25-17	29-17	26-21	26-21	26-21	26-21	26-21	26-21	26-21	26-21	26-21	26-21	26-21	25-17
Safflower	127-11	120-1	127-11	123-0	123-0	127-0	127-0	127-0	127-0	120-0	127-11	127-11	127-11	123-0	69-22
Poppy	127-11	120-20	127-11	123-0	127-0	127-11	127-11	127-11	127-11	123-0	127 11	127-11	123-0	123-0	128-0
Potherbs	67-2	58-4	61-12	60-9	60-9	59-7	60-9	55-23	59-8	60-9	59-8	59-8	59-8	60-9	61-12
Mustard seed	31-14	31-8	31-14	33-14	33-14	31-8	31-8	32-11	31-8	33-14	31-8	31-8	31-8	33-14	31-21
Arzan	24-15	23-3	20-3	21-6	21-6	22-9	23-3	23-9	21-6	22-9	22-9	22-9	22-9	21-6	20-6
Peas	31-8	29-2	33-14	32-11	32-11	31-20	29-2	29-2	31-8	32-11	31-8	31-8	31-8	32-15	39-2
Carrots	29-2	29-2	33-14	29-2	29-2	25.18	26-21	26-21	25-18	29-2	25-18	25-18	25-8	29-2	31-21
Onions	84-24	80-12	80-11	80-18	82-17	81-16	81-16	82-17	81-16	80-2	31-16	81-16	81-16	82-17	82-17
Fenugreek	44-18	50-8	84-24	55-8	55-29	84-24	81-16	...	83-24	55-23	...	...	84-24	55-23	82-18
Persian muskmelons ...	111-20	87-17	111-20	111-20	111-20	100-16	100-16	100-16	100-14	100-16	...	100-16	100-16	111-20	119-16
Indian ditto ...	15-11	14-13	15-16	15-16	15-16	14-14	15-16	15-16	14-14	15-16	15-16	15-16	14-14	15-16	14-13
Cumin seed	84-24	83-21	82-24	84-24	84-24	81-18	84-24	82-17	...	84-24	...	...	81-16	84-24	...
Kur rice	55-23	59-5	87-8	51-11	51-11	53-17	51-11	50-8	50-18	51-11	53-17	53-17	56-17	51-11	46-24
Ajwáin	84-24	83-21	84-24	84-24	84-24	81-17	84-24	86-2	81-16	84-24	81-16	81-16	81-16	84-24	83-21

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Agra.

	Suburban district of Agra.	Etáwah.	Suburban district of Bayánah.	Mandáwar.	Alwar.	Bachherah.	Mubárakpur.	Eraj.	Tijárah.	Thánah of Kahwár.	Besru.	Sáhar.	Pahári.	Nonhera.	Kanauj.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D' J.	D. J.
Sugarcane (*paundah*) ...	239-6	239-8	223-15	200-18	205-0	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	217-0	218-18	217-0	220-15	217-0	...
Common sugarcane ...	147-11	134-4	148-17	134-4	134-4	125-6	120-11	173-3	185-6	134-4	138-16	138-6	125-6	134-4	131-23
Dark coloured rice	84-20	60-9	82-17	81-14	81-14	78-7	76-0	67-2	78-1	71-14	76-0	76-1	78-7	71-14	73-20
Common rice	6-9	44-17	58-4	63-18	63-17	63-18	63-17	48-4	63-18	63-17	58-4	58-0	63-18	63-17	26-24
Ál	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	250-17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Másh	40-6	34-17	38-0	35-20	35-9	35-20	35-20	35-19	35-20	35-20	36-23	36-23	35-20	35-20	34-17
Cotton	7-5	89-15	89-11	89-11	89-11	89-11	89-15	91-17	89-11	89-11	95-1	95-0	89-11	89-11	93-23
Moth	29-2	24-15	...	22-9	22-9	22-9	22-9	24-15	22-9	22-9	24-15	24-15	22-9	22-9	22-23
Gál	20-3	14-13	17-22	16-19	16-10	16 19	16-19	15-15	16-19	16-19	15-16	15-16	16-19	16-19	15-19
Turiya	40-12	34-17	40-6	39-3	39-3	38-0	35-20	38-0	38-0	39-3	42-12	42-13	38-0	39-3	34-17
Arzan	29-2	22-9	...	22-9	22-9	23-12	24-15	24-15	23-12	22-9	23-12	23-12	23-13	22-9	26-21
Indigo	156-13	159-22	158-19	161-0	161-0	161-0	156-18	163-0	161-0	161-0	163-6	163-0	161-0	161-0	163-1
Hinna	70-7	78-7	67-2	77-7	78-7	78-7	78-7	69-8	78-0	78-7	78-7	78-7	78-7	78-7	76-1
Hemp	93-23	89-11	89-11	89-11	13(?)11	88-20	89-11	89-11	88-8	89-11	88-8	88-8	88-8	89-11	84-24
Potherbs	84-24	80-12½	81-14	81-14	81-14	82-17	81-14	84-23	82-17	81-14	78 7	88-7	72-17	71-14	78-7
Kachrah	13-15	12-8	15-5	13-11	11-15	13-15	13-11	12-7	13-11	13-11	13-11	13-11	13-11	13-11	11-5
Pán	223-20	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-0	267-0	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	268-20
Singhárah	115-20	...	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-15	115-20
Lobiya	31-8	30-15	38-0	37-24	27-24	32-5	31-8	33-14	30-5	27-24	33-14	33-14	30-5	27-24	...
Jowári	44-18	35-6	40-6	35-20	35-20	35-20	38-7	35-20	35-20	36-23	36-23	35-20	35-20	32-15	32-15
Kuri	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lahdarah	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kodaram	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mandwah	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sesame seed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shamákh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mung	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Supplement to the Spring Harvest of the Subah of Agra.

	Saketh.	Bhagãon.	Sikandarpur.	Phapund.	Gwalior, &c.	Kãlpi.	Kol.	Thãnah Farida.	Akbarãbãd.	Mãrharah.	Nãrnol.	Barodahrana.	Chãl Kalãnah.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Wheat ...	64-21	58-4	60-9	63 18	69-8	63-18	63-9	58-4	63-18	60-9	62-15	63-18	61-12
Cabul Vetches ...	...	...	...	55-23	...	53-23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indian do. ...	39-3	33-14	38-0	34-18	42-12	34-17	35-20	34-17	35-20	38-0	36-22½	35-20	35-20
Barley ...	40-12	38-	40-6	40-6	40-6	40-6	40-6	38-0	40-12	40-6	41-9½	41-9	41-9
Adas ...	26-21	24-15	24-15	24-15	20-2	24-15	26-21	22-9	24-15	24-15	24-15	23-15	24-15
Safflower ...	73-20	73-20	74-23	72-17	69-8	72-17	71-14	83-21	81-14	74-23	72-17	71-14	71-14
Poppy ...	127-15	127-15	127-15	127-15	127-15	127-15	123-0	124-9	123-0	128-12	119-17	127-15	123-0
Potherbs ...	60-9	57-4	57-4	55-23	60-9	50-23	58-4	64-21	63-2	58-4	65-4	60-9	60-9
Mustard seed ...	32-15	30-5	30-15	30-15	33-14	32-15	29-2	30-5	29-2	30-15	37-½	31-8	31-8
Arzan ...	21-6	20-3	21-6	20-3	16-12	20.3	20-9	19-0	22-9	21-6	20-9	22-9	20-3
Peas ...	31-20	24-15	29-2	20-9	31-8	22-9	26-21	29-2	29-2	29-2	27-23	29-21	26-21
Carrots ...	31-20	39-20	31-20	26-21	26-24	26-21	24-15	24-15	26-21	31-8	26-1	24-20	24-15
Onions ...	87-5	80-18	87-5	82-18	84-24	82-18	89-15	81-15	81-16	47-15	84-12	81-16	77-7
Fenugreek ...	89-15	....	89-11	...	...	...	...	49-5	...	89-15	...	81-16	...
Persian Musk Melons ...	...	101-19	...	109-14	115-20	109-14	100-16	145-9	111-8	...	102-21	100-16	...
Indian ditto ...	19-16	15-16	14-14	15-16	15-16	15-16	17-22	15-16	14-14	15-16	15-16	15-16	1 (?) 16
Cumin seed ...	84-24	82-18	87-5	82-18	84-14	80-18	...	86-2	84-24	87-5	84-2	84-24	..
Kur rice ...	51-15	...	51-15	50-8	59-8	50-20	49-5	59-23	53-17	51-15	46-2	51-11	60-9
Ajwãin ...	84-24	80-18	87-5	82-2	86-2	86-2	84-24	86-2	84-24	87-23	84-12	84-24	84-24

Supplement to the Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Agra.

	Saketh.	Bhugton.	Sikandarpur.	Phapund.	Gwalior, &c.	Kálpi.	Kol.	Thánah Farida.	Akbarábád.	Márharah.	Nárnol.	Barodahrana.	Chál Kalánah.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Sugarcane (*paunda*) ...	...	223-5	...	223-15	239-6	...	223-18	219-2	223-15	...	216-22	223-15	205-18
Common Sugarcane ...	138-16	146-3	147-16	143-3	147-15	143-0	134-4	134-4	134-4	138-16	134-4	127-11	125-6
Dark coloured rice	70-14	59-7	71-14	67-2	70-12	67-2	64-21	67-2	64-21	74-2	77-6½	76-1	73-20
Common rice ...	0-5	44-18	49-5	46-24	55-20	46-24	46-24	46-20	46-24	49-5	60-90	63-18	53-17
Ál ...	4...	...	...	205-18	...	205-18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Másh ...	35-20	34-18	34-18	35-19	40-6	35-19	33-14	23-14	33-14	34-17	38-0	35-20	33-14
Cotton ...	93-23	84-24	93-23	91-17	87-5	91-18	89-15	93-23	89-15	93-23	89-11	89-11	89-11
Moth ...	25-18	22-18	24-15	24-5	26-21	24-15	22-9	23-12	22-9	24-15	29-3	22-3	23-12
Gál ...	16-19	15-16	16-19	15-16	20-9	15-16	15-16	14-14	15-16	16-19	16-19	15-19	15-16
Turiya ...	38-0	34-17	35-20	38-0	40-8	38-0	38-0	33-14	38-0	35-20	42-12	35-9	46-½
Arzan ...	24-15	21-6	23-12	40-6	27-24	24-15	24-15	21-6	24-11	23-12	23-12	24-11	22-9½
Indigo ...	160-3	158-19	160-0	160-6	160-3	162-1	163-1	160-24	161-0	165-15	156-0	161-0	161-0
Hinna ...	...	77-4	...	69-8	69-8	69-8	77-4	76-17	77-4	...	76-½	78-7	77-4
Hemp ...	82-11	86-2	87-5	89-11	84-20	89-11	84-24	77-5	84-24	87-5	89-15	89-11	84-24
Potherbs ...	78-7	78-7	78-7	74-23	76-1	74-21	76-0	88-8	76-0	77-7	71-13	71-14	11-14
Kachrah ...	13-11	12-8	13-11	12-7	12-7	12-7	12-7	12-8	12-8	13-11	13-1½	13-11	12-8
Pán ...	...	267-20	...	268-8	223-15	268-8	223-13	223 15	223-15	...	223-15	223-15	223-15
Singhárah ...	...	102-22	...	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20	108-11	...	115-20	111-20	111-20
Lobiya ...	30-5	27-24	131-8	33-17	31-8	33-14	36-21	36-21	33-14	31-8	35-19	31-8	26-21
Jowári ...	39-3	35-20	39-3	38-7	34-18	38-7	35-19	35-14	35-19	39-3	35-19	35-20	38-14
Kuri ...	...	...	...	...	15-16	...	...	11-14½	(?) 11	...	...	12-8	...
Lahdarah ...	26-21	24-5	26-21	26-21	31-8	26-21	24-15	24-15	24-15	26-21	27.23	26-23	26-23
Kodaram ...	30-5	27-24	30-5	27-24	31-8	27-24	29-2	32-5	29-2	30-5	29-1	33-14	29-2
Mandwah ...	30-5	26-21	29-2	26-2	31-8	25-21	27-24	27-14	27-24	29-2	20-8	25-18	27-24
Shamákh ...	25-18	12-8	24-11	11-5	14-0	11-5	12-8	11-8	12-8	24-15	12-7	13-15	15-19
Peas ...	49-6	42-24	49-5	40-6	49-5	40-6	40-6	33-0	40-6	49-5	35-19	35-20	35-20
Turmeric ...	99-11	...	111-20	...	...	...	...	...	...	111-20	...	...	...

Subah of *Ājmere*, 7 Sarkārs, 9 codes.

1. *Sarkār* of *Ājmere*, 2 codes. Suburban district of *Ājmere*, &c. 24 Parganahs, 1 code. City and suburbs of *Ājmere*, 2 mahals, *Arāine, Parbat, Bahnāi,*[113] *Bharānah, Bawāl, Bāhal, Bāndhan Sandheri, Bharonda, Tusina,*[114] *Jobnair,*[115] *Deogāon, Roshanpur, Sānbhar, Sarwār, Sathelā, Sulaimānābād, Kekri, Kherwah, Māhrot, Masaudābad, Narāina, Harsor, Anber*, &c., 4 Parganahs, 1 code, *viz., Anber, Bhakoi, Jhāg, Muzābād.*

2. *Sarkār* of *Jodhpur*, 21 Parganahs, 1 code. Suburbs and city of *Jodhpur, Asop, Endrāoti, Bhodhi, Palpārah, Belārā, Pāli*, &c., 3 mahals, *Bāhilah, Podhh, Bhadrājaun, Jetāran, Dotārā, Sujhat, Sātalmer, Sewāna, Kherwa, Kheonsar, Kundoj, Mahewah.*

3. *Sarkār* of *Chitor*, 28 Parganahs, 1 code. Suburbs and city of *Chitor*, 2 mahals, *Islāmpur* commonly *Rāmpur, Udaipur*, &c., 3 mahals, *Aparmāl,*[116] *Artod, Islāmpur commonly Mohan, Bodhnur, Phuliā, Banhera, Pur, Bihin Surur, Bāgor, Begun, Pati Hājipur, Jeran, Sānwarkhāti, Sāndri, Samel* with the cultivated land, *Kosiānah, Māndalgarh, Māndal, Madāriya Nimach* &c., 3 mahals.

4. *Sarkār* of *Ranthambor*, 4 codes, *Ranthambor* &c., 36 Parganahs, 1 code. Subarban district of *Ranthambor, Alhanpur, Etāda, Aton, Islāmpur, Iwān Bosamer, Barodah, Bhadlāon, Baklānt, Palātiāh, Bhosor, Belonah, Bālakhatri, Bhoripahāri, Bārān, Talād, Jetpur, Jhāin, Khaljipur, Dhari, Sanhusāri, Kotā, Khandār, Khatoli, Kadaud, Lakhri, Londah, Lahaud, Māngror, Momedānah* &c., 16 mahals. *Chātsu* &c., 16 Parganahs, 1 code. *viz., Chātsu, Barwārah, Uniyārā, Pātan, Banhatā, Sarsup, Boli, Bejri, Kharni, Nawāhi, Jhalāwah, Khankharah, Sui Supar, Malārnah, Karor, Bondi, Delhwārah*, &c., 7 Parganahs, 1 code, *viz., Delhwārah, Rewāndhnah, Nagar, Antrorah, Delānah, Amkhorah, Loharwārah, Todā*, &c., 3 Parganahs, 1 code, viz., *Todā, Tonk, Tori.*

5. *Sarkār* of *Nāgor*, 30 Parganahs, 1 code. Suburban district of *Nāgor, Amar Sarnain, Indānah, Bhadānah,*

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[113] *Bahacoi*, Tieff.
[114] *Bossina, Ibid.*
[115] *Zoonbora, Ibid.*
[116] *Aparpāl, Ibid.*

Baldubalām,[117] *Batodhā, Baroda, Bārah gāin, Chāel, Charodah, Jākhrah, Khārijkhatu, Dendwānah, Donpur, Rewāsā, Ron, Rasulpur, Rahot, Sādelah, Fathpur Jhanjmun, Kāsli, Khāelah Kojurah, Kolewah, Kumhāri, Keran, Lādon, Merath, Manohar nagar, Nokhā.*

6 & 7. *Sarkārs* of *Sārohi* and *Bikāner.* The codes of these two *Sarkārs are* not laid down.

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Ājmere.

	Suburban district of Ajmere, &c.	Parganah of Amber, &c.	Parganah of Jodhpur, &c.	Parganah of Chitor, &c.	Parganah of Rantambhor &c.	Parganah of Chātsu, &c.	Parganah of Deihwārah, &c.	Parganah of Todah, &c.	Parganah of Nāgor, &c.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Wheat	49-5	31-8	100-16	55-23	55-23	53-18	67-2	46-24	100-16
Indian Vetches ...	33-14	20-3	55-23	31-8	31-8	38-0	42-12	27-24	55-23
Barley	33-14	20-3	67-2	33-14	33-14	38-0	49-5	32-11	67-2
Adas	22-3	13-11	...	22-9	22-9	24-15	20-3	...	...
Safflower	62-15	38-9	67-2	55-23	55-22	58-9	59-4	36-29	67-2
Poppy	85-15	60-9	115-20	89-24	84-24	115-20	116-8	77-4	115-20
Potherbs	55-23	35-20	62-15	55-23	55-23	46-8	55-22	36-24	62-15
Linseed	31-8	20-3	31-8	26-21	26-21	26-21	29-2	...	31-8
Mustard seed ...	44-18	26-21	55-23	26-21	24-15	...	27-24	18-11	55-23
Arzan	20-9	13-11	55-23	13-11	13-11	17-22	17-22	14-15	55-23
Peas	26-9	20-3	...	22-2	20-9	...	...	...	...
Carrots	26-21	15-16	...	22-9	22-21	...	27-24	18-11	...
Onions	67-2	44-18	67-2	59-21	59-21	80-13	89-13	53-17	68-2
Fenugreek ...	...	...	55-0	...	67.	...	...	55-23	...
Persian Musk-Melons	100-16	67-2	...	83-11	89-11	...	89-11	89-8	...
Indian ditto	11-5	6-18	...	13-11	13-11	13-11	13-11	13-11	8-24
Cumin	70-7	53-17	77-8	67-2	67-2	80-13	80-13	53-17	...
Kur . rice	51-11	33-0	...	52-14	52-24	40.6	33-14	...	...
Afwāin	70-7	53-17	78-7	67-2	67.	80-13	80-13	53-17	88-7

[117] In the text *Bakdu*, but the above is the name in the account of this Subah which occurs later on.

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Ajmere.

	Suburban district of Ajmere, &c.	Parganah of Amber, &c.	Parganah of Jodhpur, &c.	Parganah of Chitor, &c.	Parganah of Rantambhor &c.	Parganah of Chātsu, &c.	Parganah of Delhwārah, &c.	Parganah of Todah, &c.	Parganah of Nāgor, &c.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Sugarcane (*paundah*) ...	...	...	...	239 6	239-6	...	...	...	...
Common sugarcane	115½-20	86-1	115-8	115-8	115-8	134-4	115-20	81-16	115-20
Dark coloured rice	55-23	35-20	55-23	67-2	68-2	72-20	67-22	44-18	...
Common rice ...	44-20	23-2	44-2	53-17	50-17	67-2	46-24	31-8	44-18
Māsh ...	33-14	29-2	31-7	33-14	33-14	39 3	27-24	18-15	31-8
Cotton ...	60-15	40-6	67-2	76-1	76-1	78-8	72-17	54-0	67-0
Moth ...	24-15	15-16	36-3	26-1	26-1	22-9	40-6	26-21	20-3
Gāl ...	13-15	8-24	38-21	13-15	13-15	15-16	16-16	10-16	38-8
Turiya ...	38-1	24-16	...	33-14	33-14	15-5	...	...	...
Arzan ...	17-22	12-7	55-21	17-22	17-22	17-22	22 9	17-24	55-6
Indigo ...	134-4	85-11	134-4	111-20	134-4	134-4	134-4	89-11	134-4
Hinna ...	67-2	44-18	67-2	55-23	55-23	67-2	62-15	40-21	67-2
Hemp ...	82-19	53-8	87-7	78-8	78-7	89-15	76-13	76-13	53-17
Potherbs ...	55-22	35-20	62-15	55-23	55-23	62-15	76-13	26-9	62-15
Kachran ...	13-2	8-24	13-11	11-5	15-5	13-11	18-11	8-24	13-11
Singhārah ...	115-20	116-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	118-20	115-20
Lobiya ...	31-20	20-9	22-9	31-8	31-8	32-11	22-9	13-14	22-9
Jowāri ...	24-15	11-16	31-8	29-2	29-12	32-22	42-2	30-0	31-8
Lahdarah ...	20-3	12-8	17-20	22-9	22-9	25-18	31-8	19-0	17-22
Kodarama ...	22-8	11-5	...	22-9	22-9	33-14	33-14	27-24	...
Mandwah ...	22-2	14-4	...	22-3	22-9	26-21	26-21	17-22	...
Sesame seed ...	33-14	20-3	33-4	33-14	33-14	24-16	34-17	22-24	33-14
Shamākh ...	15-5	6-18	...	11-5	11-5	11-5	11-5	6-0	...
Mung ...	24-11	15-16	26-21	40-6	40-6	36-22	42-12	27-10	26-21
Kuri ...	21-5	6-18	...	8-24	8-24	...	11-5	6-3	...
Kalt ...	...	...	...	...	33-14	...	...	22-9	...

The rates of the *Sarkārs* of Bikāner and Sarohi are not given.

The *Subah* of Delhi, 8 *Sarkārs*, 28 codes.

1. The *Sarkār* of Delhi, 48 Parganahs, 7 codes. The old suburban district, the new ditto *Pālam, Jhārsah, Masaudābād, Tilpat, Luni, Shakarpur, Bāghpat, Kāsnah, Dāsnah, Sulaimānābād, Kharkhudah, Sonipat, Talbegampur, Talālpur.*

Pānipat, &c., 2 Parganahs, 1 code, *viz.*, *Pānipat, Karnāl, Safedun, Kutānah, Chhaproli, Tāndah Bhagwān, Gonor, Jhanjhānah, Kāndhlah, Gangerkhera.*

Baran, &c., 8 Parganahs, 1 code. *Baran, Siyānah, Jewar, Dankor, Ādh, Pothh, Senthhah, Sikandarābād.*

Merath, &c., 7 Parganahs. 1 code. *Merath, Hāpur, Barnāwah, Jalālābād, Sarwārah, Garh Muktesar, Hatnāwar.*[118]

Jhajhar, &c., 4 Parganahs, 1 code. *Jhajhar, Dādri-Tāha. Māndothi, Beri Dobaldhan.*

Rohtak, 1 Parganah, 1 code.

Palol. 1 Parganah, 1 code.

2. *Sarkār* of *Badāon*, 16 Parganahs, 1 code. *Ajāon, Aonla, Badāon* and suburbs, *Bareli. Barsar, Pond, Telhi, Sahsāwn, Sonāsi Mandehah. Saniyā, Kānt, Kot Sālbahan, Golah.*

3. *Sarkār* of *Hisār Firozah*. 18 mahals, 4 codes. Suburbs of *Hisār Firozah*, &c., 7 parganahs, 1 code. Suburbs and city of *Hānsi, Barwalah, Barwā. Toshām* and *Agrohah*, 2 mahals, *Fatehābād. Gohānah*, &c., 4 parganahs, 1 code. *Gohānah, Ahroni, Bhattu* and 16 villages. *Sirsā*, 1 parganah. 1 code. *Muhim*, &c., 6 parganahs, 1 code. *Muhim. Rohtak, Jind, Khāndah, Tahānah, Athkerah.*

4. *Sarkār* of *Rewāri*, 11 mahals, 4 codes. *Rewāri*, &c., 8 parganahs. 1 code. *Rewāri, Bāwal, Kot Kāsim Ali, Pātaudi, Bhoharah, Ghelot, Ratāi Jatāi, Nimrānah. Tāoru*, 1 parganah, 1 code. *Suhnah*, 1 parganah, 1 code. *Kohānah*, 1 parganah, 1 code.

5. *Sarkār* of *Sahāranpur*, 36 mahals, 4 codes. *Deoband*, &c. 26 mahals, 1 code. *Deoband, Sahāranpur, Bhatkhanjāwar, Manglor. Nānoth Rāmpur, Sarot, Purchhapār, Jorāsi, Sikri Bhukarhari, Sarsāwah, Charthāwal. Rurki, Baghra, Thānah Bhewan, Muzuffarābād, Raepurtātār, Ambeth. Nakor* and *Toghlaqpur*, 2 mahals, *Bhogpur. Bhattah, Thānah Bhim, Sanbalhera, Khodi* and *Gangwah*, 2 mahals. *Lakhnauti Kerunah*, &c., 2 parganahs. 1 code. *Kerānah. Bedoli.*

Sardhanah, &c., 7 parganahs, 1 code. *Surdhanah, Bhonah, Suranpalri, Badhānah, Joli, Khatoli* and *Baghra*, 2 mahals. *Indri*. 1 mahal, 1 code.

6. *Sarkār* of *Sirhind*. 2 mahals, 4 codes. Suburbs of *Sirhind*, &c. 13 parganahs. Suburbs of *Sirhind. Rupar,*

[118] *Hastinapur*, Elliot & Tieff.

Pāel, Benor, Jahat, Dhotah, Dorālah, Deorānah, Kuhrām, Masenkan, villages of *Rāe Samu, Ambālah* and *Kaithal. Thānesar,* &c.· 8 parganahs. *Thānesar, Sadhurah· Shāhābād· Khizrābād, Mustafa-ābād, Bhodar, Sultanpur, Pundri. Thārah,* &c., 2 parganahs. *Thārah, Ludhiānah, Samānah,* &c., 9 parganahs. *Samānah, Sunnām· Mansurpur· Mālner, Hāpuri, Pundri, Fatehpur* and *Bhatindah, Machhipur.*

8. *Sarkār* of *Sambal,* (*Sambhal*) 47 mahals, 3 codes. City of *Sambal,* &c., 23 parganahs. City of *Sambal,* suburbs of *Sambal, Sarsi, Naroli, Manjholah, Jadwār, Gonor, Neodhanah, Deorah, Dabhārsi, Dhakah, Rajabpur, Amrohah, Ujhāri, Kachh, Āazampur, Islimpur Dargu, Islāmpur Bharu, Afghānpur, Chopālah, Kundarki, Bachharaon, Gundor. Chāndpur,* &c.· 16 parganahs. *Chāndpur, Sherkot, Bijnaur, Mandāwar, Keratpur, Jalālābād, Sahanspur, Nihtor, Naginah, Akbarābād, Islimābad, Seohāra* and *Jhala,* 2 mahals. *Lakhnor,* &c., 11 parganahs. *Lakhnor, Shāhi', Kābar* and *Kānkhari* 2 mahals. *Hatamnah, Rājpur, Dodelah, Leswah, Sarsāwah, Basārā· Parohi* [=*Barohi*].

Sarkār of *Kumāon.* (The names of its parganahs are not entered in the MSS.)

Spring Harvest of the Súbah of Delhi.

	Old suburban district.	Pánipat, &c.	Merath, &c.	Baran, &c.	Jhajhar, &c.	Palol.	Rohtak.	Sarkár of Badáon.	Suburban district of Hisár.	Gohánah, &c.	Sirsá.	Muhim.	Rewári.	Táoru.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J	D. J.
Wheat	63-0	58-4	58-4	58-4	61-12	64-21	58-4	50-8	62-15	57-4	58-4	58-4	63-10	64-16
Cabul Vetches	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	67-2	...	...	...	...	...
Indian ditto	36-3	36-23	40-6	32-11	33-14	33-14	29-16	30-5	29-2	29-16	30-5	7-19	35-20	31-20
Barley	42-12	40-6	38-0	38-0	41-9	42-12	34-17	45-20	40-6	42-12	42-12½	42-12½	24-11	22-12
Adas	24-15	24-15	25-11	22-9	24-15	26-1	24-11	15-23	24-15	22-9	24-16	24-11	24-11	26-21
Safflower	71-14	71-14	84-24	83-21	71-14	72-14	68-20	70-11	67-2	67-0	67-2	60-20	71-14	71-14
Poppy	123-0	125-3	145-9	120-45	123-11	127-11	119-16	128-0	119-16	119-16	119-16	127-16	127-11	127-11
Potherbs	67-2	55-23	64-21	64-21	60-9	59-7	48-0	57-1	60-2	55-23	51-12	57-0	60-9	50-7
Linseed	31-20	31-7	29-20	33-14	33-14	32-11	36 21	24-0	25-13	25-17	24-15	23-21	29-2	34-17
Mustard seed	29-2	29-2	31-20	35-5	31-20	31-20	30 20	26-7	31-20	29-2	29-2	30-5	31-20	31-20
Arzan	22-9	20-3	19-0	19-0	20-3	22-2	20 3	17-9	20-3	17-20	20-3	20-3	22-9	22-9
Peas	29-2	26-21	24-16	29-2	26-21	31-20	28-21	...	29-9	29-9	29-9	26-21	29-2	29-2
Carrots	21-23	24-15	23-12	24-11	24-11	53-17	29-2	26-21	23-5	39-2	29-2	29-2	26-21	25-18
Onions	81-16	78-7	81-16	81-16	77-7	81-16	80-0	80-8	85-0	85-0	85-0	81-16	81-16	81-16
Fenugreek	...	62-15	49-5	49-5	...	...	...	...	35-0	38-0	...	...	81-16	81-16
Persian Musk Melons ...	111-20	100-16	45-9	145-9	100-16	100-16	96-4	13-12	98-10	96-4	98-2	96-4	100-16	100-16
Indian ditto ...	11-16	15-16	117-16	17-22	15-16	15-16	13-11	11-16	15-16	13-11	13-11	13-14	11-16	14-14
Kur rice	53-17	53-17	53-17	55-23	60-9	50-17	46-24	38-0	46-24	45-21	46-24	46-24	21-11	53-17
Ajwáin	84-24	89-12	84-24	86-2	84-24	81-16	85-0	85-0	85-0	85-0	84-24	85-0	...	81-16

Autumn Harvest of the Súbah of Delhi.

	Old suburban, district.	Panipat, &c.	Merath, &c.	Baran, &c.	Jhajhar, &c.	Palol.	Rohtak.	Sarkár of Badáon.	Suburban district of Hisar.	Gohánah, &c.	Sirsá	Muhim.	Rewári	Táoru.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Sugarcane (*paundah*) ...	210·5	204·17	216·22	219·3	250·18	218·5	217·0	216·9	214·20	214·20	214·20	217·0	220·11	223·11
Common sugarcane ...	127·11	123·0	123·0	134·4	125·6	138·11	127·19	125·6	125·6	128 2	127·24	127·4	137·11	125·6
Dark coloured rice ...	78·7	67·0	43·18	67·2	73·8	76·1	62·11	64·21	62·15	63·18	64·21	76·1	76·1	77·7
	55·7	44·18	48·2	46·20	53·17	58·14	49·5	38·15	51·14	...	45 21	48 20	63·18	63·18
Másh	35·20	33·14	34·17	33·14	33·14	31·23	38·0	31·20	38·0	35·20	38 0	38·0	35 20	35·20
Cotton	89·11	91·17	89·11	93 23	89·11	95·1	89·21	96 4	89·11	89·11	89·11	89·12	89·11	89 11
Moth	23·12	26·21	22·9	23·12	23·13	24·11	23·12	23·3	24·11	23·12	23·12	23·12	22·0	22·9
Gál	16·15	15·9	16 19	14·14	15·16	11·16	16·12	15·3	16·19	15·16	15·16	16·12	16·12	16·12
Arzán	20 3	20 3	29·9	21·6	22·9	23·12	23·12	19·4	23 12	23·12	23·12	23 12	24·15	23·12
Indigo	121·0	121·0	121·0	121·0	121·0	121·0	120·12½	121·14	125·12	125·12½	125·12½	156 0	156·3	161·0
Hinna	77·4	76·1	71·14	72·17	78·3	78·7	76·0	42·14	76·0	76 0	76 0	76·0	76·0	77·7
Hemp	84·24	89·18	83·21	87·5	84·24	81·0	80·18	89·11	80·18	80·18	87·5	86·18	89·11	88·8
Potherbs	70·17	71·14	78·7	78·7	71·14	71·7	73·20	73·20	71·14	71·14	71·14	73·20	71·14	72·17
Kachrah	11·0	11·0	12·7	12 20	13·11	13·11	12·20	13·11	13·11	13·11	12·11	13·11	13 11	13·11
Pán	223·15	200·15	220·11	220·11	220·11	220·11	220·11	220·11	220 11	220·11	220·11	220·11	220·11	220·11
Singhárah	111·15	111·20	111 20	111·20	111·20	111·20	111·20	111·20	111·20	111·20	111·20	111·20	111·20	111 20
Lobiya	31·0	...	26·21	26·21	26·21	33·14	31·20	27·10	35·20	34·17	38·0	38 0	35·20	30 5
Jowári	33·14	33·1	3·14	33·14	33 : :	33 20	35·20	34·17	38 0	38·0	38 0	35·0	35·20	35·20
Kuri	11·5	11·5	12 20	11·5	13·11	11·5	...	11·5	11·5	...	11·20	...	12·8	12·8
European radish ...	500?0	500?0	12·20	12·20	13·11	13·11	12·20	13 20	13·11	13·11	13·11	13·11	...	13·11
Lahdarah	26 21	26·21	22 9	24·11	26·21	26·21	29 2	22 9	28 0	27·24	26 21	29·2	...	21·21
Kodaram	32 11	33·4	29 2	32·5	29·2	33·14	29·2	27 24	29·2	29·2	33·14	23·8	...	34·17
Mandwah	29·2	31·20	23·2	27·14	27·24	27·10	28·0	25·17	26·21	26·21	25·17	28 0	25·17	29·9
Sesame seed	42·12	40·0	44·18	44·18	52·12	49 5	46 24	39 3	44·18	45·21	41·24	46·24	...	44·18
Shamákh	11·5	11·5	12·8	11·5	11·19	12.20	11·19	11·19	11·5	11·4	11·5	11·5	13·11	13·11
Mung	38·0	42·0	43·11	38·6	35·20	40·6	36·23	36·22	36·22	35·2	36·23	36·23	35·20	36·23

Supplement to the Spring Harvest of the Súbah of Delhi.

	Suhnah.	Kohānah.	Deoband, &c.	Sardhanah, &c.	Kerānah, &c.	Indri.	Suburban district of Sirhind.	Thānesar, &c.	Thārah, &c.	Samānah, &c.	Suburban district of Sambhal.	Chāndpur, &c.	Lakhnor, &c.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Wheat	34-21	67-2	55-23	58-4	58 0	51-11	51-11	59-5	51-11	51-11	55-21	54-20.	50-8
Cabul Vetches ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	59-22½	...	...
Indian do. ...	35 0	33-14	33-14	34-17	35-8	32-23	35 0	31-22	33-3	33-14	33-14	35-20	35-20
Barley	42-12	44-18	35-8	38-0	40-6	36-23	35-0	31-22	39 3	33-14	33-14	35-20	35 20
Adas	24-15	24-15	25-11	29-9	23-15	26-1	24-11	11-23	22-9	15 23	24-15	24-15	24-18
Safflower	76-17	71-14	84-24	84-24	71-14	76 0	176-0	76-0	76-0	76 0	71-14	69-20	70-11
Poppy	...	123-0	150 7	145-9	125-3	126-9	126 9	126-9	126-9	126-9	127-11	127-1	120 0
Potherbs	...	60-9	64 21	64-21	55-21	58-7	59-7	59-7	58-5	57-5	57-½	57-1	58-1
Linseed	32 11	30-14	27-24	29-9	31-8	25-18	26-21	25 18	25-18	26-21	24 11	24-15	24-16
Mustard seed ...	...	33-14	29-2	31-20	29-2	21-21	26-21	25 17	26-0	26-21	29 2	27-24	26-7
Arzān	...	21-6	20-9	19 0	20-9	17 22	17-22	17 22	17 22	17-22	17 22	17-9	17-9
Peas	31-20	31-20	32-11	30-5	26-21	20-9	22 9	22-3	22-20	25-0	30-5½	30 0	...
Carrots	...	29-2	26-21	23-12	24-16	26-21	26 21	22 7	26-1	26 1	26-1	26-1	26-1
Onions	...	...	82-19	84-24	81-16	87-7	82-18	82 18	82-18	83-21	...	82-18	82-18
Fenugreek	...	55-23	...	49 0	60-17	51-11	...	40 6	51-11	41-2	67-10	62-11	...
Persian Musk Melons	...	111-20	145-0	145-9	100-16	115-20	112-23	113-12	111 20	111-20	114-1	111-20	113-12
Indian ditto ...	11-16	11-16	19-0	17-22	11-16	14-9	14-14	14-14	14-14	15-16	15-16	11-20	11-16
Kur rice	...	51-11	60 9	53-17	53-17	41-9	41-9	49-17	41-9	42-12	42-12	...	38-0
Ajwāin	...	84-24	84-24	84-24	89-15	84-24	85-0	84-24	84-24	85 0	84-24	42-12 (?)	24-24 (?)

Supplement to the Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Delhi.

	Suhnah.	Kohānah.	Deoband, &c.	Sardhanah, &c.	Kerānah, &c.	Indri.	Suburban district of Sirhind.	Thānesar, &c.	Thārah, &c.	Sāmanah, &c.	Suburban district of Sambhal.	Chāndpur, &c.	Lakhnor, &c.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J	D. J.
Sugarcane (*paundah*)	218·0	...	216·20	216·20	214·1	240·12	240·12	240·12	240·12	230·12	220·6	220·0	216·0
Common Sugarcane	134·16	134·16	123·0	123·0	123·0	118·13	121·22	120·19	118·13	118·12	129·17	130·20	120·29
Common rice ...	58·4	33·17	42·12	48·9	44·48	42·12	42·12	42·18	44·14	49·15	42·12	41·9	42·12
Māsh	36·23	35·20	32·11	34·17	33·14	32·15	33·14	33·0	32·12	31·8	34·12	35.19	31·20
Cotton	95·1	89·11	89·11	89·11	91·17	107·8	107·8	150·2	58·20	105·2	102·21½	97·10	46·14
Moth	24·15	26·9	20·9	22·0	26·21	21·6½	22·9	22·9	21·1	21·6	22·9	22·9	22·3
Gāl	15·16	16·19	15·16	16·19	16·9	13·11	14·14	14·14	13·11	14·14	15·16	15·16	15·3
Arzan	23·12	22·9	20·9	22·9	23·3	23·3	23 3	23·3	23·3	21·3	21·6	22·9	19·14
Indigo	163 0	161·0	157·13	161·0	161 0	161·0	161 0	161·0	161·0	161·0	163·6	156·13	161·14
Hinna	78·20	88·7	77·4	71·14	86·1	70·11	69·20	70·11	70·11	70·11	73·20½	72·17	72·17
Hemp	...	89·11	82·18	83·21	82·18	82·12	82·12	82·12	82 12	82·12	89·11	89·11	89·11
Potherbs	77·7	71·14	71·14	78·7	70·14	71·14	71·14	70·11	71·14	71·14	78·6	78·7	73·20
Kachrah	13·11	13·11	12·8	12·8	12·8	11·5	11·19	11·5	11·19	11·19	11·5	11·14½	12·20
Pān	223·11	223·15	245·24	223·15	223·15	223·15	223·15	223·15	223·15	223·15	223·15	223·15	...
Singhārah	...	...	...	111·20	111·20	111·20	111·20	111·20	111·20	111·20	111·20	111·20	...
Lobiya	33·14	27·24	30·5	25·21	...	...	...	...	...	...	26·23	26·21	27·10
Jowāri	36·23	35·20	26·21	35·14	33·14	33·14	33·14	34·17	33·14	33·14	36·22	38·18	36·23
Kuri	13·11	13·11	11·5	12·8	10·3	12·23	13·20	12·22	12·22	12·8	...	...	...
European radish ...	13·11	13·11	12 8	12·8	12·20	11·5	11·19	11·5	11·19	11·19	11·5	11·14½	12·20
Lahdarah	26·21	26·21	22·9	22·9	26·21	24·15	25·4	24·15	24·25	24·15	24·15	24·15	22·9
Kodaran	33·14	35·20	38·24	29·9	33·14	26·7	25·18	26·21	26·7	24·15	27·23	26·20	26·7
Mandwah	27·10	27·24	24·15	29·9	30·20	24·15	25·18	24·15	24·15	24·15	26·6½	27·24	25·18
Sesame seed ...	49·5	44·18	34·17	44·18	40 6	40·6	41·3	41·9	40·6	40·6	44·18	48·2	39 3
Shamākh	12·8	13·11	11·5	12·20	11·5	11·5	11·5	11·5	11·5	11·5	11·18	11·5	11·19
Mung	40·6	38·0	38·0	34·15	40·6	40·6	40·6	40·6	40·6	38·0	40·6	40·6	36·22
Turmeric	...	...	27·24	...	...	...	...	...	...	111·20	...	...	...

The *Subah* of *Lāhore* contains 8 populated areas[119] (*Tieff. pagi et oppida*).

1. The area of *Lāhore*, &c. has 20 mahals, 1 code. Area of *Lāhore*, &c. 4 mahals; metropolitan area, *Bāri Doāb; Barhiāsat;*[120] lands of *Panj Bari Shāhpur*: lands of *Kālapand, Rachnāu Doāb.*

Panjāb, 16 mahals: Tappah[121] *Bheluwāl* of the *Bari Doāb, Tappah Bharli, Tappah Phulwāri, Punjgarāmi, Sandhwāl, Sāhu Mali, Sidhpur, Mankatwālah, Ghāzipur, Chandanwarak, Amrāki Bhatah, Parsaror, Rachnau, Sidhpur Panchnagar, Garbandwāl.*

2. *Sarkār* of *Jālandhar*, 30 hahals. 1 code. *Jālandhar, Sultānpur, Shaikhpur, Melsi, Lohi Dheri, Nakodar, Talon, Muhammadpur, Miani Nuriya, Kharkharaon, Rahimabad, Jalalabad, Hādiābād, Bajwārah, Harhānah*, and *Akbarabad*, 2 mahals, *Balot, Bhonkā, Hājipur, Pati Dhināt, Dardak Sāhimalot, Andwarah, Dadiāl, Kard Jālar? Sarkar* (?). *Deswahah, Chaurāsi, Naunankal, Nobi.*

3. *Sarkār* of *Batālah*, &c. 14 mahals, 1 code. *Battālah, Kanuwāhan, Kalānor, Jamāri, Hanwād* and *Baba*, 2 mahals, *Thandot, Dābhāwālah, Khokhowāl, Paniyal, Bhalot, Katwahā* and *Bethān*, 2 mahals, Salimābād separate from Battālah.

4. *Pati Haibatpur*, &c., 6 mahals, 1 code. *Haibatpur, Hoshiār Karnālah, Firozpur, Qasur, Muhammadot, Deosah.*?

5. *Sarkār* of *Parsaror*, &c., 7 mahals, 1 code. *Parsaror, Maukri, Mahror, Pati Zafarwāl, Pati Bārmak, Haminagar.*

6. *Sarkār* of *Rohtās*, &c., 9 mahals. 1 code. *Rohtās, Kari, Kariāli, Bahni, Andarhal, Losdah, Sardahi, Malotrai Kedāri, Nandanpur.*

7. *Sarkār* of *Siālkot*, &c., 11 mahals, 1 code. *Siālkot, Mānkot, Wan, Sodrah, Narot, Renhā, Jinah Chatah, Marāt, Mankoknor Sialkot*?

[119] The term *sawād* is usually applied to the towns and villages of Arabian Irāq [*i.e.*, the *sown* or cultivated area, as distinct from the desert], as those in Khurasān are called *rustāk*, and in Arabia Felix *makhālif*.

[120] This name does not occur in the account of Lahore later on. The variants are *Barhiāt, Barhāt, Barsāhāt, Barsahasāt*. It is scarcely necessary to note that the words *Bāri* and *Rachna* in connection with Doāb are formed by the crasis of *Beās* and *Rāvi*, in the former case, and *Rāvi* and *Chenāb* in the latter.

[121] *Tappah* denotes a small tract or division of country smaller than a parganah, but comprising one or more villages. In some parts of the North-West, it denotes a tract in which there is one principal town or a large village with lands and villages acknowledging the supremacy of one amongst them and forming a sort of corporate body, although not otherwise identical. Wilson's *Gloss*

8. *Sarkār* of *Hazārah*, &c., 16 mahals, 1 code. *Hazārah, Chandanwat* of the *Chenāu Doāb, Bherah, Khokharwāl, Khushāb, Kal Bhelak*,[122] *Khār Darwāzah, Tāral, Shor, Shamshābād*, separate from *Bherah, Shorpur* separate from *Chandanwat, Shakarpur* separate from *Shor*.

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Lahore.

	Lahore, &c.	Battālah, &c.	Parsaror, &c.	Pati Haibatpur, &c.	Jālandhar, &c.	Rohtās, &c.	Siālkot, &c.	Hazārah, &c.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Wheat	50-18	49-5	53-17	58-17	53-17	44-18	38-17	55-23
Cabul Vetches ...	64-21	...	...	...	...	60-10	70-15	...
Indian do. ...	85-20	33-14	85-20	83-14	...	31-8	85-20	34-17
Barley	46-0	35-20	38-0	38-0	...	31-3	38-0	38-0
Adas	26-21	24-15	24-15	24-15	...	22-9	28-21	26-2
Safflower	79-10	79-10	78-10	79-2	...	67-2	78-7	79-10
Poppy	129-17	129-17	129-17	129-17	...	115-20	129-18	129-17
Potherbs	71-14	67-2	67-2	67-2	...	55-20	67-0	67-2
Linseed	31-8	27-24	27-24	31-8	...	22-9	29-22	31-8
Mustard seed ...	31-8	29-2	31-8	31-8	...	26-21	31-8	35-21
Arzan	21-6	19-0	19-0	21-6	...	15-16	20-3	20-8
Peas	24-15	26-21	27-4	26-21	...	26-21	31-8	27-24
Carrots	24-15	25-18	24-15	24-15	...	19-0	24-15	24-15
Onions	88-21	83-21	86-18	83-21	...	71-13	88-21	84-24
Fenugreek	50-8	46-24	61-12	40-6	...	60-10	67-2	36-28
Persian Water Melons	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	...	89-15	111-20	111-20
Indian ditto ...	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16	...	11-18	15-16	15-16
Cummin	57-5	84-24	84-5	87-5	...	81-4	84-24	87-5
Ajwāin	87-5	84-24	84-0	87-0	...	71-4	84-84	87-5

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Lahore.

	Lahore, &c.	Battālah, &c.	Parsaror, &c.	Pati Haibatpur, &c.,	Jālandhar, &c.	Rohtās, &c.	Siālkot, &c.	Hazārah, &c
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Sugarcane (*paundah*)	240-12	240-12	240-12	240-12	240-12	183-12½	...	240-12½
Common Sugarcane ...	145-9	186-10	145-0	184-4	123-0	123-0		170-15
Dark coloured rice ...	64-21	60-9	60-15	60-15	58-4	50-8	67-0	66-0
Common rice ...	49-5	40-6	40-6	46-24	46-12½	38-14	41-9	49-5
Kalt	32-11	31-8	31-8	30-5	32-15	26-21	31-8	29-2
Māsh	35-20	33-4	35-20	38-14	38-14	31-8	35-20	36-23
Cotton	80-15	85-0	87-5	88-5	89-15	76-5	77-5	91-18

[122] In the account of Lahor, *Bhalak*.

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Lahore.—continued.

	Lahore, &c.	Battālah, &c.	Parsarur, &c.	Pati Hailat-pur, &c.	Jālandhar, &c.	Rohtās, &c.	Siālkot, &c.	Hazārah, &c.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Moth	20 9	22-9	23-23	22-9	22-9	20-3	23-12½	23-12½
Gāl	17-22	15-16	17-20	17-20	15-16	13-12	16-15	19-0
Turiya	...	33-14	35-20	26-21	...	31-8	38-0	...
Arzan	20 9	17-0	17-22	22-9	15-22	14-14	17-22	29-2
Indigo	156 23	156-13	156-13	156-13	156-13	134-4	134-18	158-19
Hinna	70 0	70-0	74-23	76-0	74-23	67-6	74-23	77-24
Hemp	93-23	93-23	93-23	93-23	89-15	80-12	93-23	93-23
Potherbs	80-12½	80-17	80-17	80-12½	80-17	60-9	70-17	80-12½
Kachrah	12-8	12-8	12-8	12-8	12-8	10-6	12-8	13-11
Pān	123-15	123-15	...	123-15	...	...	...	123-15
Singhārah	115 20	115-20	...	115-20	...	...	...	115-20
Jowāri	40-6	35-20	38-0	38-0	35-20	31-8	38-0	38-0
Lahdarah	31-8	29-2	30-5	29-2	26-21	24-15	23-2	31-8
Kodaram	33-14	35-20	34-17	31-8	33-14	31-8	35-20	35-20
Mandwah	33-14	31-8	31-8	32-15	26-21	26-21	21-20	32-15
Sesame	46 24	42-12	42-12½	44-18	40-6	33-14	48-12½	46-24
Shamākh	13-15	12-20	12-8	12-8	12-9	10-2	12-8	13-15
Mung	40-12½	...	...	...	40-6	26-21	44-18	44-18
Kori	13-15	12-8	12-8	12-8	15-5	10-2	12-8	12-8
Turmeric	133-0	133-0	138-0	134-4	133-0	115-20	134-4	133-20

Subah of Mālwah.

1. *Sarkār* of *Ujjain*, 10 mahals. City of *Ujjain* with suburban district, *Dipālpur, Ratlām, Nawlāi, Badhnāwar, Kanel, Anhal, Khāchrod, Sānwer, Pānbihār.*

2. *Sarkār* of *Hindiah*, 22 mahals.
3. ,, ,, *Kotri*, 9 do.
4. ,, ,, *Sārangpur*, 23 do.
5. ,, ,, *Bijagarh*, 32 do.
6. ,, ,, *Gāgron*, 11 do.

7. *Sarkārs* of *Raisin* and *Chanderi*, 1 code. *Sarkār* of *Raisin, Asāpori*, &c. 6 mahals. *Bhilsah, Bhori, Bhojpur, Bālābhat, Thānah Mir Khān, Jājoi, Jhatānawi, Jalodah, Khiljipur, Dhāmoni, Dekhwārah, Deorod, Dhāniah, Raisin* with suburban district, *Sewāni, Sarsiah, Shāhpur, Khimlāsah, Khera, Kesorah, Khāmgarh, Kargarh, Korai, Laharpur, Māhsamand. Sarkār* of *Mando*, 12 mahals. City of *Mando, Amjharah, Mahesar, Dikthān, Dharmagāon, Sānkor, Panmān, Dhār, Barodah, Hāsilpur, Sanasi, Kotrah, Manāwarah Nalchah* and *Nawali*, 2 mahals.

Subah of Multān.

Sarkār of *Dipālpur*. Dipālpur, &c., 14 mahals; one *Dastur; Dipālpur, Lakhi bālā Bhoj, Lakhi Kalnārki, Lakhi Yusfāni,*[123] *Lakhi. Khokharāin, Kabulah, Lakhi Rahimābād, Lakhi Chahni, Lakhi Qiyāmpur, Lakhi Jangli, Lakhi Ālampur, Jalālābād, Tappah Sadkarah,* 2 mahals. *Tappah Sadkarah, Shahzādah Baloj, Karal, Khānpur, Rasulpur, Shahżādah Hajrau, Mundi.*

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Multān.[124] *Spring Harvest of the Subah of Mālwah.*

	Multān, &c. 26 mahals.	Dipālpur, &c. 14 mahals.	Sadkarah, &c. 11 mahals.	Ujjain, &c.	Raisen, &c.	Māndo, &c.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	M.123 D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Wheat	58-17	44-18	51-11	...	29-20	...
Cabul Vetches ...	...	...	...	...	40-12	...
Barley	49-5	30-5	30-20	...	46-24	...
Adas	44-5	24-15	47-14	...	30-5	...
Safflower	73-20	78-20	70-8	3½ 2 13	69-20	...
Poppy	115-20	128-15	129-0	4½ 5 20	127-15	...
Pot-herbs	67-2	70-15	67-2	8¼ 2 13	60-9	...
Linseed	...	29-2	31-8	...	31-8	...
Mustard seed ...	44-18	29-2	31-2	3½ 2 13	...	...
Arzan	29-2	20-17	20-3	...	16-12	...
Peas	...	23-12	25-17	...	31-8	...
Carrots	...	22-9	36-1	...	27-24	...
Onions	71-14	74-7	72-18	...	...	...
Fenugreek ...	69-20	89-8	44-18	...	...	...
Persian musk melons	...	116-0	115-20	8¼ 1 3	115-20	...
Indian do. ...	22-9	15-16	15-16	...	15-0	...
Cumin	73-20	74-8	77-11	...	46-2	...
Kur rice	...	...	...	...	85-0	...
Ajwāin	...	...	...	...	86-2	...

[123] *M.* stands for *Muzaffari*, see Vol. I, p. 23.

[124] In this and the table of the Spring harvest of Lahore I onsider *mang* a misprint for *mashang* which occurs in this order in all tl previous tables. *Mung*, the *Phaseolus mungo*, is recorded only in the Autumn harvest,

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Multān. *Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Mālwah.*

	Multān& c. 22 mahals.	Dipālpur &c. 14 mahals.	Sadkarah &c. 11 mahals.	Ujjain, &c.			Raisen, &c.	Mando, &c.		
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	M.	D.	J.	D. J.	M.	D.	J.
Sugarcane (*paundah*) ...	...	240-12	240-11	7½	1	21	239-6		...	
Common Sugarcane	134-4	126-9	143-3	4¼	5	8	48-15	6	1	0
Dark coloured rice	...	60-3	64-21		...		70-18		...	
Common rice ...	49-5	49-15	49-5		...		55-3		...	
Kalī	...	27-24	31-3		...		46-6		...	
Māsh	40-0	32-11	35-20		...		...		...	
Cotton	93-23	87-5	89-11	2¾	1	2	87-5	2¾	3	1
Moth	38-0	22-9	23-12		...		26-21		...	
Gāl	26-21	17-22	19-0		...		8-8		...	
Arzan	31-20	23-12	22-9		...		...		...	
Indigo	145-9	150-19	159-22	2¾	1	2	4-24		...	
Hinna	76-0	76-0	76-0		...		...	2½	1	1
Hemp	85-0	91-17	93-23		...		...		...	
Pot-herbs	73-20	77-4	82-18		...		...		...	
Pān	...	123-0	...		...		...		...	
Singhārah ...	...	111-0	...	4¼	5	20	115-20	6¼	4	7
Lobiya	38-0	38-0	33-14		...		...		...	
Jowāri	42-12	35-20	38-0		...		44-18		...	
Kuri	...	13-11	12-8		...		15-16		...	
Lahdarah ...	44-18	29-2	81-2		...		...		...	
Kodqram ...	...	33-14	33-14		...		...		...	
Mandwah ...	...	30-19	31-8		...		31-8		...	
Sesame	41-9	43-15	44-18		...		40-12		...	
Shamākh ...	12-8	12-8	13-11		...		...		...	
Mung	...	...	...		...		40-5		...	

Note.—I cannot understand nor explain the notation in Muzaffaris and am not sure if I have interpreted it correctly.

EDITOR'S NOTE

On the correction of place-names and dynastic lists in Jarrett's translation, vol. II.

In tracing the Hindu personal names and the numerous less important place-names, the variant readings given in the printed Persian text of the *'Ain-i-Akbari* are of no help to us, unless we know the correct names from other sources, such as (in the case of topography) large-scale maps and the records in the modern revenue and judge's courts of those areas. Similarly, Tieffenthaler's *Geography of Hindustan* (Fr. trans. by Bernoulli, 1786) is of no real use to us; he merely translated from Persian mss of the *'Ain*, and where his names differ from those in our printed text of the *'Ain*, he can be correct only in the rare instances of his having had a more correct and legible ms. of the book before him and his having transcribed these names in Roman letters without a mistake. Most of the mistakes in the proper names are due to the ignorance or carelessness of the Muslim clerks of Abul Fazl and the later copyists of his book. Students of Persian mss know that the usual sources of mistake in mss are the confusion, in writing, of the letters *R*, *D*, and *W*, (and sometimes also *HU* for *DU*) and the wrong placing (or omission) of dots (*nuqta*) by which *B*, *T*, *N*, *Y*, *P* and *H* are confounded together.

The only dependable means of correcting the place-names in the *'Ain-i-Akbari* is to use the Survey of India maps (quarter-inch or even one inch to the mile sheets), and this I have done. But absolute certainly on this point can be gained only by carefully verifying these names from the old revenue and civil court records of each particular sub-division included in the *'Ain*. I wish that local inquirers would do this work and send the result to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta) for incorporation in a future edition of this translation.

Unlike his brother Faizi who was a Sanskrit scholar, Abul Fazl did not know that difficult language. So, the author of Akbar's *Imperial Gazetteer* had to engage a number of Brahman pandits and Kayasth scribes, and they read out and summarised in Urdu the legendary Hindu history from the Sanskrit epics and Purānas and quasi-historical works like the *Rajatarangini* and the guide-books

to famous Hindu shrines (*i.e., māhātmyas* and *khandas.*) These summaries were put down in Persian by Abul Fazl's clerks. Pickings from these Persian notes went to the making of ancient Hindu history as given by Abul Fazl in the final shape of the *'Ain-i-Akbari.*

When Col. Jarrett made his translation of the second volume of the *'Ain-i-Akbari* in the Eighteen-eighties, his only sources for ancient Hindu history were Wilson's *Vishnu Purāna* and Prinsep's *Useful Tables,* and for early Muslim history, Firishtah, *Riyāz-us-Salātin* and similar uncritical early works. During the sixty years and more that have passed since then, the study of Indian history has made such a great advance that it would be an injustice to the modern reader—and also to Jarrett's memory,—to reprint his notes from obsolete authors. I have therefore felt it necessary to sweep away his heaps of dead leaves (as I have called them in my introduction to the revised edition of the third volume of the *'Ain*), and to give extracts only from modern authorities, such as the Dacca University *History of Bengal* (vol. I. Hindu period, vol. II. Muslim Rule), R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa* in 2 volumes (1930-1931, replacing the ante-diluvian Hunter's *Orissa* of 1872, which Jarrett cited,), the *Cambridge History of India,* Elliot and Dowson, &c.

In fact, Abul Fazl's Hindu history is of no real value, as it was entirely drawn from traditions and myths, long before the age of critical historiography based upon inscriptions, coins and records. Hence, I have not wasted paper by trying to refute every error in this portion of the *Ain,* but I have given exact references to modern sources, where the reader will find the necessary correct information on the subject.

The pandits employed by Abul Fazl have made a hotch-potch of the old history of Hindustan by mixing together legendary and historical kings, inserting real royal names of one dynasty or province into the dynastic list of another, and thus inextricably mingling truth and fancy together, *e.g.,* Anangahbima was a real king of Orissa (three of the dynasty bearing that name) shortly before the Muslim invasion, but Abul Fazl makes him the son of the pre-historic Bhagadatta, the comrade of Duryodhan of the *Mahābhārat* and a king of Bengal! So also, Bhoja, who reigned elsewhere than in Bengal and was a Kshatriya, is

made in the *'Aim* a Kāyastha and the founder of the second line of Bengal kings.

As for Raja *Naujah,* Abul Fazl is confused, making him the last king of the Sena dynasty in one place, and the father of Lakshman Sena in another. I cannot conceive how *Nārāyan* can be misspelt in Persian writing as *Naujah.* I suggest the emendation *Budh-sen* (a real king at the end of the Senas) for *Naujah* in the list, and *Raja of Nudia* for *Raja-i-Naujah* at the first mention.

Correct list of the Pala kings of Bengal—

Gopāla I., accession	...	*c.* 750 A.D
Dharma-pāla	...	770
Deva-pāla	...	810
Vigraha-pāla I or Sura-pāla I	...	850
Nārāyana-pāla	...	854
Rājya-pāla	...	908
Gopāla II.	...	940
Vigraha-pāla II	...	960
Mahi-pāla I	...	988
Naya-pāla	...	1038
Vigraha-pāla III	...	1055
Mahi-pāla II	...	1070
Sura-pāla II	...	1075
Rāma-pāla	...	1077
Kumāra-pāla	...	1120
Gopāla III	...	1125
Madana-pāla	...	1140
Govinda-pāla	...	1155

(D.U. *Bengal,* i. 176-177.)

Correct list of the Sena kings of Bengal—

Vira-sena (progenitor, not Raja)

Sāmanta-sena

Hemanta-sena, 1st Raja, in Rārh acc. *c.* 1080.

Vijaya-sena, conquered all Bengal except Gaur, (r. 1125-58)

Vallāla-sena, *r.c.* 1158-1179

Lakshman-sena, *r.c.* 1179-1206. His sons Vishwa-rupa-sena and Keshav-sena ruled in East Bengal till *c.* 1230. Surya-sena and Purushottama-sena were probably the sons of Vishwa-rupa, and were in power till . 1245. Among the

chiefs with names ending in Sena, in Eastern India in the 13th century, are Buddha-sena (of Pithi) and his son Jaya-sena, and Madhu-sena (date prob. 1289); but they were mere local barons or zamindārs and not ruling sovereigns. (D.U. *Bengal,* i. 205-228.)

Correct list of the Pre-Mughal Muslim rulers of Bengal (leaving out the viceroys and rebel sultans from Qutbuddin Aibak to Md. Tughluq Shah, 1202-1339.)—

Ala-ud-din Ali (Mubārak) accession 1339 A.D.

Early Ilyās Shāhi dynasty

Shams-ud-din Ilyās (Bhangāra),	...	r. 1348-'57
Sikandar Shah ..	...	r. 1357-c. '91
Ghiyās-ud-din Ā'zam Shāh	...	*c.* 1391-1409
Ghiyās-ud-din Ā'zam Shāh	...	*c.* 1391-1409
Saifuddin Hamza Sh.	...	1409-10
Shihābuddin Bāyezid Sh. (title Shams-ud-din)	...	1411-13
'Alauddin Firuz Sh. ...	...	1414

Hindu dynasty

Ganesh (*var.* Kans) ...	...	1414-1418
Jalāluddin, s. of Ganesh	...	1418-31
Shams-ud-din Ahmad	...	1431-42

Later Ilyās Shāhi dynasty

Nāsir-ud-din Mahmud I	...	1442-59
Rukn-ud-din Bārbak Sh.	...	1459-74
Shams-ud-din Yusuf Sh.	...	1471-81
Jalāl-ud-din Fath Sh. ...	...	1481-87

Abyssinian dynasty.

Bārbak Shah	... 6 months,	1487
Saif-ud-din Firuz Sh.	...	1487-90
Nāsir-ud-din Mahmud II	...	1490-91
Shams-ud-din Muzaffar	...	1491-93

(*Arab*) *Husain Shāhi dynasty.*

A'la-ud-din Husain Shāh,	...	1493-1510
Nāsir-ud-din A. M. Nasrat Sh.	...	1519-32
A'la-ud-din Firuz ...	...	1532-33
Ghiyās-ud-din Mahmud,	...	1533-38

Sur dynasty.

Sher Shāh	...	1539-45
Islām Shāh	..	1545-53
Shams-ud-din Md. Sh.	...	1553-55
Ghiyās-ud-din Bahādur (Khizr Kh.)		1556-60
Ghiyās-ud-din II	...	1561-63
His son ...	... 7 months,	1563
Ghiyās-ud-din III	... one year	1564

Karrāni dynasty (Afghan).

Tāj Kh. Karrāni	...	r. 1564-65
Sulaiman Karrāni	...	1565-72
Bāyezid Karrāni	...	1572
Dāud Karrāni	...	1573-76

(See D.U. *Bengal,* vol. II)

Note on the sarkars of Bengal in Akbar's time.

In view of the frequent changes in the administrative geography of Bengal under British rule and the radical change resulting from the partition of Bengal in August 1947, it is impossible to indicate briefly the extent of any of the *sarkārs* of the *'Ain* in terms of the districts of the two parts of Bengal as they are today. Among the striking points of difference are that under Mughal rule (*a*) southern and western Midnapur belonged to Orissa and not to Bengal, (*b*) the district of Purnia and the eastern portion of Bhagalpur were attached to Bengal and not to Bihar, and (*c*) Sikhar-bhum (old name of Pachet), Dhaval-bhum, and Singbhum formed parts of the *Sarkār* of Mandaran belonging to Bengal.

The following table of approximate equivalents between Akbar's *sarkārs* and the Bengal districts in the last stage of British rule may be of some help to the modern reader.

Sarkars		*Districts*
Udambar	...	Rajmahal subdivision, N.W. Murshidabad, and N. Birbhum.
Jannatābād	...	Malda (mainly)
Fathābād	...	Faridpur, South Bakarganj and the islands at the mouth of the Ganges.
Mahmudābād	...	North Nadia, North Jessore, and West Faridpur.
Khilāfatābād	...	South Jessore and West Bakarganj.

Sarkars		*Districts*
Baklā ...	...	North and East Bakarganj and S.-W. Dacca.
Tājpur	...	East Purnia and West Dinajpur.
Ghorāghāt	...	S. Rangpur, S.-E. Dinajpur, and N. Bogra.
Pinjāra	...	Dinajpur and parts of Rangpur and Rajshahi.
Bārbakābād	...	mainly Rajshahi, S.W. Bogra and S.E. Malda.
Bāzuhā	...	partly Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna and Dacca.
Sonārgāon	...	West Tippera and Noakhali.
Sharifatābād	...	mostly Burdwan.
Sulaimanābād	...	North Hugli, and adjacent parts of Nadia and E. Burdwan.
Sātgāon	...	24 Parganas, W. Nadia (?) and Howrah.
Mandāran	...	Bankura, Vishnupur, S.E. Burdwan and W. Hugli.

Bāzuhā—This word is the Persian plural of *bāzu* meaning 'an arm', *i.e.*, the direction of a locality with reference to a central point such as the capital town. In early times the provinces of a kingdom were indicated as its different directions (*e.g.*, *Tarf*, *subah* from *sub*, whence the titles of provincial governors *Tarf-dār*, *subah-dār*, &c.) As will be noticed in the lists of the *'Ain*, in Orissa locality-names are compounded with the word *dik* meaning direction of the compass, and in Bengal and elsewhere with the word *dast*, meaning the right arm or the left arm, of the speaker. In Akbar's time the portion of Bengal known as *Bāzuhā* had not yet been consolidated into a compact area, but lay sprawling over many neighbouring districts and having no clear-marked boundaries. *Rāst* and *chap* mean the right and left hands respectively.

J. SARKAR.

ACCOUNT OF THE TWELVE SUBAHS.

In the fortieth year of the Divine Era [1594] His Majesty's dominions consisted of one hundred and five *Sarkārs* (divisions of a Subah) subdivided into two thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven townships (*qasba*). When the ten years' settlement of the revenue was made (which amounted to an annual rental of three *Arbs*, sixty-two *krors*, ninety-seven *lakhs*, fifty-five thousand two hundred and forty-six *dāms* [Rs. 9,07,43,681] and twelve *lakhs* of betel leaves), His Majesty apportioned the Empire into twelve divisions, to each of which he gave the name of *Subah* and distinguished them by the appellation of the tract of country or its capital city. These were Allahabad, Agra, Oudh, Ajmer, Ahmadābād, Behār, Bengal, Delhi, Kābul, Lāhor, Multān, Mālwah: and when Berār, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar were conquered, their number was fixed at fifteen. A brief description of each is here set down, and an account of their rulers together with the periods in which they flourished, duly recorded.

BENGAL SUBAH.

Since the conceptions of sovereign rule embrace the universe, I propose to begin with Bengal which is at one extremity of Hindustān and to proceed to Zabulistān[1] and I hope that Turān and Irān and other countries may be added to the count. The country lying to the east will be first described, followed by the north, the south, and the west.

This *Subah* is situated in the second clime.[2] Its length

[1] Kābul and the adjacent territory as far as Ghazna and even beyond come under this appellation which is derived by Yākut, *Majmu'a-ul-Buldān*) from Zābul, grandfather of Rustam.

[2] *Iqlim*, literally a slope or inclination, was used in the mathematical geography of the Greeks with reference to the inclination of various parts of the earth's surface to the plane of the equator. Before the globular figure of the earth was known, it was supposed that there was a general slope of its surface from S. to N. and this was called *klima*. But as the science of mathematical geography advanced, the word was applied to belts of the earth's surface, divided by lines parallel to the equator, those lines being determined by the different lengths, at different places, of the shadow cast by a gnomon of the same altitude, at noon of the same day. This division into climates was applied only to the N. hemisphere as the geographers had no practical knowledge of the earth S. of the equator. There were 19 climates as given by Ptolemy (*Geogr.* i, 23). The term was afterwards applied to the average temperature of each of these regions and hence our modern use of the word, (Smith's *Dict. of Antiq*, 2nd ed., art. Climates; also *Ency. of Islam*, ii. 460).

from Chittagong to *Garhi*[3] is four hundred *kos*. Its breadth from the northern range of mountains to the southern frontier of the *Sarkār* of *Mandāran*, is two hundred *kos*, and when the country of Orissa was added to this *Subah*, the additional length was forty-three *kos* and the breadth twenty-three. It is bounded on the east by the sea, on the north and south by mountains and on the west by the *Subah* of Behār. The tract of country on the east called *Bhāti*,[4] is reckoned a part of this province. It is ruled by Isa Afghān and the *Khutbah* is read and the coin struck in the name of his present Majesty. In this country the mango trees grow to the height of a man or not so high and produce abundant fruit. Adjoining it, is an extensive tract of country inhabited by the Tipperah tribes. The name of the ruler is *Bijay Mānik*. Whosoever obtains the chieftainship, bears the title of *Mānik* after his name, and the nobles that of *Nārāin*. He has a force of two hundred thousand footmen and a thousand elephants. Horses are scarce. To the north is a country called *Kuch*. Its chief commands a thousand horse and a hundred thousand foot. *Kāmrup*, commonly called also *Kāonrup* and *Kāmtā*, is subject to him. The inhabitants are as a race good looking and addicted to the practice of magic. Strange stories are told regarding them. It is said that they build houses, of which the pillars, walls and roofs are made of men. Some of these they compel by the power of sorcery, and criminals deserving of death are also thus made use of. Whoever voluntarily surrenders

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The Arabs adopted this system but restricted the number to seven. They considered three-fourths of the globe to be submerged and one-fourth above water. Of this latter $\frac{1}{28}$ was habitable and the remainder waste or desert. The habitable portion was 33 150,000 square miles in extent, each mile being 4000 cubits, each cubit 24 digits. It was situated between the Equator and the N. pole and was divided into 7 climates.

[3] This is Teliagarhi, a pass in the Santhāl Parganahs, Bihar, lying between the Rājmahāl hills on the S. and the Ganges on the N. Formerly of strategic importance as commanding the military approaches to Bengal proper. The ruins of a large fort still exist, through which the E. I. Railway passes. It seems never to have been completed and was constructed in the last century by the Teli *zamīndār* who was forcibly converted by the Muhammadans. Hence the name of the fort and the *parganah* in which it is situated. *Imp. Gazetteer.*

The *kos* is for convenience generally taken at two English miles. The basis of all linear systems is the same, *viz.*, the cubit or human forearm. Proceeding upwards four *hāths* or cubits=a *danda* or staff: and 2000 *dandas* a *kos*, which by this calculation should be 4000 yards English or nearly 2¼ miles. *Useful Tables*, p. 87. Also Elliot's *Memoir of Races, N. W. P.* II. 194.

[4] The name given by the Muhammadan historians to the coast-strip of the Sundarbans from Hijili to the Meghna Lat. 20° 30′ to 22° 30′ N., long. 88° to 91° 14′ E. The name means "low lands overflowed by the tide" and is still applied to the Sundarban tracts of Khulna and Bākarganj Districts. *I. G.* For Isa Kh., D.U. *Bengal*, ii. 194-212.

himself for this purpose, escapes retribution for a year. Various conveniences are reserved for him. In due time, men armed with swords cut them down, and from their movements or immobility or other aspects, they have cognizance of scarcity or plenty or duration of years [of the reign] or the longevity of the ruler or defeat of enemies. They also cut open a pregnant woman who has gone her full term of months and taking out the child, divine somewhat as to the future. There grows a wonderful tree whose branches when cut, exude a sweet liquid which quenches the drought of those athirst. They have also a mango tree[5] that has no trunk; it trails like a climbing vine, over a tree and produces fruit. There is likewise a flower[6] which after it has been gathered for two months, does not wither nor lose its colour or smell. Of this they make necklaces.

Bordering on this country are the dominions of the Rājah of Ashām (Assam) whose great pomp and state are subjects of general report. When he dies, his principal attendants of both sexes voluntarily bury themselves alive in his grave. Neighbouring this is Lower Tibet and to its left is *Khata*.[7] This is also called *Mahāchin* which the vulgar pronounce *Māchin*. From *Khān Bāligh*[8] its capital, to the ocean, a forty days' journey, they have cut a canal both sides of which are embanked with stone and mortar. Alexander of Greece advanced to that country by this route.[9] Another road is also mentioned which can be traversed in four days and four nights.

[4] The *Willoughbeia edulis*. It is known to natives of Bengal, Assam and the Chittagong Hill tracts, as the Loti Ám (*Loti*, for Sanskrit *latā*, a creeper) but botanically is far removed from the true mango. The fruit is said to be pleasant to taste. The leaf of the dried specimen is very similar to the ordinary mango leaf: the fruit is about 2½ inches long and 2¼ broad (Dr. King.)

[5] The *Tulsi*, (Ocymum Sanctum).

[7] China for nearly 1000 years, writes Yule (*Marco Polo*, 2nd ed. Introd., p. 11) has been known to Asia under the name of Khitai, Khata or *Cathay* and is still called Khitai by the Russians. [*Ency. Islam*, ii. 737 under *Kara Khitai*.]

[8] De Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*. gives this name to Pekin, called also Tatou the *grand court* or Khān Bāligh, *the court of the Khān*. Several towns have received this name which as it signifies the royal residence is transferable to any that the monarch may honour with his presence. It is the *Cambalu* of Western geographers and historians and placed by them in Northern China or Grand Tartary, while the Orientals locate it in China Proper. (*Ency. Islam*, ii. 898).

[9] In B.C. 329 Alexander crossed the Oxus in pursuit of Bessus and after putting him to death, he passed the Jaxartes (Sir Daria) and defeated several Scythian tribes north of that river. This was the northernmost point that he reached. A. Fazl is merely relating the Muslim legend of Alexander, for which see *Ency. Islam*, ii. 533 under *al-Iskandar*. [J. S.]

To the south-east of Bengal is a considerable tract called *Arakan* which possesses the port of *Chittagong*. Elephants abound, but horses are scarce and of small size.[10] Camels are high priced : cows and buffaloes there are none, but there is an animal which has somewhat of the characteristics of both, piebald and particoloured, whose milk the people drink. Their religion is said to be different to that of the Hindus and Muhammadans. Sisters may marry their own twin brothers, and they refrain only from marriages between a son and his mother. The ascetics, who are their repositories of learning, they style *Wali* whose teaching they implicitly follow. It is the custom when the chief holds a court, for the wives of the military to be present, the men themselves not attending to make their obeisance. The complexion of the people is dark and the men have little or no beard.

Near to this tribe is *Pegu* which is also called *Chin*. In some ancient accounts it is set down as the capital city of *Chin*. There is a large military force of elephants and infantry, and white elephants are to be found. On one side of it is *Arakan*. There are mines of rubies, diamonds, gold, silver, copper, naphtha and sulphur, and over these mines there is continual contention between this country and the *Maghs* as well as the tribes of Tipperah.

The original name of Bengal was *Bang*. Its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province which were called *Āl*.[1] From this suffix, the name Bengal took its rise and currency. The summer heats are temperate and the cold season very short. The rains begin when the sun is midway in Taurus, (May) and continue for somewhat more than six months, the plains being under water and the mounds alone visible. For a long time past, at the end of the rains, the air had been felt to be pestilential and seriously affected

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[10] The domestic animals of the Arakan Hill Tracts according to the *Imp. Gaz.* are the *gayal*, buffalo, ox, goat, pig, dog. "The Gayal (*Bos Frontalis*) has interbred with the common Indian cattle; these hybrids are brought down by the Bhutiahs to the annual fair in the Darrung District : though they thrive in Shillong they soon die if kept in the plains. The Gayal is plentiful along the spurs of the Bhutān hills, amongst the Dufflas, Lushais, and along the hilly tract well into Chittagong." *Sport in British Burmah* by Lieut-Col. Pollock. An alternative reading gives, "horses are scarce, and asses and camels are high-priced," which Gladwin has adopted.

[1] Sansk. *āli* a mound of earth or ridge for crossing ditches, dividing fields and the like.

animal life, but under the auspices of his present Majesty, this calamity has ceased.

Its rivers are countless and the first of them in this province is the *Ganges*: its source cannot be traced. The Hindu sages say that it flows down from the hair of *Mahadeva's* head. Rising in the mountains towards the north, it passes through the province of Delhi, and imperial Agra, and Allahabad and Behār into the province of Bengal, and near *Qāzihattah* in the *Sarkar* of *Bārbakābād*, it divides into two streams. One of these, flowing east-wards, falls into the sea at the port of Chittagong. At the parting of the waters, it takes the name of *Padmāwati* and pursues a southern course. It is divided into three streams; one, the *Sarsuti* [Saraswati]; the second the *Jamna* (Jamuna) and the third the Ganges, called *collectively* in the Hindi language *Tribeni*,[2] and held in high veneration. The third stream after spreading into a thousand channels, joins the sea at *Sātgāon* [Hugli]. The *Sarsuti* and the Jamna unite with it. In praise of this stream the Hindu sages have written volumes. From its source to its mouth it is considered sacred, but some spots have a peculiar sanctity. Its water is carried as an offering of price to far distant places. Believing it to be a wave of the primeval river, they hold its worship to be an adoration of the supreme being, but this is no part of the ancient tradition. Its sweetness, lightness and wholesomeness attest its essential virtues. Added to this, it may be kept in a vessel for years without undergoing change.

Another river is the Brahmaputra. It flows from *Khatā*[3] (China) to *Kuch* and thence through the *Sarkār* of Bāzuhā and fertilising the country, falls into the sea.

And again there is the sea which is here a gulf of the great ocean, extending on one side as far as Basrah and on the other to the Egyptian Qulzum[4] and thence it washes

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[2] Sansk. *tribeni* three braids of hair. Wilford says (*Asiatic Research*, Vol. XIV, p. 396) that the waters of these three rivers do not mix. The waters of the Jumna are blue, those of the Sarasvati white and the Ganges is of a muddy yellowish colour.

[3] Its rise is supposed to be from the S. E. base of the sacred Kailās hill, on the opposite side of the water-parting in which the Sutlej and the Indus also take their rise. Its course, con-fluents and history may be read in the *I. G.*

[4] This is the ancient Klysma, the site of the modern Suez, in the neighbourhood of which the Tel Qulzūm still retains the name which has been given to the Red Sea. *Ency. Islam*, ii, 1114.

both Persia and Ethiopia where are Dahlak and Suākin, and is called (the Gulf of) Omān and the Persian Sea.

The principal cultivation is rice of which there are numerous kinds. If a single grain of each kind were collected, they would fill a large vase. It is sown and reaped three times a year on the same piece of land with little injury to the crop. As fast as the water rises, the stalks grow, so that the ear is never immersed, inasmuch as those experienced in such matters have taken the measure of a single night's growth at sixty cubits.[5] The people are submissive and pay their rents duly. The demands of each year are paid by instalments in eight months, they themselves bringing mohars and rupees to the appointed place for the receipt of revenue, as the division of grain between the government and the husbandman is not here customary. The harvests are always abundant, measurement is not insisted upon, and the revenue demands are determined by estimate of the crop. His Majesty in his goodness has confirmed this custom. Their staple food is rice and fish; wheat, barley and the like not being esteemed wholesome. Men and women for the most part go naked wearing only a cloth (*lungi*) about the loins. The chief public transactions fall to the lot of the women. Their houses are made of bamboos, some of which are so constructed that the cost of a single one will be five thousand rupees or more and they last a long time. Travelling is by boat, especially in the rains, and they make them of different kinds for purposes of war, carriage or swift sailing. For attacking a fort they are so constructed that when run ashore, their prow overtops the fort and facilitates its capture. For land travel they employ the *Sukhāsan*. This is a crescent-shaped litter covered with camlet or scarlet cloth and the like, the two sides of which have fastenings of various metals, and a pole supporting it is attached by means of iron hooks. It is conveniently adapted for sitting in, lying at full length or sleeping during travel. As a protection against sun and rain they provide a commodious covering which is removable at pleasure. Some enjoy the luxury of riding on elephants but they rarely take to horseback. The mats made here often resemble woven silk.

[5] Gladwin has *six* for *sixty*. The long stemmed rice, according to the *I.G.* is extensively cultivated in the swamps. The seed is sown when the marshes are dry or nearly so, and when the rains set in the plant shoots up with the rise of the water and can be grown in water to a depth of from 18 to 20 feet, but even this is not in one night.

Tria[6] inde genera eunuchorum veniunt, quo Sandalos, Bādāmos et Kāfuros nuncupant. Priores, partibus genitalibus radicaliter exsectis, Atlises etiam nominant. Bādāmis pars solum penis relinquitur. Kāfuros adhuc tenerœ ætatis, testes vel compressi conficiuntur vel exsecantur: tamen notatum est, castrationem, quæ pervicaciam cæteris omnibus animalibus tollit, hominibus solis excitare.

Salt is in great demand and is brought from long distances. Diamonds, emeralds, pearls, cornelians and agates are imported. Flowers and fruit are in plenty. The betel-nut is of a kind that stains of a red colour the lips of those who chew it.

Jannatābād is an ancient city: for a time, it was the capital of Bengal and was widely known as Lakhnauti and for a while as Gaur. His Majesty the late Emperor Humāyun distinguished it by this title of Jannatābād. It has a fine fort and to the eastward of it is a lake called *Chhatiāpatiā* in which are many islands. Were the dam that confines it to break, the city would be under water. About a *kos* to the north of the fort, is a large building and a reservoir, monuments of great antiquity. From time immemorial, its water has been considered to be of a poisonous character. The place was called *Piyāsbāri* (abode of thirst), and criminals condemned to death, were there confined who in a short time perished from the effects of this brackish water. At present in the blessed reign of His Majesty, this practice has been discontinued.

Mahmudābād.—The marshes around the fort have added to its impregnability. The ruler of this district, at the time of its conquest by Sher Khān, let some of his elephants loose in its forests from which time they have abounded. Long pepper grows in this tract.

The *Sarkār* of *Khalifatābād* is well wooded and holds wild elephants. The *Sarkār* of *Baklā* extends along the sea shore. The fort is surrounded by woods. On the first day of the new moon the sea steadily rises until the fourteenth, and from the fifteenth till the end of the month as gradually falls. In the 29th year of the Divine Era, a terrible inundation occurred at three o'clock in the afternoon, which swept

[6] I have imitated the example of Gladwin in veiling the following passage under the mask of a learned language and with a slight alteration have borrowed his words. (Jarrett.)

over the whole *Sarkār*. The Rājah held an entertainment at the time. He at once embarked on board a boat, while his son Parmānand Rāe with some others climbed to the top of a temple and a merchant took refuge in a high loft. For four hours and a half the sea raged amid thunder and a hurricane of wind. Houses and boats were engulfed but no damage occurred to the temple or the loft. Nearly two hundred thousand living creatures perished in this flood.

In the *Sarkār* of *Ghoraghāt*, silk is produced and a kind of sackcloth [jute]. Numbers of eunuchs are here and hill ponies in plenty are procurable. There are many kinds of indigenous fruits, especially one called *Latkan*.[7] It is the size of a walnut with the taste of a pomegranate and contains three seeds.

The *Sarkār* of *Bārbakābād* produces a fine cloth called *Gangājal* (*Ganges water*), and a great abundance of oranges.

In the *Sarkār* of *Bāzuhā* are extensive forests which furnish long and thick timbers of which masts are made. There are also iron mines.

The *Sarkār* of *Sonārgāon*[8] produces a species of muslin very fine and in great quantity. In the township of *Egāra Sindur* is a large reservoir which gives a peculiar whiteness to the cloths that are washed in it.

In the *Sarkār* of Sylhet there are nine[9] ranges of hills. It furnishes many eunuchs.

There is a fruit called *Suntarah*[10] in colour like an orange

[7] Dr. King of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Calcutta, considers this to be a species of *Elœcarpus*. The fruits of all the species are a good deal alike, varying in size from an olive to a walnut, having an external flushy pulp more or less palatable (in some species of fair flavour) and containing a stone. The later is usually found to be divided into 3 cells, one of which contains a mature seed, the seeds in the other two being abortive. The taste of the pulp of the *E. serratus* and *E. lancœofolius* (both natives of Rangpúr) is a good deal like that of the pomegranate.

[8] This was the ancient Maḥammadan capital of Eastern Bengal but is now an insignificant village called Painám in the Dacca District. *I.G.*

In the south of the district, says the *Gazetteer*, eight low ranges of hills run out into the plain, being spurs of the Tipperah mountains. The highest is about 1000 feet above sea level. There is also a small detached group, the Ita hills, in the centre of the district.

[10] Commonly *Sangtarah*. The name is supposed to be a corruption of Cintra, but its mention by Baber in his Memoirs seems subversive of this derivation, for though the fruit is said to have been an eastern importation into Portugal, it is improbable that the foreign name could have been current in India at so early a date. Humayun praises it highly saying that no one cares for any other fruit who has this. He states that it is found only at Sonárgáon in Bengal and in the greatest perfection only at one place. A note to the *Memoirs* (p. 329) says that the description of the fruit by Baber suits more the *Citrus decumana* than any other, and its Bengali name *Batavi nimbu*, the Batavia lime, denotes its being an exotic.

but large and very sweet. The China root[2] is produced in plenty. In ancient times it had not been discovered until some scientific travellers from European Turkey introduced it to universal notice. Aloes-wood is abundant in these mountains. At the end of the rains they fell the trees to the ground, and after a certain time they give them various names according to their greenness or maturity.

The *Bhangrāj*[3] is a bird of a black colour, with red eyes and a long tail. Two of the feathers extend to a length of a *gaz*. They are snared and tamed. It catches the note of any animal that it hears, and eats flesh. The *Sherganj* is of the same kind but its beak and legs are red; in imitating sounds, it matches the other and pursues sparrows and the like and eats them.

Chātgāon (Chittagong) is a large city situated by the sea and belted by woods. It is considered an excellent port and is the resort of Christian and other merchants.

In the *Sarkār* of *Sharifābād* is a beautiful species of cattle, white in colour, and of a fine build: like camels they are laden kneeling down and carry fifteen *man* weight. It is noted for the Barbary goat and for fighting cocks.

In the *Sarkār* of *Sātgāon*,[4] there are two ports at a distance of half a *kos* from each other; the one is Sātgāon, the other Hugli: the latter the chief; both are in the possession of the Europeans. Fine pomegranates grow here.

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[2] The root of a species of smilax of a pale reddish colour with no smell and very little taste. The *smilax glabra* or *lanceœfolia*, not distinguishable, according to Roxburg, by the eye from the drug known as *China root*. It is a native of Sylhet and the adjacent Garrow country.

[3] Bhringa-rāj, *Edolius paradiseus* or large racket-tailed Drongo. Plumage uniformly black with a steel-blue gloss. Length to end of ordinary tail 14 inches; wing 6¼; tail to middle 6½; outer tail feather 12 to 13 inches more; the shaft having the terminal end for about 3½ inches barbed externally, but towards the tip only on the inner side, and turning inwards so that the under side becomes uppermost. It will eat raw meat, lizards, and almost any kind of food offered to it. It imitates all sorts of sounds, as of dogs, cats, poultry. The Bhring-ráj, (king of the bees) is found in the dense forests of India from the Himalays to the Eastern Ghats as far S. as N.L.15°. Jerdon. *Sherganj* Cissa Sinensis, Brisson. Cissa Venatoria, Blyth—the green jay. It is found in the South Eastern Himalays and in the hill ranges of Assam, Sylhet, Arakan and Tenasserim. These birds wander about from tree to tree and pick grasshoppers, mantides and other insects, are frequently tamed and caged and are amusing and imitative. They sing lustily a loud screeching strain and are highly carnivorous. The shrike-like habit, in confinement, of placing a bit of food between the bars of their cage is in no species more exemplified than in this—Jerdon. II, 312.

[4] The traditional mercantile capital of Bengal from the Puranic age to the time of the foundation of the town of Hugli by the Portuguese. Its decay commenced in the latter part of the 16th century owing to the silting up ofthe channel of the Saraswati. In 1632, Hugli being made a royal port, all the public offices were withdrawn from Sátgáon which soon sunk into ruin. *Stat. Acct. of Bengal*, III, 307—310.

In the *Sarkār* of *Mandāran* is a place called Harpah in which there is a diamond mine producing chiefly very small stones.

Orissa.

This was formerly a separate State. The climate is extremely healthy. His Majesty apportioned it into five *Sarkārs, viz., Jalesar, Bhadrak, Katak* (Cuttack), *Kaling Dandpāt* and *Raja Mahandrah.* These five are now included in the province of Bengal. It contains one hundred and twenty-nine masonry forts. Its ruler is entitled Gajpati.[1] The rainy season extends over eight months; there are three cold months and one month only that is hot. The staple cultivation is rice and the food of the inhabitants consists of rice, fish, the egg-plant and vegetables. When the rice is cooked, they steep it in cold water and eat it on the second day. The men are effeminate, anointing their bodies with sandal oil and wearing golden ornaments. The women cover only the lower part of the body and many make themselves coverings of the leaves of trees.[2]. The walls of their huts are of reeds and their temples are of stone and of great height. Elephants abound. The inhabitants of Bengal do not understand the language of this country. A woman may have more than one husband. They write on palm leaves[3] with an iron pen, holding it with the clenched fist, and pen and ink are rarely employed. The litters called *Sukhāsan* are much in use: cloths are manufactured and the province furnishes eunuchs: fruits and flowers are in great plenty, especially the *gul-i-nasrin*[4] which is very delicate and sweet-scented: its outer petals are white, the inner yellow. The *keorah*[5] grows in great abundance and there are various kinds of betel-leaf. Money transactions are in *kauris* which is a small white shell generally divided down the middle; it is found on the sea shore. Four *kauris* make a *ganda,* five *gandas,* a *budi,* four *budis,* a *pan,* sixteen or according to

[1] Lord or rider of the elephant. The suit of cards used by Akbar (Vol. I. p. 316) under the name of Gajpati, symbolised the power and reputation of Orissa in the possession of these animals.

[2] For the leaf-wearing tribes of Orissa, the *Juangs* or *Patwas,* see Hunter's *Orissa,* ii. 116. Banerji, *Orissa,* i. 19 et.

[3] The Brahmanical archives of the temple of Jagannāth consist of bundles of palm leaves, neatly cut and written over with a sharp iron pen without ink. *I. G.*

[4] In Hindi, *Seoti* the *Rosa glandulifera.* Roxb.

[5] *Pandanus odoratissimus,* Roxb.

some twenty *pan*, a *khāwan* [*kāhan*] and ten *khāwan*, a rupee.

Katak (CUTTACK.) The city has a stone fort situated at the bifurcation of the two rivers, the *Mahānadi*, held in high veneration by the Hindus, and the *Katjuri*.[6] It is the residence of the governor and contains some fine buildings. For five or six *kos* round the fort during the rains, the country is under water. Rajah Mukund Deo[7] built a palace here nine stories in height; the first story was taken up for the elephants and the stables: the second was occupied by the artillery and the guards and quarters for attendants: the third by the patrol and gatekeepers: the fourth by the workshops: the fifth, by the kitchen: the sixth contained the public reception rooms: the seventh, the private apartments; the eighth, the women's apartments, and the ninth, the sleeping chamber of the governor. To the south is a very ancient temple. Overlooking this, in the city of Purushottama (Puri) on the sea shore stands the shrine of Jagannāth. Near to it are the images of Krishna and of his brother and sister,[8] made of sandal-wood. It is said that over four thousand years ago Rājah Indradaman (Indradyumna) ruler of the Nilgiri hill sent a learned Brāhman to select a suitable spot for the building of a city. He wandered much in search of his object and found a fitting site which he preferred to all other places. On a sudden he beheld a crow plunge into the water and after bathing itself, pay its devotions to the sea. He was astonished at this action and as he understood the language of animals, he inquired of the crow the reason of its proceeding. He received this answer. "I was once of the number of the *deotas* and through the curse of an ascetic was transformed into this shape. A spiritual guide of high illumination affirms that the Supreme Creator has a special regard for this spot and whosoever dwells here and applies his soul to the worship of God, quickly attains his desire. For some years past I have supplicated for my deliverance in this

[6] One of the deltaic tributaries of the Mahānadi dividing into two branches, one of which retains its own name while the other takes that of Koyākhai and supplies the Puri district.

[7] Telinga Mukund Deo (Harichandan); in this reign the sovereignty of Orissa was overthrown by the King of Bengal. Banerji, *Orissa*, i. 342—348, palace-building not supported by history.

[8] *Purush-ottama* means "the best of men" *i.e.*, Vishnu or Krishna. His brother and sister are Balabhadra and Subhadrā. The images are rude logs coarsely fashioned in the shape of a human bust, and are actually in the sanctuary itself. For a description of the temple and other local shrines, Banerji, *Orissa*, ii. 369—418.

manner and the time is now at hand when my prayer will be answered. Since thou art essentially meritorious, watch in expectation and comprehend the wonders of this land." The Brāhman in a short time witnessed with his own eyes the things he had heard. He apprised the Rājah of these occurrences, who built a large city and appointed a special place of worship. The Rājah, one night, after having administered justice, was reposing on the couch of divine praise when it was thus revealed to him, "On a certain day, watch in expectation upon the sea shore. A piece of wood of fifty-two fingers in length and a cubit and a half in breadth will approach : this is the special image of the deity : take it and placing it in thy house, guard it for seven days and whatever shape it then assumes, place it in the temple and enshrine it." After waking, the thing happened in the same wise, and by a divine inspiration, he named it Jagannāth and decked it with gold and jewels. It became a place of devotion to high and low and many miracles are reported[9] regarding it. Kālā Pahār the General of Sulaymān Karrāni, on his conquest of the country, flung the image into the fire and burnt it and afterwards cast it into the sea. But it is now restored and these popular fables are related of it.

The three images are washed six times every day and freshly clothed. Fifty or sixty priests wearing the Brahmanical thread, stand to do them service and each time large dishes of food are brought out and offered to the images, so that twenty thousand people partake of the leavings [*prasād.*] They construct a car of sixteen wheels which in Hindi, they call *Rath,* upon which the images are mounted, and they believe that whosoever draws it, is absolved from sin and is visited by no temporal distress. Near Jagannāth is a temple dedicated to the Sun. [at Konārak]* Its cost was defrayed by twelve years revenue of the province. Even those whose judgment is critical and who are difficult to please stand astonished at its sight. The height of the wall is 150 cubits high and 19 thick. It has three portals. The eastern has carved upon it the figures of two finely designed elephants, each of them carrying a man upon his trunk. The western bears sculptures of two horsemen with trappings

[9] The legend will be found related at length in Hunter's *Orissa,* Vol. I, p. 89.
Kālāpāhār's desecration of the Jagannath temple and images, Banerji's *Orissa,* i. 345.

* Konārak temple, description in Banerji's *Orissa,* ii. 380—392; its art, ii. 410—415.

and ornaments and an attendant. The northern has two tigers, each of which is rampant upon an elephant that it has overpowered. In front[10] is an octagonal column of black stone, 50 yards high. When nine flights of steps are passed, a spacious court appears with a large arch of stone upon which are carved the sun and other planets. Around them are a variety of worshippers of every class, each after its manner with bowed heads, standing, sitting, prostrate, laughing, weeping, lost in amaze or in wrapt attention and following these are divers musicians and strange animals which never existed but in imagination. It is said that somewhat over 730 years ago, Rāja Narsing Deo completed this stupendous fabric and left this mighty memorial to posterity. Twenty-eight temples stand in its vicinity; six before the entrance and twenty-two without the enclosure, each of which has its separate legend. Some affirm that Kabir Mua'hhid (monotheist) reposes here and many authentic traditions are related regarding his sayings and doings to this day. He was revered by both Hindu and Muhammadan for his catholicity of doctrine and the illumination of his mind, and when he died, the Brāhmans wished to burn his body and the Muhammadans to bury it.

The Subah of Bengal consists of 24 *Sarkārs* and 787 *Mahals*. The revenue is 59 crores, 84 lakhs, 59,319 *dāms* (Rs. 14,961,482-15-7) in money. [Of this Orissa has 5 sarkārs, 99 mahals and 1,25,732,638 dāms.] The zamindars are mostly *Kayaths*. The troops number 23,330 cavalry, 801,150 infantry, 1,170 elephants, 4,260 guns, and 4,400 boats.

N.B.—The *Parganahs* will now be entered in alphabetical order in long double columns to each page accompanied by a few descriptive notices.

In the list of mahals, the editor has given the correct name first, with the letter R* or A* added, to mean that the place has been found in Rennell's Maps or in the Atlas of the Survey of India (quarter-inch scale). The name of the place as misspelt in the Persian text or wrongly transcribed by Jarrett has been given within brackets after the word *mistake*.—J. Sarkar.

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[10] This now stands in front of the Lion-gate of Jagannāth. *Orissa*, I. 290. The Konārak temple was built by Narasiṁha I. of the Eastern Ganga dynasty (r. 1238—1264.) Banerji, *Orissa*, I. 267—269. For Kabir, *Ency. Islam*, ii. 592 (T. W. Arnold) and Hastings, *Ency. Religion and Ethics*, vii. 632—634. (K. Burn).

Sarkār of Udambar commonly known as Tāndā.[1]

Containing 52 *Mahals.* Rev. 24,079,399⅓ *Dāms.*

	Dāms.
Āg mahal ...	133,017
Achlā Darsanpārah Ashrafnihāl ..	404,287½
Ibrahimpur ...	360,357
Ajiyāl-ghāti ...	231,957
Amgāchhi ...	369,357½
Barhgangal ...	666,200
Bhatāl ...	415,470
Bahādurpur ...	314,870
Bāhrāri ...	24,655
Phulbāri ...	193,025
Bahādur Shāhi ...	138,102
Tāndā with Suburban district ...	4,326,102
Tājpur ...	291,997
Taalluq Barbhākar	11,725
Tanauli ...	196,380
Chunaghāti ...	589,967
Chāndpur ...	190,027
Nasibi ...	160,205
Chungnadiyā ...	145,305
Hājipur ...	106,255
Husainābād ...	266,545
Khānpur ...	31,410
Dhāwah ...	250,597
Deviyāpur ...	559,557
Dāud Shāhi ...	242,802
Dugāchhi ...	225,745
Rāmpur ...	115,532
Rubaspur ...	138,122
Sarup Singh ...	1,368,877
Sultānpur Ajiyāl	456,394
Sulaimān Shāhi	198,742
Sulaimānābād ...	197,760
Salimpur ...	187,097
Sambalā ...	174,550
Shershāhi ...	178,230
Shams Khāni ...	361,952
Sherpur ...	163,097
Firozpur ...	347,787½
Kunwar-partāb	1,607,200
Kānakjok [Kānkjol] ...	1,589,332
Kāthgarh ...	1,265,632
Gankarah ..	894,027
Kāshipur ...	36,240
Kachlā ...	36,240
Kāfurdiya ...	1,440
Mudesar ...	1,503,352
Mangalpur ...	226,770
Receipts from scattered estates*	45,837
Nawanagar ...	825,985
Nasibpur ...	377,750

[1] For *Udambar* the reading *Udner* was accepted in the 1st ed. *Tanda* became the capital of Bengal after the decadence of Gaur: now a petty village in Maldah District; it was to the S. W. of Gaur beyond the Bāgirathi. Old Tānda has been utterly swept away by the changes in the course of the Pāglā. Sulaimān Shāh Karrāni, the last but one of the Afghan kings of Bengal, moved the seat of government to Tāndā in 1564, A.D. eleven years before the final depopulation of Gaur. It was a favourite residence of the Mughal governors of Bengal until the middle of the following century. In 1660 the rebel Shāh Shujāa' was defeated in its vicinity.

* The term *Mazkurain* was applied in old revenue accounts to small and scattered estates not included in the accounts of the district in which they are situated, and of which, the assessments were paid direct to the Government officers: subsequently it denoted a revenue payer, paying through the intervention of another, except in Cuttack where it implied the reverse, or the heads of villages paying the revenue immediately to the Collector. Wilson's *Gloss.*

Sarkār of Jannatābād or Lakhnauti.

66 *Mahals.* Rev. 18,846,967 *Dāms.*

Castes *Kāyaths* and *Brahmans.* Cavalry 500. Infantry, 17,000.

	Dāms.
Jannatābād, commonly known as Gaur. It has been a brick fort	7,869,202
Adjacent villages of Ākrā forming 14 *Parganahs* as follows: ...	1,573,296
Ajor ...	138,925
Bāzkhokrā ...	192,508
Baler ...	127,060
Ākra suburban district ...	211,260
Dhanpur ...	140,340
Deviya ...	112,208
Serhwar[1] ...	71,000
Shāhbālā ...	98,400
Shāhlalsari ...	8,000
Khektar ...	50,200
Madnāwāti ...	151,890
Modihāt ...	6,980
Nāhat ...	242,710
Hashtganjpur ...	28,515
Adjacent villages of Darsarak 16 *mahals* as follows: ...	2,009,344
Achārikhānah where they sell undried ginger	7,800
Bhatiya ...	826,432
Belbāri ...	91,560
Bāzāri Kadim (Old Bāzār) ...	3,720
Darsarak ...	62,835
Rāngāmāti ...	3,200
Sāir duties from Gangapat and neighbourhood of Hindui† ...	170,800
Sherpur and Gangalpur 2 *mahals*	2,000
Shāhbāzpur within the city ...	400
Ghiyāspur ...	41,920
Kamalā ...	16,377
Kāthachhāpā ...	12,000
Modi Mahal ...	13,000
Mewa Mahal ...	360
Duties from the New Market ...	11,760
Adjacent villages of Dihikot 7 *mahals* ...	869,000
Barāripinjar ...	698,900
Pākor ...	37,720
Dihikot ...	31,624
Dahlgāon ...	130,320
Shāhzādahpur ...	84,360
Māligāon ...	141,460
Modipur ...	61,880
Adjacent villages of Ramrauti 7 *mahals* ...	749,795
Badhtahli ...	207,500
Rāmauti ...	194,767
Selghariya ...	103,000
Sangkalkarā ...	93,320

[1] T. Sirapour, G. Seernoor.

† Probably a mistake for *Mandavi* or grain-mart, emporium.

	Dāms.
Sultānpur ...	29,210
Sangdwār ...	14,447
Māhinagar ...	107,550
Adjacent villages of Sarsābād rev. of 10 *mahals*	13,192,377
Akbarpur ...	9,736
Pārdiyār ...	85,280
Khizrpur ...	396,100
Sarsābād ...	553,080
Kotwāli ...	788,427
Garhand ...	334,880
Garhi ...	200,000
Makrāin ...	106,480
Manikpur and Hatanda, 2 *mahals*	630,770
Adjacent villages of Māldah, 11 *mahls*.	
Bārbakpur, Bāzār i Yusuf, Suburban district of Māldah, Dherpur, Sujāpur, Sarbādahlpur, Sankodiya, Shālesari, Shāhmandawi, Fathpur, Mui'zzu'ddinpur.	

Sarkār of Fathābād.

31 *mahals*. Rev. 7,969,568 *dāms*.

Zamindārs of three classes (i.e. castes).

Cavalry, 990. Infantry, 50,700.

	Dāms.
Isrāchāraj ...	34,024
Bholiyābil ...	384,452
Belor ...	124,872
Bhāgalpur ...	2,115
Bādhādiyā ...	1,442
Telhati ...	377,290
Charnlakhi ...	35,645
Charhāi ...	30,200
Suburban district and town of Fathābād ...	902,662
Salt duties ...	277,758
Hazratpur ...	11,640
Market dues ...	11,467
Rasulpur ...	103,767
Sondip ...	1,182,450
Sarhārkal ...	787,430
Sarisāni ...	173,227
Sardiyā ...	53,882
Sadhwā ...	37,127
Sawāil, commonly called Jalālpur	1,857,230
Shahbāzpur ...	732,172
Kharagpur ...	118,135
Kasodiyā ...	102,405
Kosā ...	68,350
Makorgāon ...	3,157
Masnadpur ...	55,312
Mirānpur ...	22,172
Receipts from scattered estates	133,365
Nakleśar ...	49,422
Nia'matpur ...	20,960
Hazārahati ...	21,597
Yusufpur ...	258,025

Sarkār of Mahmudābād.

88 *mahals.* Rev. 11,602,256.

Caste *Kāyath.* Cavalry, 200. Infantry, 10,100.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Adniyā ...	76,113	Husain Ajiyāl ...	345,135
Anupampur ...	43,365	Haweli [suburb]	91,575
Ajiyālpur ...	37,307	Khālispur ...	56,805
Indarkalli ...	11,250	Khizrākhāni ...	1,092
Āmdah ...	192	Khurrampur ...	265
Bāzu-rāst ...	652,507	Dakāsi[3] ...	51,740
Bāzu-chap ...	271,240	Durlabhpur ...	13,775
Barādi ...	604,122	Dhuli ...	13,665
Bisi ...	25,247	Deora ...	107
Barin Jumlah ...	102,210	Dahlat Jalālpur	1,200
Betbariya ...	96,117	Dostihnā ...	1,052
Bāthnān ...	85,447	Dhomarhāt ...	42,505
Bātkān ...	41,317	Sadkichāl Kotiyā	
Belwāri ...	80,195	or Kota ...	8,205
Bandwāl ...	26,155	Sārotiyā ...	6,530
Pātika māra ...	22,710	Sarsariyā ...	72,147
Bābhankarlā ...	14,895	Sankardiyā ...	10,212
Parānpur ...	12,572	Salimpur ...	23,637
Barmahpur ...	6,717	Soltāra Ajiyāl,	
Patkābāri ...	3,567	commonly Koma	789,220
Pipalbariyā ...	2,045	Suruppur ...	7,482
Bāghotiyā ...	217	Sālibariyā ...	6,760
Belkasi ...	123,387	Sātor ...	290,727
Tāragonā ...	675,790	Shāhajiyāl ...	644,787
Tiyāghāti ...	96	Sherpurbari ...	9,402
Tārāajiyāl ...	391,365	Sherpur Utasholi	2,797
Chhāduiyā or		Azmatpur ...	14,422
Chhāddiya ...	9,125	Ghaznipur ...	12,367
Jiyārukhi ...	11,505	Farhatpur ...	301,790
Jagannāthpur ...	762	Fathpur Nosika	102,525
Chadibāriyā[1] ...	44,007	Qutabpur ...	23,352
Jediya ...	44,700	Qazipur ...	2,652
Chitanbāzu[2] ...	952,950	Kandaliyā ...	20,417

[1] T. and *var.* Jedibariya.
[2] G. Chytun, *var.* Jistan and Chain.
[3] T. and *var.* Dakāri.

Sarkār of Mahmudābād—Contd.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Khelphāti ...	19,940	Madhodiya ...	695
Kandi Nawi ...	8,477	Maruf-diya ...	2,302
Kolbariyā ...	6,517	Naldi ...	804,440
Kaudasā[4] ...	6,435	Nasrat Shāhi ...	272,450
Kāliyānpur ...	26,235	Nagarchāl Kotiyā	61,235
Kali Mahal ...	26,717	Nagar Bānkā ...	3,382
Laniyān ...	313,286	Nāshipur called	
Launkohāl ...	15,425	also Ujain ...	91,080
Mihmān Shāhi ...	575,727	Hemtapur ...	477,360
Mākhiyā ...	14,505	Haldā ...	122,566
Mahmud Shāhi	226,552	Hawāl Ghāti ...	66,217
Mirpur ...	2,370	Hatapān (?Hatiān)	3,665
Maheswarpur ...	42,852	Hosipur ...	17,425

Sarkār of Khalifatābād.

35 *mahals.* Rev. 5,402,140 *dāms.*

Castes, various. Cavalry, 100. Infantry, 15,150.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Bhāl, with township	475,102	Chhalerā[1] ...	60,920
Bhālkā ...	230,515	Suburban dist. of	
Polah ...	135,932	Khalifatābād ...	31,442
Potkā ...	104,205	Khālispur ...	32,770
Bāgh Mārā ...	81,807	Dāniyā ...	522,885
Bhāngā ...	25,300	Rāngdiya ...	129,910
Bhades ...	11,225	Sahaspur ...	260,340
Bhaliyānah ...	9,527	Sulaimānābād ...	168,504
Phulnagar ...	66,660	Sāhas ...	91,500
Taālluq of Kāsināth	297,720	Sobhnāth ...	51,662
Tālā ...	174,676	Sālesarbāhi[2] ...	11,484
Taālluq of Srirang	26,427	Imādpur ...	97,102
,, Mahes Māndal	23,727	Khokrāl ...	105,520
,, Dāmodar		Kanges, Taalluq	
Bhattachāraj	13,860	Parmanand ...	166,360
,, Sripat Kavirāj	8,675	Mundāgācha ...	126,360
Jesar, commonly,		Malikpur ...	61,327
Rasulpur ...	1,723,850	Madhariyā ...	45,007
Charaulā ...	99,550	Mangorghāt ...	16,842
		Mahresā ...	11,170

[4] G. T. and *var.* Gāuda.
[1] G. and *var.* Chubrah.
[2] T. and G. and *var.* Sālesari.

Sarkār of Baklā.

Containing 4 *mahals*. Rev. 7,150,605.

Castes, various. Elephants, 320. Infantry, 15,000.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Ismailpur, commonly Bakla ...	4,348,960	Shāhzādahpur ...	977,245
Srirāmpur ...	252,000	Adilpur [Idilpur] ...	1,553,440

Sarkār of Purniyah.

9 *mahals*. Rev. 6,408,775 *dāms*.

Infantry. 5,000.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Asonja ...	734,225	Sripur ...	390,200
Jairāmpur ...	467,785	*Sāir* duties from elephants ...	85,000
Suburban dist. of Purniyah ...	2,686,995		
Dalmālpur ...	671,530	Kathiyāri ...	590,100
Sultānpur ...	502,206	Kadwān ...	280,592

Sarkār of Tājpur.

29 *mahals*. Rev. 6,483,857 *dāms*.

Castes, various. Cavalry, 100. Infantry, 50,000.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Pangat (*mist.* Bankat) ...	3,307,885	Mālduār (*mist.* Tāldwār) ...	208,540
Badokhar ...	238,855	Chhāpartāl ...	241,355
Phāli ...	60,860	Suburban dist. and town of Tājpur	88[illegible]254
Bandol ...	190,830	Dilāwarpur ...	94[illegible],055
Bobarā ...	23,192	Daihat ...	12[illegible],196
Bhonharā ...	118,295	Sesahrā ...	376,760
Badgāon ...	9,330	Shujāpur ...	24[illegible],507
Bāsigāon ...	104,492	Shāhpur ...	12[illegible],235
Bangāon ...	115,990	Kuwārpur ...	40[illegible],000
Bahādurpur ...	96,012	Kasārgāon ...	258,742
Bahānagar ...	91,630	Gopālnagar ...	233,160
Badalkā ...	71,564		

Sarkār of Tājpur—Contd.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Goghra ...	147,392	Nilun	147,510
Mahur (*mist.* Mahon) ...	194,475	Yusuf	146,240
Nilnagar (Nilpur)	267,612	Zakāt (tax)	78,487

Sarkār of Ghorāghāt.

84 *mahals.* Rev. 8,083,072½ *dāms.*

Castes, various. Cavalry, 900. Elephants, 50. Infantry, 32,800.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Adiwā ...	91,292	Banwārkājar ...	4,452
Andhar ...	75,010	Belghāti ...	3,245
Andalgāon ...	154,337	Bāzār Chhatāghāt	387
Anwarbān ...	31,022	Palāsbāri[1] ...	
Ālgāon ...	171,695	Panch Mālka ...	5,340
Ambathurā, Abthurā	25,326	Tulsighāt ...	164,340
Āhmadābād ...	18,517	Taalluq Husain	35,410
Anbalāgāchhi ...	9,200	,, Bālnāth	27,962
Anwar Malik ...	8,020	,, Siwān	15,490
Āl Hāt ...	7,508	,, Kasāi	15,267
Ilāhdādpur ...	2,190	Tāchahal ...	8,290
Bāzu Zafar Shāhi, 2 mahals ...	735,835	Taalluq Ahmad Khān ...	238,475
Bāzu Faulād Shāhi	711,412	Hāmilā ...	6,580
Bāgdwār ...	102,440	Khairābādi ...	5,602
Phulbāri ...	6,580	Khāsbāri ...	2,735
Bārbakpur ...	84,952	Rungpur [Ruknpur]	10,950
Bāmanpur ...	349,070	Sultānpur ...	108,377
Town of Nasratābād ...	336,445	Sikhshahar[2] ...	93,071
Barsalā ...	233,680	Sāthipur ...	49,570
Bari Sābakbālā	146,767	Sirhata ...	344,097
,, Ghorāghāt	165,827	Sabdi ...	206,224
Bāyazidpur ...	144,227	Sitpur ...	128,775
Pātāldeh ...	41,365	Siriyā Kāndi ...	24,622
Bālkā ...	30,335	Sāghāt ...	16,412
Bholi ...	12,040	Sherpur Koibāri (S. Kafurā) ...	15,675
Bājpatāri ...	7,900	Fathpur ...	353,355

[1] In text figures wanting. G. has 7,000. *Var.* 5,340

[2] *Var.* Sabtakah, Beshekh, Silah. T. Sankha.

Sarkār of Ghorāghāt—Contd.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Khetāri ...	1,344,280	Korā, receipts from *Zakāt* ...	18,000
Gayapur ...	107,205	Kokaran ...	13,120
Kābulpur ...	98,465	Kābul ...	11,690
Ganj Sākhmālā	98,465	Garhiya ...	10,980
Khadkhadi ...	81,565	Gokanpārā ...	9,850
Gokul ...	56,865	Magatpur ...	124,005
Kothi Bāri 2 *mahals*	48,807	Muhabbatpur ...	46,512
Khaisi ...	264,322	Musjid Husain Shāhi	28,945
Kandibāri ...	125,797	,, Andarkhāni	3,447
Kuli Bāzār, commonly Jorpuri	115,680	Malāir ...	24,800
Gobindpur Akhand	40,675	Nandahra ...	61,050
Kanhtāl[3] ...	40,367	Naupāra ...	19,202
Kanak Sakhar ...	28,065	Nahajaun Bātor	49,010
Ghātnagar ...	27,922	Wakar Hazir ...	30,646
Kawā Gāchhi ...	24,600	Wachhi ...	16,832
Kālibāri ...	24,847	Wahrib ...	4,230

*Sarkār of Pinjarah.**

21 *mahals.* Rev. 5,803,275 *dāms.*

Castes, various. Cavalry, 50. Infantry, 7,000.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Ambel ...	1,058,725	Suburban district of Pinjarah ...	93,967
Ambāri A* ...	36,525	Digha ...	146,837
Amgochah ...	101,882	Deopārā (Deorā) A*	107,727
Bārbakpur (Bārangpur) ...	635,390	Sadharbāri (?Jharbari) ...	273,045
Bijānagar A* ...	719,107	Sankatā (Suktigacha) ...	251,410
Bāyazidpur A*	255,445	Sultānpur A* ...	203,292
Baharnagar ...	119,720	Sāsber A* ...	165,180
Bāri Gher ...	84,277	Sulaimānābād ...	42,532
Bādughar (? Balurhat) ...	55,205	Khattā (?Khetlāl)	777,255
Tegasi (Takāsi) A*	374,490	Kedābāri† ...	213,382
Chaloon (Hālon) A*	82,142		

[3] *Var.* Gātrāl, G. Gautnāll.

* *Pinjarah*, evidently a copyist's error. No such name in any map. Tieffenthaler reads *Bijara.*

† Cannot be *Goddgāri.* May be *Kāmdevpur.*

Sarkār of Bārbakābād.

38 *mahals*. Rev. 17,451,532 *dāms*.

Castes, various. Cavalry, 50. Infantry, 7,000.

	Dāms.
Amrul ...	560,382
City of above-mentioned (Bārbakābād) ...	315,340
Basuoul (Bāsdol) A*	190,885
Polārhār ...	136,712
Pustu (Bastol) A*	652,367
Barbariyā ...	64,335
Bangāon ...	319,000
Pāltāpur A* ...	179,840
Chhandiya Bāzu	755,522
Chaurā A* ...	159,832
Jeasindh (Jahāsand) and Chaugāon, 2 *mahals* ...	407,007
Chāndlāi (Jandlāi) A* ...	289,340
Janāsu (? Jhankur) A* ...	85,787
Suburb. district of Sukh Shahar	1,629,175
Dhāmin (Dhārman) A* ...	350,895
Dāudpur A* ...	8,902
Sankārdal, commonly Nizāmpur	389,975
Shikārpur A* ...	327,342
Sherpur and Bahāmpur, 2 *mahals* A*	391,625
Tāhirpur A* ...	505,825
Qāzihatti A* ...	620,477
Kardoho A* ...	1,390,572
Guzrhāt ...	1,296,240
Khās ...	881,080
Ganj known as Jagdal A* ...	694,655
Gobindpur ...	410,535
Kāligāe Kotha ...	341,057
Khurael (Kharāl) A* ...	210,132
Kodānagar ...	129,550
Kāligaon (Kaligāe) A* ...	196,932
Laskarpur ...	255,090
Mājilpur (Māljipur) ...	925,680
Mosida (Masdhā) A* ...	689,712
Man Samāli ...	594,792
Mahmudpur ...	124,532
Wazirpur ...	169,190

Sarkār of Bāzuhā.

32 *mahals*. Rev. 39,516,871 *dāms*.

Castes, various. Cavalry, 1,700. Elephants, 10. Infantry, 5,300.

Alap Shāhi ...	760,667	Bhoriya Bāzu ...	2,820,740
Badmār, Nasrat Shāhi, Mehraunah, Kāhārwana, Sirali, 5 *mahals*	,178,140	Bhayāl Bāzu ...	1,935,160
		Partāb-Bāzu ...	1,881,265
		Bakhariyā Bāzu	1,715,170
		Husain Shāhi ...	182,750

Sarkār of Bāzuhā—Contd.

	Dāms.
Dashkāhaniyā Bāzu ...	1,945,602
Dhakā Bāzu ...	1,901,202
Salim Partāb Bāzu, Chānd Partāb Bāzu, Sultān Bāzu	4,625,475
Sonāghāti Bāzu	1,910,440
Sonā Bāzu ...	1,705,290
Silbaras ...	1,484,320
Dues on produce and piscary of rivers, tanks, &c. ...	261,280
Shāh Ajiyāl Bāzu	405,120
Zafar Ajiyal Bāzu	250,047
Katārmal Bāzu	2,804,390
Khatā Bāzu ...	137,720
Mihmān Shāhi, known as Sherpur Murcha ...	2,207,715
Mumin Singh, Nasrat Shāhi, Husain Singh,	1,867,640
Nasrat Ajiyāl 4 *mahals*	
Mubārak Ajiyāl	468,780
Hariyāl Bāzu ...	344,440
Yusuf Shāhi ...	1,670,900

Sarkār of Sonārgāon.

52 *mahāls*. Rev. 10,331,333 *dāms*.

Castes, various. Cavalry, 1,500. Elephants, 200. Infantry, 46,000.

	Dāms.
Uttar Shāhpur	388,442
Āl Jihāt ...	53,090
Uttar Usmānpur	24,880
Bikrampur ...	3,335,052
Bhulwā-jowār ...	1,331,480
Baldākhāl ...	694,090
Bawāliyā ...	237,320
Barchandi ...	120,100
Bāth Karā ...	4,080
Palās-ghāti, &c.	43,265
Baradiyā ...	19,000
Phulari ...	19,000
Pānhatta ...	7,367
Tōrā ...	104,910
Tājpur ...	60,000
Tarki ...	18,270
Jogidiyā ...	512,080
Environs of Port	82,632
Chhokhandi, from shop dues ...	17,827
Chand Bāzār ...	30,322
Chāndpur ...	120,000
Suburban district of Sonārgāon with city ...	459,532
Khizrpur ...	40,308
Dohār ...	458,524
Dānderā ...	421,380
Dakhin Shāhpur	239,910
Dilāwarpur: receipts from *zakāt*	127,207
Dakhin Usmānpur	8,840
Rāepur ...	4,535
Sekhargāon ...	340,365
Sakri ...	184,780
Salimpur ...	91,090

Sarkār of Sonārgāon—Contd.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Sālisari with produce and piscary of rivers, tanks, &c., *raiyati** and the like ...	40,724	Kothri (Kothari)	35,160
		Gāthi Nadhi (G. Danai) ...	20,000
		Mehrkol ...	1,039,470
Sakhwā from *raiyati*	280,000	Muazzampur ...	236,830
,, ,, *sāir* dues	28,000	Mehār ...	60,800
Sakhādia ...	28,000	Manoharpur ...	53,301
Sejoāl† ...	13,000	Mahijāl ...	25,000
Shamspur ...	22,000	Narāenpur, from *sāir* dues, *zakāt* and *raiyati* ...	940,760
Kerāpur ..	293,402		
Gardi ...	89,590	Nāwākot ...	16,080
Kārtikpur ...	80,000	Hamtā Bāzu ...	281,280
Khāndi ...	40,140	Hāt Ghāti ...	10,285

Sarkār of Sylhet.

8 *mahals.* Rev. 6,681,308 *dāms.*

Castes, various. Cavalry, 1,100. Elephants, 190. Infantry, 42,920.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Partābgarh, called also Panjkhand	370,000	Suburban district of Sylhet ...	2,290,717
		Sarkhandal ...	390,472
Baniā Chang ...	1,672,080	Laur ...	246,202
Bajwa Biyāju ...	804,080	Harnagār, *raiyati* and *sāir* ...	1,010,857
Jesa (Jaintiya?)	272,200		

Sarkār of Chittagong.

7 *mahals.* Rev. 11,424,310 *dāms.*

Castes, various. Cavalry, 100. Infantry, 1,500.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Ṭālāgāon [?Mālgaon] ...	506,000	Sulaimānpur, commonly Shaikhpur	1,572,400
		Sāir dues from salt-pits ...	737,520
Chātgāon (Chittagong) ...	6,649,410	Sahwā ...	5,079,340
Deogaon ...	775,540	Nawāpārā ...	703,300

* Applied in Bengal to lands of which the revenue is paid in money in opposition to *khamār* lands of which revenue was paid in kind: also to a settlement direct with the cultivators.—Wilson's *Gloss.*

† G. and *var.* Sabarchāl.

Sarkār of Sharifābād.

26 *mahals*. Rev. 2,488,750 *dāms*.

Castes, various. Cavalry, 200. Infantry, 5,000.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Burdwān ...	1,876,142	Suburban district of Sherpur Atāi	816,068
Bahror ...	1,736,795	Azmatpur ...	1,660,045
Barbaksail ...	540,395	Fath Singh ...	2,096,460
Bharkondah, and Akbharshāhi, commonly Sāndal, 2 *mahals*	1,276,195	Husain Ajiyāl ...	393,345
		Kargāon ...	348,260
		Kiratpur ...	225,775
Bāghā ...	509,340	Khand [Ghosh]	196,380
Bhātsilā ...	307,340	Khanga ...	174,360
Bāzār Ibrāhimpur	15,740	Kodrā ...	63,125
Janki ...	937,705	Mahland ...	1,831,890
Khot Makand ...	2,315	Manohar Shāhi	1,709,920
Dhaniyān ...	1,508,850	Muzaffar Shāhi	1,552,175
Sulaimān Shāhi	721,335	Nasak ...	782,517
Soniyā ...	90,370	Natrān ...	203,560

Sarkār of Sulaimānābād.

31 *mahals*. Rev. 17,629,964 *dāms*.

Castes, various. Cavalry, 100. Infantry, 5,000.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Indarāin ...	592,120	Husainpur ...	355,090
Ismāilpur ...	184,540	Dhārsah ...	95,250
Anliyā ...	124,577	Rāenah ...	68,257
Ulā ...	89,277	Suburban district of Sulaimānābād ...	2,051,090
Basandhari ...	2,266,280		
Bhursat ...	1,968,990	Sātsikā† ...	757,111
Panduah ...	1,823,292	Sahspur ...	314,842
Pāchnor ...	601,495	Sanghauli ...	72,747
Bāli Bhangā 2 *mahals** ...	417,185	Sultānpur ...	44,575
Chhotipur ...	554,956	Umarpur ...	223,320
Chumhā ...	455,901	Aālampur ...	38,280
Jaipur ...	44,250	Qabāzpur ...	747,200

* There is a Bāli Danga in Nadiya.
† G. and *var*. Satsanga. Note—Now in the district of Bardwān.

Sarkār of Sulaimānābād—*contd.*

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Gobinda (Kosada ?)	357,942	Molghar ...	792,107
Receipts from independent *taluqdārs* ...	213,067	Nagin ...	910,990
		Nāirā ...	872,945
Muhammadpur	48,515	Nasang ...	500,765
		Nabiya [? Nipā]	77,017

Sarkār of Sātgāon.

53 *mahals.* Rev. 16,724,724 *dāms.*

Castes, various. Cavalry, 50. Infantry, 6,000.

	Dāms.		*Dāms*
Banwa, Kotwāli, Farāsatghar,(?) 3 *mahals* ...	1,540,770	Sādghāti ...	468,058
		Sakotā ...	204,072
Ukrā ...	726,360	Srirājpur ...	125,792
Anwarpur ...	236,950	*Sāir* dues from Bandarbān and Mandawi, 2 *mahals* ...	1,200,000
Arsa Tāwāli† Sātgāon 2 *mahals*	234,890		
Akbārpur ...	115,590	Sākhāt, Kātsāl, 2 *mahals* ...	45,757
Bodhan ...	956,457		
Panwān and Salimpur ...	952,505	Fāthpur ...	80,702
		Calcutta, Bakoya†† Bārbakpur, 3 *mahals* ...	936,215
Purah ...	652,470		
Barmhattar and Mānikhatti ...	383,803	Khārar ...	365,275
Belgāon ...	233,602	Kandāliyā ...	242,160
Bālindā ...	125,250	Kalaruā ...	197,522
Bāgwān and Bangābāri ...	100,000	Magrā ...	801,302
		Matiyāri ...	307,845
Baliyā ...	94,725	Medni Mal ...	186,242
Phalkā ...	38,245	Muzaffarpur ...	108,332
Baridhati ...	25,027	Mundāgāchhā ...	98,565
Tortariyā ...	36,604	Nāhihatti ...	49,935
Haveli Shahr ...	502,330	Nadiya and Sāntipur, 2 *mahals*	1,508,820
Husainpur ...	324,322		
Hājipur, Bārbakpur, 2 *mahals*	142,592	Helki ...	90,042
		Hāthi Kandhā ...	55,702
Dhuliyāpur ...	78,815	Hatiyāgarh ...	781,360
Ranihāt ...	1,358,510		

† Can it be *A'rsa haveli-e-Sātgān*? [J. Sarkar].

†† G. and *var.* Makuma *Calcutta* is unlikely. I prefer the variant in text *Kalna* [J. S.]

Sarkār of Mandāran.

16 *mahals.* Rev. 9,403,400 *dāms.*

Castes, various. Cavalry, 150. Infantry, 7,000.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Panihatti ...	122,655	Shergarh, commonly Sikharbhum ...	915,237
Bagri (Bālgarhi) R* ...	937,077	Shāhpur ...	634,160
Birbhum ...	541,245	Ket ...	46,447
Dhawālbhum (*mis.* Bawal) ...	495,220	Mandalghāt ...	906,775
Chitwā A* ...	806,542	Nāgor¶ ...	4,025,620
Champānagari ...	412,250	Minakbāg (T. Mansapāt) ...	279,322
Suburban district of Mandāran ...	1,727,077	Hesla (*mist.* Hesoli) A* ...	263,207
Sin[g]bhum ...	615,805		
Samar Sānhas (Sarhat) ...	274,461		

Orissa.

Sarkār of Jalesar.

28 *mahals.* Rev. 5,052,738 *dāms.*

Castes, various. Elephants, 2. Cavalry, 3,470.

Infantry, 43,810.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Bānsanda, commonly Haftchor has five strong forts. Castes, *Khandait, Brāhman,* and *Bhej.* Cavalry, 100, Infantry, 5,800.	4,211,430	Parbadā. Cav. 400, Inf. 1,600; has a strong fort, partly on a hill, partly fenced by forest.	640,000
Bibli (Pipli) Cavalry, 10, Infantry, 40 ...	2,001,430	Bhograi, has a fortress of great strength: Caste *Khandait,* Cav. 100, Inf. 2,200, archers and matchlockmen.	497,140
Bāli Shāhi Cav. 200. Inf. 2,000	963,430	Bagri, *Rajput,* Cav. 100, Inf. 200	39,428
Bālkoshi, has three forts: 1, Sokrah. 2, Bānhas Tāli; 3, Daddhpur. Cav. 20, Inf. 300.	756,220	Bāzār	125,720
		Bābbanbhum, *Brāhman.* Cav. 20, Inf. 400 ...	114,208

¶ For *Nāgor* T. reads *Magor.* We know of a Nagar of Sarkhum. For *Mandalghāt,* Rennell gives *Mangalgulla,* a little south of the Ajay river, and Atlas *Mangalkot. Hesla* is eight miles west by south of Purulia town, but one ms. reads *Mahisdal.*

Sarkār of Jalesar—*contd.*

	Dāms.
Taliya with town of Jalesar, has a brick fort. Caste, *Khandait*, Cav. 300, Inf. 6,250.	12,007,110
Tamluk Cav. 50, Inf. 1,000, has a strong fort, *Khandait*	2,571,430
Tarkua: a fort in the jungle, Cav. 30, Inf. 170	720,570
Dāwar Shorbhum, comly Bārah, Cav. 100, Inf. 100.	1,342,360
Ramuna, has five forts, 1 adjacent to city; 2, Ramchandpur; 3 Rabgā; 4, Dut; 5, Saldah, Cav. 700, Inf. 3,500, hold the five.	5,062,306
Rayn, on the border of Orissa, has three forts, Cav. 150, Inf. 1,500.	218,806
Rāepur, a large city, with a strong fortress, Cav. 200, Inf. 1,000.	986,970
Sabang, strong fort in the jungle, Cav. 100, Inf. 2,000.	1,257,140
Kesiari	108,570
Kāsijorā, Cav. 200, Inf. 2,500, matchlock and bowmen.	893,160
Kharagpur, a strong fort in the wooded hills, 500 footmen and machlockmen.	528,570
Kedārkhand, three strong forts, Cav. 50, Inf. 500	468,570
Karāi, Infantry 100 ...	285,720
Gagnāpur, *Rajput*, Cav. 50, Inf. 400 ..	85,720
Karohi*	68,570
Māljhata, Cav. 500, Inf. 5,000	9,312,610
Mednipur, a large city with two forts, one ancient and the other modern. Caste *Khandait*; Cav. 60, Inf. 500.	1,019,930
Mahākānghāt commonly Qutbpur, a fortress of great strength, Cav. 30, Inf. 1,000.	240,000
Narāinpur, commonly Kandhār, with a strong fort on a hill, Cav. 100, Inf. 4,000.	2,280,860

Sarkār of Bhadrak.

7 *mahals.* Rev. 18,687,170 *dāms.*

Castes, various. Cavalry, 750. Infantry, 3,730.

	Dāms.
Barwa, two strong fortresses, Bānak and Raskoi, castes, *Khandait*, and *Kāyath*, Cav. 50, Inf. 400.	3,240,000
Jaukajri	57,140
Suburban district of Bhadrak, has a fort called Dhānnagar, with a resident governor, *Khandait*, Cav. 200, Inf. 3,500.	9,542,760
Sahansu, 2 strong forts, *Khandait*, Cav. 300, Inf. 1,700.	3,514,280
Kāaimān, a strong fort of the greatest strength, *Khandait*, Cav. 100, Inf. 400.	1,515,840
Kadsu	730,430
Independent Talukdārs; three forts, Pachchhim Dik, Khandait, and Majori, Cav. 100, Inf. 300; the three forts, held by *Khandaits*.	85,720

* G. and *var.* Kerauli.

Sarkār of Katak (Cuttack.)

21 *mahals.* Rev. 91,432,730 *dāms.*

Castes, various. Cavalry, 900. Infantry, 108,160.

	Dāms.
Āl, Inf. 2,100 ...	6,429,130
Āsakah, Inf. 15,000 ...	3,160,380
Athgarh, with a strong fort, *Brāhman*, Cav. 200, Inf. 7,000.	1,184,980
Purab Dik, four forts, Cav. 200, Inf. 6,000 ...	22,881,580
Pachchhim Dik, Cav. 100, Inf. 50,000 ...	662,490
Bahār	5,129,820
Basāi Diwarmār, Inf. 1,000	2,746,650
Barang, 9 forts, among the hills and jungles, Caste, *ahir*, Cav. 20, Inf. 300.	2,132,940
Bhijnagar with strong fort, *Telingha*, Cav. 50, Inf. 22,000.	860,390
Banju, *Rajput*, Cav. 100, Inf. 20,000 ...	866,206
Parsotam	691,530
Chaubiskot, 4 forts of great strength, Cav. 500, Inf. 20,000.	2,398,970

	Dāms.
Jash commonly Jājpur, a strong fort, *Brāhman*, Cav. 200, Inf. 1,800.	2,073,780
Dakhin Dik, 4 forts, Cav. 180, Inf. 13,060.	22,065,770
Sirān	207,830
Shergarh, *Brāhman*, Cav. 20, Inf. 200.	1,408,580
Kotdesh with three forts, the original fort, Kasi-bagh, Caste, *Khandait*, Cav. 5,008, Inf. 300.	4,720,980
Katak Banāres, suburban district with city, has a stone fort of great strength, and a masonry palace within, *Brāhman* and *Khandait*, Cav. 200, Inf. 1,000.	605,600
Khatrah, with strong fortress, *Khandaits*, Cav. 100, Inf. 400.	1 120,230
Mānakpatan, a large port, where salt dues are collected.	600,000

Sarkār of Kaling Dandpāt.

27 *mahals.* Rev. 5,560,000 *dāms.*

Cavalry, 500. Infantry, 30,000.

Sarkār of Rāj Mahendrih.

16 *mahals.* *Rev.* 5,00,000 *dāms.*

Cavalry, 1,000. Infantry, 5,000.

A general view of the country having now been cursorily given, I proceed to record the succession of its rulers and the duration of their reigns. Twenty-four princes of the *Khatri* caste, kept aflame the torch of

sovereignty from father to son in succession during 2418 years.

		Years.			Years
Rājā Bhagdat, *Khatri*	reigned ...	218	Sadhrak	reigned ...	91
Anangbhim	,, ...	175	Jaydhrak	,, ...	102
Ranghim	,, ...	108	Udai Singh	,, ...	85
Gajbhim	,, ...	82	Bisu Singh	,, ...	88
Deodat	,, ...	95	Birmāth	,, ...	88
Jag Singh	,, ...	106	Rukhdeva	,, ...	81
Barmah Singh	,, ...	97	Rākhbind (Rukhnand)	,, ...	79
Mohandat	,, ...	102	Jagjiwan	,, ...	107
Benod Singh	,, ...	97	Kāludand	,, ...	85
Silar Sen	,, ...	96	Kāmdeva	,, ...	90
Sattarjit	,, ...	101	Bijai Karn	,, ...	71
Bhupat	,, ...	90	Sat Singh	,, ...	89

Nine princes of the *Kāyeth* caste ruled in succesion 520 years after which the sovereignty passed to another *Kāyeth* house.

		Years.			Years.
Rājā Bhoj Gauriya	reigned ..	75	Rājā Jaint	reigned ..	60
Lālsen	,, ..	70	Pirthu Rajā	,, ..	52
Rājā Madhu	,, ..	67	Rājā Grrar	,, ..	45
Samantbhoj	,, ..	48	,, Lachhman	,, ..	50
			,, Nandbhoj	,, ..	53

Eleven princes reigned in succession 714 years, after which another *Kāyeth* family bore rule.

		Years.			Years.
Rājā Udsur (Adisur)	reigned ...	75	Rājā Rukdeva	,, ...	62
,, Jāmanibhān	,, ...	73	,, Giridhar	reigned ...	80
,, Unrud	,, ...	78	,, Pirthidhar	,, ...	68
,, Partāb Rudr	,, ...	65	,, Shishtdhar	,, ...	58
,,, Bhawdāt	,, ...	69	,, Prabhākar	,, ...	63
			,, Jaidhar	,, ...	23

Ten princes reigned 698 years, after which the sway of another *Kāyeth* family was established.

	Years.		Years
Rājā Bhopāl reigned ...	55	Rājā Bigan (Bijan) pāl, reigned ...	75
,, Dhripāl ,, ...	95	,, Jaipāl ,, ...	98
,, Devapāl ,, ...	83	Rājpāl ,, ...	98
,, Bhupati-pāl ,, ...	70	Bhogpāl, his brother ,, ...	5
,, Dhanpati-pāl ,, ...	45	Jagpāl, his son ,, ...	74

Seven princes governed in succession during 160 years.

	Years.		Years
Sukh Sen reigned ...	3	Madhu Sen reigned ...	10
Balāl Sen, who built the fort of Gaur ,, ...	50	Kesu Sen ,, ...	15
Lakhan (Lachhman) Sen ,, ...	7	Sada (Sura) Sen ,, ...	18
		Rājā Nāujāh (?Buddha-sen) ,, ...	3

Sixty-one princes thus reigned for the space of 4,544 years when Bengal became subject to the Kings of Delhi.

From the time of Sultān Qutb u' ddin Aibak to Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh 17 governors ruled during a period of 156 years.

These were followed by—

A.H.	A.D.		Years.	Months
741	1340	Malik Fakhr'uddin Silāhdār, reigned	2	some
743	1342	Sultān Alāu'ddin	1	,,
744	1343	Shamsu'ddin Bhangarah Ilyās ...	16	,,
760	1358	Sikandar (Shāh) his son ...	9	,,
769	1367	Sultān Ghiyāsu'ddin his son ...	7	,,
775	1373	Sultān 'us Salātin, his son ...	10	0
785	1383	Shamsu'ddin, his son ...	3	some
787	1385	Kānsi native of Bengal ...	7	0
794	1392	Sultān Jalālu'ddin ...	17	0
812	1409	Sultān Ahmad, his son ...	16	0
		Nāsir his slave, a week or according to others, half a day.		

A.H.	A.D.		*Years.*	*Months.*
830	1426-7	Nāsir Shah, descendant of Shamsu'ddīn Bhangarah ...	32	0
862	1457	Bārbak Shāh ...	17	0
879	1474	Yusuf Shāh ...	7	0
887	1482	Sikandar Shāh ...	half a day	
887	1482	Fath Shāh ...	7	5
896	1490	Bārbak Shāh ...	two and a half days.	
897	1491	Firoz Shāh ...	3	0
899	1494	Mahmud Shah, his son	1	0
900	1495	Muzaffar Habshi ...	3	5
903	1498	Alāu'ddin ...	27 (?)	some
927	1521	Nasrat Shāh, his son	11 (?)	
940	1534	*Mahmud Shāh, son of Alāu'd defeated by*		
944	1537	Sher Khān.		
945	1538	Humayun (held his court at Gaur).		
946	1539	Sher Khan, a second time.		
952	1545	Muhammad Khān.		
962	1555	Bahādur Shāh, his son.		
968	1560	Jalālu'ddin, his brother.		
Not in U. T.		Ghiyāsu'ddin. Tāj Khān.		
971	1563-4	Sulaimān (Karāni), his brother.		
981	1573	Bāyazid, his son.		
981	1573	Dāud, his brother (*defeated by Akbar's forces*).		

Fifty princes ruled during about 357 years and one hundred and eleven kept alive the torch of sovereignty throughout the period, approximately, of 4,813 years and passed into the sleep of dissolution.

The first Rājā, (Bhagadatta) came to Delhi by reason of his friendship for Rājā Durjodhan, and fell manfully fighting in the war of the Mahābhārat, 4,096 years previous to the present time. When the cup of life of Rājā Naujah [*correct into* Rājāh of Nodia] overflowed, the sovereignty fell to Lakhmaniya, son of Rāe Lakhman. Nadiyā was at that time the capital of Bengal and the seat of various learning. Nowadays its prosperity has somewhat abated but the traces of its erudition are still evident. The astrologers predicted the overthrow of his kingdom and the establishment of another faith and they discovered in Muhammad Bakhtiyār Khilji the individual by whom these two events would be accomplished. Although the Rājā regarding these as idle tales refused to credit them, many

of his subjects sought refuge in distant provinces. At the time when Qutbu'ddin Aibak held India for Shahābu'ddin, the Khilji took possession of Bihār by force of arms, and when he marched upon Bengal, the Rājā, escaped in a boat. Muhammad Bakhtiyar, entered Bengal and having amassed enormous plunder, he destroyed the city of Nadiyā and transferred the capital to Lakhnauti. From that time Bengal has been subject to the kings of Delhi.

During the reign of Sultān Tughlaq, Qadar Khān was viceroy in Bengal. Malik Fakhru'ddin his sword-bearer through greed of power, disloyally determined upon the death of his master and plotting in secret, slew him and with pretentious allegations fraudfully possessed himself of the government and refused allegiance to the sovereigns of Delhi. Malik Ali Mubārak, who had been one of the principal adherents of Qadar Khān, assumed the title of Alāu'ddin and rose against Fakhru'ddin, and taking him alive in action, put him to death. Hāji Iliyās 'Alāi, one of the nobles of Bengal, entering into a confederacy with some others, slew him and took the title of Shamsu'ddin. He is also called *Bhangrah*. Sultān Firoz set out from Delhi to chastise him and a severe struggle ensued, but as the rainy season was approaching, he concluded a hasty treaty and returned. When Shamsu'ddin died, the chiefs of the army raised his eldest son to the throne under the title of Sikandar Shāh. Sultān Firoz again marched into Bengal but retreated after arranging terms of peace. On Sikandar's death his son was elected to succeed him and was proclaimed under the title of Ghiyāsu'ddin. Khwājah Hāfiz of Shirāz sent him an ode in which occurs the following verse :

And now shall India's parroquets on sugar revel all,
In this sweet Persian lyric that is borne to far Bengal.

A native of Bengal named Kānsi fraudfully dispossessed Shamsu'ddin who was his [Ghiyās-ud-din's] grandson. When he died, his son embraced Islām and took the name of Sultān Jalālu'ddin. It was the custom in that country for seven thousand footmen called *Pāyiks* to patrol round the palace. One evening a eunuch conspiring with these guards slew Fath Shāh and assumed the title of Bārbak Shāh.

Firoz Shāh was also slain by these guards and his son Mahmud was raised to the sovereignty. An Abyssinian slave Muzaffar with the assistance of the same guards put him to death and mounted the throne. Alāu'ddin, an

attendant of Muzaffar, in turn, in conspiracy with these guards despatched his master and established himself in power. Thus through the caprice of fortune, these low footsoldiers for a considerable time played an important part in the state. Alāu'ddin placed the administration of justice on a better footing and disbanded the *Pāyiks*. Nasrat Shah is said to have followed the example of his father in his justice and liberality and treated his brothers with consideration. When Sultān Ibrahim (Lodi) met his death in the engagement with Sultan Bābar, [1526] his brother and the chiefs of the army took refuge with this monarch and lived in security. Humayun appointed Jahāngir Quli Beg to the governorship of the province. When Sher Khān a second time rose to power, he beguiled Jahāngir under pretext of an amicable settlement and put him to death. During the reign of Salim Khān (at Delhi) Muhammad Khān his kinsman, united loyalty to his lord with justice to his subjects. When he fell in action against Mamrez Khān, his son Khizr Khān succeeded him and assumed the title of Bahādur Shāh. Mamrez Khān entered the field against him but perished in battle. Tāj Khān [Karrāni] one of the nobles of Salim Khān, slew Jalālu'ddin and assumed the government. His younger brother Sulaimān, although of a tyrannous disposition, reigned for some time, after which his sons Bāyazid and Dāud through misconduct dishonoured the royal privileges of the mint and the pulpit. Thus concludes my abstract.

Praise be to God, that this prosperous country receives an additional splendour through the justice of imperial majesty.

THE SUBAH OF BIHĀR.

It is situated in the second climate. Its length from *Gadhi* to *Rhotās* is 120 *kos;* its breadth from *Tirhut* to the northern mountains, 110 *kos*. On its eastern boundary is Bengal; to the west lie *Allahabad* and *Oudh*. On the north and south it is bounded by hills of considerable elevation. Its chief rivers are the *Ganges* and the *Son*. Whatever of wood or leather and the like falls into the Son, becomes petrified. The head springs of these three rivers, the *Son*, the *Narbada* and the *Johila*, bubble up from a single reed-bed* in the neighbourhood of *Gadha* [Mandla]. The Son

* The three great rivers, Narmadā, Son and Mahānadi, rise in a sacred pond at the Amar-Kantak, a village in the Rewā State, only three miles from

is pleasant to the taste, wholesome and cool; flowing in a northerly direction, it joins the Ganges near *Maner*. The *Gandak* flows from the north and unites with the Ganges near *Hājipur*. Such as drink of it suffer from a swelling in the throat, (goitre) which gradually increases, especially in young children, to the size of a cocoanut.

The *Sāligrām*† is a small black stone which the Hindus account among divine objects and pay it great veneration. If round and small and unctuous, they hold it in the highest regard and according to the variety of its form, different names and properties are ascribed to it. The generality have a single perforation, others more and some are without any. They contain gold ore. Some say that a worm is bred within which eats its way through; others maintain that it works its way in from the outside. The Hindus have written a considerable work on the qualities of this stone. According to the Brahmanical creed, every idol that is broken loses its claim to veneration, but with these, it is not so. They are found in the Son for a distance of 40 *kos* between its northernmost extremity and the south of the hills.

The *Karamnāsā* flowing from the south unites with the Ganges near *Chausā*. Its waters are regarded with aversion.[1] The *Punpun* flows also from the south and joins

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the eastern border of the Garh Mandlā district of the C.P., where the Maikāl range begins. The *Johillā*, a very small river, is really a feeder of the *Son* and, after flowing north and west from its source for a little more than a hundred miles as a thin stream, loses itself in the *Son*, in the north-west corner of the Rewā State, 13 miles east of Bandhu-garh. It should not, therefore, be counted as separate from the *Son*, which does not really rise from the same tank at Amar-Kantak but some distance to the east of it. The third great river with its source at the same place is the *Mahānadi*, which Abul Fazl has entirely left out. The *Mahānadi* flowing eastward across half the breadth of the Indian peninsula, falls into the Bay of Bengal in Orissa, more than 1900 miles from the mouth of its twin-sister the Narmadā, in the Arabian sea, though both rivers started from the same cradle.

The sacred tank at Amar-Kantak is 8 yards long and 6 yards wide, and surrounded by a brick-wall. It is situated 90 miles due east of Mandla city. (Tieffenthaler quoting an English engineer's report). "The Narmada in issuing from its source is only one yard in breadth. The *Son* is visible only for a distance of half a mile from the tank, and then it descends in a waterfall 25 yards high, and after a course of five miles, it loses itself in the sand, but newly acquiring greater volume it (finally) becomes a large river." (Tieffenthaler, i, 416-417.) The *Son* used to fall into the Ganges near Maner, when Rennell made his survey (*Bengal Atlas*, 1772), but the junction is now about ten miles higher up, at Koilwar (Rl. Stn.) *Jadunath Sarkar.*

† A species of black quartzose found in the Gandhak containing the impression of one or more ammonites conceived by the Hindus to represent Vishnu. This river is also known as the Sālgirām.

[1] Its name signifies 'the ruin of religious merit.' No person of any caste will drink its waters. The reason of its impurity is said to be that a Brahman having been murdered by a Raja of the Solar line, a saint purified him of his sins by collecting water from all the streams of the world and washing him

the Ganges near Patna. The smaller rivers of this Subah cannot be recorded. The summer months are intensely hot, while the winter is temperate. Warm garments are not worn for more than two months. The rains continue during six months and throughout the year the country is green and fertile. No severe winds blow nor clouds of dust prevail. Agriculture flourishes in a high degree, especially the cultivation of rice which, for its quality and quantity is rarely to be equalled. *Kisāri*[2] is the name of a pulse, resembling peas, eaten by the poor, but is unwholesome. Sugarcane is abundant and of excellent quality. Betel-leaf, especially the kind called *Maghi*, is delicate and beautiful in colour, thin in texture, fragrant and pleasant to the taste. Fruits and flowers are in great plenty. At *Maner*, a flower grows named *Muchakand*,[3] somewhat like the flower of the *Dhātura*, very fragrant and found nowhere else. Milk is rich in quality and cheap. The custom of dividing the crops is not here prevalent. The husbandman pays his rents in person and on the first occasion presents himself in his best attire. The houses for the most part are roofed with tiles. Good elephants are procurable in plenty and boats likewise. Horses and camels are scarce. Parrots abound and a fine species of goat of the Barbary breed which they castrate: from their extreme fatness they are unable to walk and are carried on litters. The fighting cocks are famous. Game is abundant. Gilded glass is manufactured here.

In the *Sarkār* of *Bihār*, near the village of *Rājgir* is a quarry of stone resembling marble, of which ornaments are made. Good paper is here manufactured. *Gayā* the place of Hindu pilgrimage, is in this province: it is also called *Brahma Gayā* being dedicated to *Brahma*. Precious stones from foreign ports are brought here and a constant traffic carried on.

In the *Sarkār* of *Hājipur* the fruits *Kathal*[4] and *Barhal* grow in abundance. The former attain such a size that a man can with difficulty carry one.

in their waters which were collected in the spiring from which the Karamnāsā now issues. *I. G.*

[2] Lathyrus sativus.

[3] Dr. King of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Calcutta, suggests that this may be the *Jasminum pubescens*. The flower resembles a miniature Dhatura flower and is very fragrant.

[4] Known as the Jack fruit (Artocarpus integrifolia, Roxb.). The *Barhal* according to the dictionary is a small round fruit, also an Artocarpus, doubtfully distinguished as *"lacucha."*

In the *Sarkār* of *Champāran* the seed of vetch *Māsh*[5] is cast on unploughed soil where it grows without labour or tilling. Long pepper grows wild in its forests.

Tirhut has from immemorial time, been a seat of Hindu learning. Its climate is excellent. Milk curds keep for a year without alteration. If those who sell milk adulterate it with water, some mysterious accident befalls them. The buffaloes are so savage that they will attack a tiger. There are many lakes and in one of them the water never decreases, and its depth is unfathomable. Groves of orange trees extend to a distance of thirty *kos*, delighting the eye. In the rainy season gazelle and deer and tiger frequent together the cultivated spots and are hunted by the inhabitants. Many of these with broken limbs are loosened in an enclosure, and they take them at their leisure.

Rohtās is a stronghold on the summit of a lofty mountain, difficult of access. It has a circumference of 14 *kos* and the land is cultivated. It contains many springs, and wherever the soil is excavated to the depth of three or four yards, water is visible. In the rainy season many lakes are formed, and more than two hundred waterfalls gladden the eye and ear. The climate is remarkably healthy.

This *Subah* contains seven *Sarkārs* subdivided into 199 *Parganahs*. The gross revenue is 22 *krors*, 19 lakhs, 19,404½ *dāms*. (Rs. 55,47,985-1-3). Of these *Parganahs*, 138, pay revenue in cash from crops charged at special rates.[6] The extent of measured land is 24 *lakhs*, 44,120 *bighas*, yielding a revenue of 17 *krors*, 26 *lakhs*, 81,774 *dāms* (Rs. 43,17,044) in cash. The remaining 61 *Parganahs* are rated at 4 *krors*, 22 *lakhs*, 37,630½ *dāms*. (Rs. 12,30,940-12-5), out of which 22 *lakhs*, 72,174 *dāms* are *Suyurghāl* (Rs. 56,803-8-10). The province furnishes 11,415 Cavalry, 449,350 Infantry and 100 boats.

Sarkār of Bihār.

Containing 46 *Mahals*, 952,598 *Bighas*. Revenue, 80,196,390 *dāms* in cash from special crops, and from land

[5] Phaseolus radiatus.

[6] The term *Zabti* though originally applied to lands sequestrated by the State, was used of rent free lands subjected to assessment in Bengal, to lands which had been resumed from Jagir grants by Jafar Khān: in the north-west, to money rents on the more valuable crops, such as sugar, tobacco, and cotton where rent in kind was the rule. Abul Fazl employs it loosely elsewhere for the revenue collection or assessment of a village

paying the general *bigha rate*. *Suyurghāl*, 2,270,147 *dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 2,115. Infantry 67,350.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue Dām	Cav.	Inf.	Suyurghal Dām	Castes
Arwal	57,089-5	426,780	...	1000	...	
Aukhri [?Khokri] ..	48 401-10	3,747,940	...	...	...	
Ikhal	40,404-4	335,230	...	200	...	Afghān & Brāhman
Amritu	24,252-19	1	...	...	16035	Do.
Anbalu	...	947	...	250	...	Brāhman
Anchha	10,290-57	6,700,500	20	300	...	Afghān
Antri	1,998-9	147,980	20	200	...	Kayath
Behār with suburban district, has a fort of stone and brick	70,683-9	5,534,151	10	400	653,200	
Bahlāwar	48,310-3	3,651,640	...	500	9000	Brāhman
Basok	35,318-18	2,706,539	...	300	1,708,130	Shaikhzādah
Palach	30,030-18	2,270,538	...	500	59,185	Brāhman,
Baliā	26,000-18	2,056,502	20	400	85,747	Rājput
Patna, has two forts, one of brick and the other of mud	21,846-8	1,922,430	...	...	131,807	
Phulwāri	20,225-19	1,585,420	20	700	118,120	Rājput
Pahra	12,285 6	941,160	20	400	18,560	Brāhman
Bhimpur	10,862-15	824,584	...	...	24,424	
Pandārak	...	727,640	300	2000	...	
Tilādah	39,053-12	2,920,366	20	300	232,080	Shaikhzāda
Jarar	12,930-10	979,363	50	500	880	Do.
Chargāon	...	904,440	20	300	...	Brāhman
Jai Champa ..	...	620,000	20	600	...	
Dādar	...	262,500	...	...	...	
Dhaknēr	...	215,680	...	...	...	
Ruh	...	250,100	20	1500	...	Brāhman
Rāmpur	...	363,820	...	...	...	
Rājgir	3,756-12	288,228	...	...	17,225	
Sanot	36 780-7	2,824,180	20	500	...	
Samāi	32,514-3	2,537,080	10	200	62,380	Kāyath
Sahrah	...	2,079,000	...	500	...	Rājput
Sāndah	24,562-2	1,889,956	...	500	...	Afghān
Seor, has a strong fort on a hill ..	14,145-8	1,250,591	200	5000	...	Brāhman
Ghiāspur	84,205-7	5,657,290	...	...	227,454	
Gidhaur, has a strong fort on a hill in the jungle	...	1,452,500	250	10,000	...	Rājput
Kātibahra	...	737,540	...	...	...	
Kābar	7,400-9	560,875	30	700	...	Kāyath
Guh	...	374,880	100	1000	...	Rājput
Ghātiśār	...	360,820	...	...	...	
Karanpur	...	363,820	...	...	...	
Gaya	951-4	74,270	...	...	14,235	
Muner	89,039-15	7,049,179	...	...	325,380	
Masodhā	68,191-10	4,631,080	...	...	...	
Māldah	28,128-9	2,151,575	100	3000	49,865	Brāhman
Manroā	7,706-9	585,500	20	500	...	Do.
Maher	23,937-19	1,779,540	...	200	47,700	Do.
Narhat	30,555-7	2,380,309	5	200	...	Kāyath

Sarkār of Monghyr.

Containing 31 *Mahals.* Revenue 109,625,981½ *dāms.*
Castes various, 2,150 Cavalry, 50,000 Infantry.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Abhipur	2,000,000	Angu	147,800
Osla	89,760	Anbalu	50,000
Bhāgalpur	4,696,110	Surajgarh	299,445
Baliā	3,287,320	Sakhrasāni	160,000
Paharkiah	3,000,000	Satyāri	58,730
Pathrārah	140,920	Kahalgāon	2,800,000
Basai	132,000	Khaihi	689,044
Tanur	88,420	Kozrah	260,602
Chai	9,280,000	Khatki	160,000
Chandoi	360,000	Lakhanpur	633,280
Dharmpur	4,000,000	Masjidpur	1,259,750
Dānd Sakhwārah ...	136,000	Monghyr and suburban district	808,907½
Rohni	95,360	Masdi	29,725
Sarohi	1,773,000	Hindui	108,000
Sukhdehra	690,240	Hazār taki	9,182
Saghauli	360,000		

Sarkār of Champāran.

Containing 3 *Mahals,* 85,711 *Bighas,* 5 *Biswas.*
Revenue 5,513,420 *Dāms,* Horsemen, 700.
Infantry 30,000.

	B.	& B.	Dāms		B.	& B.	Dāms
Samrun ...	7,200	,, 2	500,095	Majhora	22,415	,, 16	1,404,890
Mehsi ...	56,095	,, 7	3,518,435				

Sarkār of Hājipur.

Containing 11 *Mahals,* 10 Villages, 436,952 *Bighas,*
15 *Biswas.* Revenue 27,331,030 *dāms.*

...	B.	& B.	Revenue	...	B.	& B.	Revenue
Akbarpur ...	3,366	,, 17	195,040	Rati ...	30,438	,, 13	1,824,980
Boswāwi ...	10,851	,, 14	624,791	Saresā ...	102,461	,, 8	6,704,300
Basārā ...	106,370	,, 7	6,380,000	Imādpur ...	12,987	,, 7	795,870
Bālāgachah ...	14,638	,, 2	913,660	Garhsarah ...	,,	,,	876,200
Teghra ...	58,306	,, 13	3,518,354	Naipur ...	27,877	,, 9	1,663,980
Hājipur with suburban district	62,653	,, 17	3,833,460				

Sarkār of Sāran.

Containing 17 *Mahals.* Measured land 229, 052 *Bighas,*
15 *Biswas.* Revenue 60,172,004½ *dāms.*
Castes various. Cavalry 1,000. Infantry 50,000.

	B.	& B.	Dāms		B.	& B.	Dāms
Indar ...	7,218	,, 4	534,990	Pāl ...	66,320	,, 5	4,893,378
Barāri ...	7,117	,, 10	533,820	Bārā ...	15,059	,, 3	383,797½
Narhan ...	8,611	,, 8	654,508	Godah (Gawā?) ...	28,049	,, 3	2,012,950
Pachlakh ...	9,266	,, 15	437,997	Kaliyānpur ...	17,437		774,696
Chanend ...	8,413	,, 13	633,270	Kashmir ...	16,915		1,314,539
Chaubāra ...	,,		400,000	Māngjhi ...	8,752	,, 19	611,813
Juwainah ...	6,963	,, 8	309,285	Mandhal ...	9,405	,, 7	698,140
Degsi ...	5,825		277,630	Maker ...	10,936	,, 14	811,095
Sipāh ...	3,662		290,592				

Sarkār of Tirhut.

Containing 74 *Mahals*, Measured land 266,464 *Bighas* 2 *Biswas*. Revenue 19,179,777½ *dāms*. Castes various Cavalry 700. Infantry 80,000.

	B.	& B.R	Dāms
Ahaspur ...	4,880	,,	302,550
Utarkhand ...	2,068	,,	128,412
Ahlwār ...	1,001	,, 1	62,212
Aubhi ...	,,		60,000
Aughārā ...	836	,, 15	53,980
Athāis ...	559	,, 17	34,356
Basri &c., 4 Mahals	,,	,,	1,125,000
Bahrwārah ...	16,176	,,	942,000
Bānpur ...	40,347	,,	894,792
Barel ...	6,185	,,	789,858
Pepra ...	1,823	,, 18	112,591
Padri ...	9,048	,,	554,258
Basotra ...	8,864	,,	546,627
Panchhi [?Bachhi)]	5,816	,,	361,920
Bahnor ...	5,033	,,	289,773½
Bachhnor ...	4,956	,,	275,185
Pachham Bhagu ...	4,095	,,	271,826
Bagda ...	3,716	,,	267,862½
Purab Bhagu	3,022	,, 17	222,280
Pandrājah ...	3,135	,, 4	195,837½
Bādi Bhosādi	2,823	,,	175,585
Bhālā ...	2,840	,,	145,437
Bhadwār ...	2,087	,,	130,471½
Parhārpur ...	1,968	,,	121,067½
Bahādurpur ...	1,936	,, 16	119,305
Barai ...	1,455	,, 12	90,369½
Parhār Rāghu	1,303	,, 17	81,605
Bhaurā ...	1,170	,, 9	69,608
Palwāah ...	1,060	,, 9	65,628
Borā ...	875	,, 15	55,757
Banwā ...	,,	,,	40,539
Parhārpur, Jabdi ...	604	,, 14	37,736
Bagi ...	505	,, 5	31,550
Bochhāwār ...	188	,, 10	12,875
Barsāni ...	200	,, 18	12,695
Tarāni ...	7,171	,,	443,242
Tilokchāwand	2,411	,, 7	149,896
Tājpur ...	1,351	,, 14	85,434
Tāndah ...	1,038	,, 4	63,768
Tarson ...	980	,, 4	61,180
Tirhut with suburban district	21,398	,,	1,307,706
Jākhar ...	17,140	,,	1,068,020
Jarāyal ...	8,297	,,	515,732
Chakmani ...	5,173	,,	321,326
Jakhal [-pur]	3,092	,,	196,020
Jabdi ...	,,	,,	45,025
Dahror ...	3,165	,,	202,818
Darbhāngā ...	2,038	,,	159,052
Rāmjaund ...	7,409	,,	470,005½
Sareshtā ...	15,474	,,	941,010
Salimpur ...	458	,, 14	29,094
Salimābād ...	44	,, 15	4,184
Sanjoli Tadrā	2,450	,,	150,843½
Alāpur ..	8,796	,,	442,466
Fakhrābād ...	1,170	,, 6	72,355
Khānauli ...	4,644	,,	408,804
Ghar Chāwand	5,510	,,	349,480½
Kodākhaud ...	3,888	,,	243,677
Korādi ...	,,	,,	90,000
Khandā ...	330	,, 6	21,443
Ladwāri ...	2,609	,,	142,495
Mahlā ...	15,295	,,	946,048
Morwah ...	8,289	,,	515,485
Mandah, (Mahend?) ...	1,077	,, 12	66,693
Margā [?Naranga]	632	,, 18	39,022
Malahmi ...	151	,, 1	9,728
Nauram ...	,,	,,	288,140
Nautan ...	3,381	,, 7	209,153
Hāthi ...	2,563	,, 18	159,790½
Harni ...	796	,, 17	50,342
Hūbi [?Hali)	3,665	,, 8	230,700

Sarkār of Rohtās.

Containing 18 *Mahals*, 47,334 *Bighas*, 15 *Biswas*. Revenue, 40,819,493 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 4,550. Infantry 162,000.

	B.	& B.	Dāms
Ārah ...	53,512	,, 16	4,028,100
Bhojpur ...	66,078	,, 17	4,903,310
Piru ...	,,	,,	3,407,840
Panwār ...	22,733	,, 3	1,677,090
Baragāon ...	10,540	,, 17	842,400
Chakund (Jaund) ...	45,251	,, 3	4,440,360
Jaidar ...	26,538	,, 16	1,634,110
Danwār ...	29,154	,, 4	2,076,520
Dinār ...	,,	,,	360,000
Rohtās with suburban dist.	34,330	,, 10	2,258,620
Ratanpur, has a strong fort	..	,,	783,425
Siris (Sarsi)	44,710	,, 3	2,769,446
Sahsaram ...	31,220	,, 18	2,370,790
Fathpur bhaiya	50,474	,, 15	3,736,000
Kotrā ...	29,167	,, 15	1,829,300
Kot, has a strong fort	,,	,,	847,920
Mangror (Munora?)	,,	,,	924,000
Nannor ...	29,621	,,	2,000,000

The Subah of Illāhābād. (Allahabad.)

It is situated in the second climate. Its length from *Sinjhauli* in the *Jaunpur* district to the southern hills is 160 *kos;* its breadth from *Chausa* ferry to *Ghātampur* 122 *kos*. On the East is *Behär*. To the North, *Oudh*. *Bāndhu** lies to the South and *Agra* to the West.

Its principal rivers are the *Ganges* and the *Jamna,* and there are other small streams such as the *Rind, Ken, Saru* (Sarju), *Barna,* &c.

Its climate is healthy. It produces a variety of fruits, flowers and garden herbs, and it has always an abundant supply of melons and grapes. Agriculture is in a flourishing state. *Jowāri* and *Lahdarah,* however, do not grow and *Moth* is scarce. Cloths, such as *Jholi,* and *Mihrkal* and the like are beautifully woven, especially at *Benāres, Jalālābād* and *Mau*. At *Jaunpur, Zafarwāl* and other places woollen carpets are manufactured. A variety of game is also to be found.

Illahabād anciently called *Prayāg* was distinguished by His Imperial Majesty by the former name. A stone fort was completed and many handsome edifices erected. The Hindus regard it as the King of shrines. Near it, the *Ganges,* the *Jamna* and the *Saraswati* meet, though the latter is not visible. Near the village of *Kantat* considerable captures of elephants are made. What is most strange is that when Jupiter enters the constellation Leo, a small hill appears from out of the Ganges and remains there during the space of one month upon which the people offer divine worship.

Bārānasi, universally known as Benares, is a large city situated between the two rivers, the *Barna* and the *Āsi.*† In ancient books, it is styled *Kāsi*. It is built in the shape of a bow of which the Ganges forms the string. In former days there was here an idol temple, round which procession was made after the manner of the *kaabah* and similar ceremonials of the pilgrims conducted. From time immemorial, it has been the chief seat of learning in Hindustān.

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* *Bandhu* is Rewa State, and *not* Banda as Jarrett noted in the 1st edition.

† The Asi is a mere brook and the city is situated on the left bank of the Ganges, between the *Barnā Nadi* on the N. E. and the *Asi Nala* on the S. W. The former rises to the N. of Allahabad and has a course of 100 miles. From the joint names of the two which bound the city, N. and S. the Brāhmans derive Varanasi, the Sanskrit form of Benares. Cunningham, *Ancient Geog. of India,* p. 437.

Crowds of people flock to it from the most distant parts for the purpose of instruction to which they apply themselves with the most devoted assiduity. Some particulars of its history shall be related in what follows.

In A.H. 410 Sultān Mahmud of Ghazni marched hither, and some disruption of the old faith was effected. In A.H. 416, he again invaded the country. He first invested Gwalior but raised the siege under a treaty of peace. He then resolved to take the fort of *Kālinjar*. The governor sent him 300 elephants with his respectful submission and proffered some eulogistic verses. Mahmud was so much pleased that he bestowed on him the governorship of the fort together with the charge of fourteen other places.

Jaunpur is a large city. Sultān Firoz (Tughlaq) king of Delhi laid its foundations and named it after his cousin Fakhruddin Jaunah. Its longitude is 190° 6″; its latitude 16° 15″.

Chanādah (Chanār) is a stone fort on the summit of a hill, scarce equalled for its loftiness and strength. The Ganges flows at its foot.

In its vicinity, there is a tribe of men who go naked, living in the wilds, and subsist by their bows and arrows and the game they kill. Elephants are also found in the forests.

Kālinjar is a stone fortress situated upon a heaven-reaching* hill. No one can trace its origin. It contains many idol temples and an idol is there, called *Kāl Bhairōb*, 18 cubits high, of which marvellous tales are related. Springs rise within the fort and there are many tanks. Adjoining it is a dense forest in which wild elephants, and kestrels and hawks and other animals are trapped. Ebony is here found and many kinds of fruits grow spontaneously. There is also an iron mine. In the neighbourhood, within eight *kos*, the peasants find small diamonds.

It is said that Rājā Kirat Singh the governor of the fort possessed six precious treasures, a learned Brāhman of saintly life, a youth of great beauty and amiable disposi-

* Its elevation is 1230 feet above sea level. Ferishta ascribes the fort to Kedār Rājā, a contemporary of Muhammad, but local legend connects it with Chandra Varma, ancestor of the great Chandel family of Rajputs, who removed hither after their defeat by Prithi Rāj, the Chauhān ruler of Delhi. *I. G.*

tion, a parrot that answered any questions put to it and some say, remembered everything that it heard, a musician named Bakshu unequalled in the knowledge and practice of his art, and two handmaidens lovely to behold and skilled in song. Sultān Bāhadur Gujrāti having formed a friendship with the Rājā asked him for one of these. The Rājah generously and with a provident wisdom sent him Bakshu. Next Sher Khān of the House of Sur requested the gift of the two wonderful songstresses, and when his messenger returned without them, he invested the fort. Works were erected and the besieged were reduced to great straits. In despair, the Rājā, after the manner of the Hindus who hold their honour dear, burnt his women, for in the slumbering of his reason, he had set his affections upon the things of this fleeting life, and so giving his body to ashes, according to the desire of his enemies, he became soiled with the dust of dissolution. As to Sher Khān, who had conceived this wicked design, he fell at the powder magazine when the fire opened on the fort and the harvest of his life was consumed.*

The *Subah* contains ten *Sarkārs,* and 177 *Parganahs.* Revenue 21 *krors,* 14 *lakhs* and 17,819 *dāms* (Rs. 53,10,695-7-9)), and 12 *lakhs* of betel leaves. Of these *Parganahs* 131 pay revenue from crops charged at special rates. Measured land 39, 68,018 *bighas,* 3 *biswas,* yielding a revenue of 20 *krors,* 29 *lakhs,* 71,224 *dāms* (Rs. 50,74,280-9). The remaining 46 *Parganahs* pay the general *bigah* rate. They are rated at 94 *lakhs,* 56,595 *dāms* (Rs. 2,36,424-14). Of this, 1 *kror,* 11 *lakhs,* 65,417 *dāms* (Rs. 279,135-6-6) are *Suyurghāl.* The province furnishes 11,375 Cavalry, 237,870 Infantry and 323 elephants.

Note.—In the names of the *parganahs* under the following *Sarkārs,* I have altered the spelling where the variants allow, in accordance with Elliot's list, as his personal acquaintance with their true pronunciation is probably more correct than those of my previous lists which were adapted as far as possible to reconcile the readings of Gladwin and Tieffenthaler. The discrepancies are slight and will not interfere with their recognition.

* This took place in 1545. During the siege a live shell rebounded from the walls into the battery where Sher Shāh stood and set fire to the gunpowder. He was brought out severely burnt and died next day, having previously ordered an assault which was at once made with success. K. R. Qanungo's *Sher Shah,* 339.

Subah of Illāhābād. *Sarkārs.*	*Subah of Agra.* *Sarkārs.*	*Subah of Oudh.* *Sarkārs.*	*Subah of Delhi.* *Sarkārs.*
Illāhābas.	Agra.	Gurakhpur.	Delhi.
Karrah.	Kanauj.		Rewāri.
Korarah (Kora).	Kālpi.		Sahāranpur.
Kālinjar.	Kol.		Hisār Firozah.
Jaunpur.	Tijārah.[1]		Sambhal.
Ghāzipur.	Irij.		Badāon.
Benares.	Sahār.		
Chanār.			

Sarkār of Illāhābās (Allahabad).

Containing 11 *Mahals*, 573,311 *Bighas*, 14 *Biswas*. Of these 9 *Mahals* yield 20,833,374½ *Dāms*, in money. *Suyurghāl*, 747,001½ *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 580. Infantry 7,100.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Illāhābās, with suburban district: has a stone fort ..	284,057	9,267,359	253,261	...	1,000	Brāhman
Bhadoi, with a brick fort on the bank of the Ganges ..	73,252-2	3,660,918	37,534	200	5,000	Rājput, a few Bhars[1]
Jalālābād,[2] 5 Mahals	...	737,220	...	10	400	Brāhman
Sorāon	63,932-4	3,247,127	161,527	40	1,000	Rājput, Chandel, Brāhman
Singraur, has a brick fort on the bank of the Ganges	38,536-6	1,885,066	74,883	...	...	Brāhman, Kāyath, Rahmatullāhi
Sikandarpur ..	34,756-8	1,867,704	92,138	25	500	Brāhman
Kantit, has a stone fort on the Ganges	...	856,555	...	50	2,000	Khandāl ?[3]
Kusi. (Elliot Kewāi)	14,385-3	721,115	19,005	15	400	Rājput, Brāhman
Khairagarh, has a stone fort on a hill	...	400,000	...	200	5,000	Rājput, Birāsi (Bhar ?)
Mah, has a stone fort on the hill Alwand[4] ..	21,982	1,139,990	22,495½	20	400	Rājput, Gaharwāl
Hādiābās, (now called Jhusi. Elliot) ..	42,422-5	2,018,014	79,078	20	400	Rājput, Brāhman

[1] The Bhars were a powerful tribe during the period of Buddhist ascendancy. In Southern and Eastern Oudh there are many relics of their wealth and power in the shape of tanks, wells, embankments and deserted sites of brick built forts and towns. Beames, *Memoir*, i. p. 33. *Oudh Gazetteer*, i. p. xxxvi.

[2] Three names follow without diacritical points, intelligible in the MSS. Tieff. gives "Sobehe, Anelā, Bando, Barbar.

[3] A note to the text suggests, *Gahanwāl*, one of the 36 royal tribes of Rājputs.

[4] A note states that in the maps there is no hill. *Alwand* is the name of a well-known mountain in Hamadān, 80 leagues from Ispahan, often employed in Persian imagery as a synonym for loftiness.

Sarkār of Ghāzipur, (East.)

Containing 19 *Mahals*, 288,770 *Bighas*, 7 *Biswas*.
Revenue 13,431,308 *Dāms*, in money.
Suyurghāl, 131,825 *Dāms*. Castes various.
Cavalry 310. Infantry 16,650.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Baliā	28,344-15	1,250,000	...	200	2000	Rājput
Pachotar	13,679-9	6,982,040	2,250	50	2000	Do.
Bilhābās*	12,306	652,360	...	10	200	Do.
Bāhriābad	6,983-10	355,340	1,720	...	200	Do.
Bhalāech, (E. Barāich)	2,255-19	112,461	...	...	...	
Chausā, (E. Chaunsā) ..	15,602-11	791,653	...	10	500	Brāhman
Dihbā, (E. Dihmah) ..	2,808-15	128,815	2,077	...	50	Rājput
Sayyidpur Namdi ..	25,721-3	1,250,280	18,172	20	1000	Brāhman
Zahurābād	13,802-12	657,808	29,528	500	20	Do.
Ghāzipur with suburban district	12,325-9	570,350	39,680	10	20	Kayath, Rājput
Kariyāt Pali	1,394-5	75,467	...	...	...	
Kopāchlhit	19,266-11	942,190	893	20	2000	Rājput
Gandhā, (E. Garhā) ..	10,049-10	500,000	...	...	200	Do.
Karendā	6,260-15	293,551	...	...	300	Do.
Lakhner, (E. Lakhnesar)	2,888-3	126,636	834	...	...	
Madan Benāres ..	66,548-7	2,760 000	1,356	50	5000	Brāhman
Muhammadābād, and Parhārbāri	48,774-16	2,260,707	4,777	2000	100	Do.

Sarkār of Benāres (East.)

Containing 8 *Mahals*, 36,869 *Bighas*, 12 *Biswas*.
Revenue 8,869,315 *Dāms* in money.
Suyurghāl 3,38,184. Castes various.
Cavalry 830. Infantry 8,400.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Afrād	10,655-6	853,226	20,080	...	400	Brāhman, Rājput
Benāres, with suburban district	31,657-1	1,734,721	22,190	50	1000	Brāhman
Byālisi	60,961-3	547,634	...	20	300	Do.
Pandarhā, (var. and E. Pandrah)	4,610-15	844,221	15,836	10	400	Do.
Kasyār	41,184-14	2-290,160	80,120	50	2000	Do.
Katehar, has a brick fort	30,495-14	1,874,230	48,070	500	4000	Raghuvansi
Harhuā	13,098-3	713,426	8,145	...	300	Brāhman

* G. and T. Baliabass.

Sarkār of Jaunpur (North).

Containing 41 *Mahals*, 870,265 *Bighas*, 4 *Biswas*.
Revenue 56,394,107 *dāms* in money.
Suyurghāl, 4,717,654. Castes various.
Cavalry 915. Infantry 36,000.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Aldimau	46,888-12	3,099,990	88,976	50	3,000	Rājput
Angli	42,992-14	2,713,551	464,516	50	2,000	Sayyid, Rājput, and Rahmatullāhi Bachgoti
Bihtari	17,703	844,357	12,520	10	100	Ansari*
Bhadāon	4,300	229,315	...	10	100	Saddiki
Tilhani	10,983-8	654,363	27,457	10	100	Rājput
Jaunpur with suburbs, has a fort, the lower part stone, and the upper constructed of brick	65,739-4	4,247,043	807,821	120	2,500	Rājput Kosak, Brāhman, Kurmi
Chāndipur Badhar, (R. Birhar) .. .	22,826-7	1,467,205	157,641	20	400	Rahmatullāhi, Brāhman
Chāndah	17,590	989,286	...	20	300	Bachgoti
Chiriyākot	14,153	807,848	13,689	20	200	Rājput
Jakesar (R. Chakesar)	5,415-10	286,586	...	10	100	Saddiki
Kharid, has a brick fort on the banks of the Sarah	30,914-13	1,445,743	3,140	50	5,000	Rājput Kausik
Khāspur Tāndah ..	17,365	986,953	40,189	10	300	Kāyath
Khānpur	6-628-10	3, 06,020	5,387	...	150	Rājput
Deogāon	44,524-18	2,583,205	196,238	25	1,000	Do. Gautami†
Rāri	24,360	1,326,299	84,502	10	300	Rājput
Sanjhauli	46,815-3	2,938,209	334,932	50	100	Sayyid, Rājput, Braman
Sikandarpur, has a brick fort ..	32,574-10	1,706,417	5,325	10	3,000	Brāhman
Sagdi, (R. Sagri) ..	19,792	1,274,721	102,224	10	200	Rājput
Surharpur	18,851	1,164,095	7,094	10	20	Do.

* These according to the I.G. (Ishaqis) were the descendants of the early Mussalman settlers and invaders. For their descent and history, see Beames *Memoir*, I, 7. For Bachgoti, see Elliot (*Races of the N. W. P.*) who says that all Chauhans are Bachgotis, being of the *gotra* of Bach, but Sherring proves this to be an error, instancing the *gotras* of Vatsa and Kāsyap. *Hindu Tribes*, I, p. 164.

† A clan of Rājputs of the Chandarbans, once a powerful clan in the Lower Doab. See Elliot, p. 118, I, and Sherring, I, 202.

Sarkār of Jaunpur (North).—(*Contd.*)

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Shādiābād	30,848-8	1,700,742	10,020	20	400	Rājput
Zafarābād	2,822-9	156,926	13,806½	...	50	Do.
Qariyāt Mittu ..	8,991-11	551,410	...	10	300	Do.
,, Dostpur ..	8,857	481 524	42,227	...	100	Do.
,, Mendhah ..	7,416	394,870	21,260	...	100	Do.
,, Seothah ..	2,988-10	206,733	14,224	...	100	Do.
Kolāh	24,231	1,363,332	14,971	10	300	Do.
Ghiswah	30,775	1,241,291	42,366	10	200	Do.
Ghosi .. .	18,913	1,037,934	69,650	10	200	Do.
Gadwārah	2,191	519,942	2,682	50	5,000	Rājput Bachgoti
Kāndiyah, (R. Kauria)	5,764-12	341,890	...	...	200	Rājput
Gopālpur	3 266-8	18,043	4,948	...	100	Do.
Karākat	48,332-14	23,002,748	77,339	20	500	Do.
Mandiāhu, has a brick fort (R. Mariahu)	88,899-5	5,259,465	273,788	50	2,000	Rājput Kausik
Muhammadābād ..	56,350-14	3,229,063	220,442	30	1,000	Rājput, Brāhman
Mungra	9,626-5	529,730	...	...	200	Rājput
Majhāura	6,417-6	420,164	14,427	...	200	Rahmatullāhi
Mau	2,645-3	209,067	...	...	50	Shaikh zādah
Nizamābād	6,074-13	602,592	478,026	200	4,000	Rājput Gautami, Brāhman, Rahmatullāhi
Negun	10,145	758,796	145,350	...	200	Brāhman
Nathupur	4,948-14	278,472	21,239	10	200	Saddiki

Sarkār of Mānikpur.

Containing 14 *Mahals*, 666,222 *Bighas*, 5 *Biswas*.
Revenue 33,916,527 *Dāms* in money.
Suyurghāl, 8,446,173. Castes various.
Cavalry 2,040. Infantry 2,900.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Arwal, has a brick fort	62.131-10	2,957,077	37 220	114	7 000	Rājput
Bhalol	32,343-3	1,832,283	175,753	20	500	Rājput Kāyath, Baoriya*
Tilhandi	11,721-6	383.251	54 821	10	300	Do.
Jalalpur Balkhar, has a brick fort	76.517-8	3,913 017	140 325	400	5.000	Brāhman Bachgoti,

* *Var.* Gauriya, Puriya: perhaps Baoria a tribe of professional thieves widely spread, and in a loose way, a distinct caste. *I. G* under, Rajputana and Sherring, II. 82

Sarkār of Mānikpur.—(Contd.)

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Jāes, has a brick fort, (I. G. Jais)	25,625	1,424,787	277,863	250	7,000	Various
Dalmau, has a brick fort on the Ganges ..	67,508-9	3,626,067	344,130	50	200	Turkomān
Rae Bareli, has a brick fort on the Sai ..	65,751-17	3,650,984	180,080	40	2,000	Rājput, Khand, Baoria
Salon, has a brick fort	56,102	2,717,891	394,774	180	8,900	Rājput Khandwāl,† Bisen.
Qaryāt Karārah ..	51,505-19	2,461,077	115,774	20	700	Rājput, Bisen
,, Pāegāh ..	22,130	1,117,926	6,794	20	400	Do. do.
Kathot, has a brick fort	9,456-8	514,909	3,187	100	2,000	Bachgoti
Mānikpur with suburbs, has a brick fort on the Ganges	129,830-1	6,737,729	542,312	500	6,000	Bisen
Nasirābād ..	55,599-4	2,582,079	108,148	40	1,000	Rājput, Kāyath, Gaoria, Bais

Sarkār of Chanādah (Chanār), South.

Containing 13 *Mahals*, 106,270 *Bighas*, 8 *Biswas*.
Revenue 5,810,654 *Dāms* in money.
Suyurghāl, 109,065. Cavalry 500.
Infantry 18,000.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Ahirwārah	1,858-8	109,073	...	...	...	
Bholi, (E. Bhuili) ..	18,975-10	1,112,656	33,605	...	...	
Badhaul, (E. Barhaul) ..	6,412-11	361,364	605	...	...	
Tāndah	...	488,010	...	...	...	
Chanādah, with suburban district, has a stone fort ..	12,939-14	833,908	8,467	500	18,000	Saddiki, Faruki, Ansāri
Dhus	4,274-10	235,644	14,548	...	...	
Rāghupur, now pronounced Rāhupur E.)	7,267-12	451,962	17,869	...	...	
Villages, this side of the river	18,098	845,371	14,492	...	...	
Majhwārah	9,312-3	549,817	14,597	...	...	
Mahāich	7,950-2	390,609	2,069	...	...	
Mahwāri	4,878-3	227,067	...	...	...	
Mahoi, (E. Mawai) ..	4,301-2	206,283	3,353	...	...	

† Sherring gives the name of *Khondchwāl* to a trading caste in Bhurtpur. iii. 52.

Sarkār of Bhathkhora, (South.)

Containing 39 *Mahals*. Revenue 7,262,780 *Dāms* in money.

Cavalry 4,304. Elephants 200. Infantry 57,000.

Sarkār of Kālinjar, (South.)

Containing 11 *Mahals*. Measured land, 508,273 *Bighas*, 12 *Biswas*. Revenue 23,839,470 *Dāms*, in money.

Suyurghāl 614,580 *Dāms*. Castes various.

Cavalry 1,210. Elephants 112. Infantry 18,100.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Uguāsi, has a brick fort, (R. Ugāsi)	53,963-6	2,502,898	60,776	400	5,000	10	Sayyid, Gadhwāl, Parihār
Ajaigarh, has a stone fort on a hill ..	...	200,000	...	20	2,000	10	Gond
Sendha, (R. Sihondā) has a stone fort on the Ken	138,467-12	6,262,833½	129,412	20	3.000	25	Gond, Chandel, &c.
Simanni, has a brick fort	48,866-3	2,247,346	15,300	300	3,000	...	Khandwāl
Shādipur, has a stone fort	62,755-15	2,798,329½	96,312	40	700	...	Rājput, &c.
Rasan	11,988-10	512,026	...	50	100	20	Bhar, Bais
Kālinjar with suburban district	22,494	970,259	130,490	20	500	7	
Kharelah, has a brick fort	25,940-1	1,275,325	...	50	1,500	...	Rāput, Bais
Mahobā, has a stone fort, and each side of the village is flanked by two high hills	81,567-13	4,042.014 &120,000 *pān*leaves	860,528	100	3,000	40	Bagri* Rahmatu'l-lāhi, Parihār
Māndhā, has a stone fort	62,530-7	2,998,062	154,062	30	400	..	

* The Bāgri are a tribe inhabiting the Bāgar country, a tract between the S.-W. border of Hariana and the Ghāra. Bāgar is also the name of a tract in the Mālwah, but in the N.-W. P. applied to the Bāgri Jats of Hissār and Bhattiāna. Elliot, *Memoir* (Beale), I, 9-10.

Sarkār of Kurrah, (West.)*

Containing 9 *Mahals*, 341,170 *Bighas*, 10 *Biswas*.

Revenue 17,397,567 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 469,350 *Dāms*.

Castes various. Cavalry 500. Elephants 10.
Infantry 15,000.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	ghāl D. Suyur-	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Jājmāo, has a fort on the Ganges ..	62,195-10	3,106,346	139,936	200	4,000	7	Afghān Lodi, Rājput, Bais.
Kurrah, with suburban district, has a brick fort on the Rind river	124,748-12	6,771,891	257,373	50	300	...	Brāhman
Ghātampur	73,876-3	3,667,564	48,654	100	2,000	10	Rājput Dikhit (Dikshit) Kāyath
Majhāwan	26,980-8	1,323,339	2,574	20	1,000	...	Brāhman
Kutiā	12,178-11	584,274	20,815	30	1,000	...	Rājput Gautami
Gūner	10,041-16	513,457	...	20	1,000	...	Do.
Kiranpur Kinār, (Elliot Kiratpur Kanānda) ..	17,965	830,070	...	30	1,000	...	Do.
Muhsanpur	13,181	600,586	...	50	2,000	2	Rājput Chandel

* Kurrah is a decayed town in Fatehpur district; formerly the capital of this Sarkār under the Mughals: it still retains traces of its former importance. A few words follow this name which are either omitted or illegible in the other MSS. Literally they run thus: "And there is a village called Nuni which produces flowers and colour."

Karah is now a ruined town on the right bank of the Ganges, 40 miles N.-W. of Allahābād. It was the scene of the famous meeting between Muizu'ddin and his father in 1286 which forms the subject of Mir Khusru's well-known Persian epic, the *Kirānu's Saadain*. Two *sarkārs* of the Allahabad province bearing names liable to be confounded with each other in careless Persian writing, are *Korā* and *Kārā*. They were later distinguished as Korā-Jahānābād (situated in the Fathpur dist. of the U. P.) and Kārā-Mānikpur, (Kārā being in the Allahabad dist., and Mānikpur on the north bank of the Ganges opposite to Kārā and therefore in the Oudh province). The two places are 70 miles apart east to west. The best device for avoiding confusion, is to spell *Korā* as *Kurrāh*, which form of the word we find in the Marāthi and some Persian records. [J. Sarkar.]

Sarkār of Karah, (West.)

Containing 12 *Mahals*, 447,556 *Bighas*, 19 *Biswas*....
Revenue 22,682,048 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 1,498,862 *Dāms*.
Castes various. Cavalry 390. Infantry 8,700.

	Bighas and Biswas	D. Revenue	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bichhi, (Elliot Enchhi)	35,825-11	1,624,034½	34,974	10	500	...	Do.
Atharban	18,517-14	894.036½	4,770	10	200	...	Do.
Āyāsā	15,783-11	845.766	...	10	500	...	Rājput
Haveli, (suburban district) of Kara ..	9,638-17	5,192,170	442,080	100	1,000	...	Kāyath, Rājput, Brāhman, Khari
Rāri	56,727-18	2,707,034	26,350	10	4.000	...	Rājput Brāhman
Baldah* of Kara, has a fort on the Ganges, lower part stone, upper, brick	70,001-12	236,868	...	...	...	...	Various
Karāri, has a brick foot on the Jumna ..	39,686-19	141,953	...	...	...	...	
Kotlā	18,043-1	909,234	122,191	10	300	...	Brāhman Rājput
Kunrā, commonly Koson, (Elliot, Karson), has a brick fort ..	11,782-9	693,487½	...	100	2,000	...	Various
Fatehpur Hanswah, (Elliot Haswā) ..	55,915-8	2,892,705	370,420	50	1,000	...	Rājput, Brāhman
Hatgāon	55,322-12	2,723,508½	24,829	40	1,000	...	Do.
Hanswah	42,521-3	2,123,661½	15,506	30	1,000	...	Afghān, Rājput

Its rulers.

Sultānu's Sharq	reigned,	16 years.
Mubārak Shāh	,,	1 year and a fraction.
Sultān Ibrahim	,,	40 years ,,
Sultān Mahmud	,,	21 years and a few months.
Mahmud [=Muhammad] Shah	,,	5 months.
Husain	,,	19 years.

* Mr. Beames in a note to Elliot's Gloss., p. 83, II, distinguishes between *Haveli* and *Baldah*, the former alluding to the district close to the Capital and the latter to that at a distance.

Malik Sarwar Khwāja Jahān ...	...	A.H. 796/1394	A.D.
Malik Qaranful, Mubārak Sh. ...	...	802/1399	
Shams-ud-din Ibrāhim Sh. ...	...	804/1402	
Mahmud Sh. ...	...	840/1436	
Muhammad Sh ...	...	862/1458	
Husain Sh. ...	...	862-884/1458-79	

—(*Cambridge Hist. India, III*).

These six princes held sway for 97 years and a few months.*

This province was formerly administered by the sovereigns of Delhi. When the imperial authority devolved on Sultān Muhammad-b-Firuz Shāh, he bestowed the title of Sultān us Sharq upon Malik Sarwar a eunuch who had received from his predecessor the dignity of *Khān-i-Jahān*, and sent him to this province. He gave lustre to his reign by his judgment, clemency, justice and valour and thus garnered a provision for his life's last journey. When the cup of his days was full, the son whom he had adopted, named Mubārak Qaranful, by the assistance of the chief men of the State, raised himself to power and had the *khutbah* read and the coin struck in his own name. When the news of this event reached Mallu (*Khān*), he collected troops and marched from Delhi to oppose him and encamped in readiness for battle on the bank of the Ganges, but nothing decisive having been effected, both armies returned home.

When this prince died, his younger brother Ibrahim was raised to the throne. By his knowledge of men and capacity for affairs he administered the kingdom with justice and made the chastisement of the unruly a source of prosperity to his government. Wisdom was eagerly sought and the prospects of the intelligent in every profession was advanced. Qāzi Shahābu'ddin, a sage of Hindustan flourished about this time. He was born at Delhi and in that city acquired a comprehensive knowledge of the inductive sciences and traditional lore, and at the time of the arrival of Timur, he set out for Jaunpur in the company of his master Maulānā Khwājagi who was the successor of Nasiru'ddin Chirāgh of Delhi and there continued his progress and became the envy of his time. Shāh Madār, however, who is esteemed one of the saints of Hindustān and the chief of his contemporary series of divines, through the disagreement that ever exists between philosophers who regard the material world, and masters of the spiritual life, entertained no esteem for the Qāzi.

When the days of Ibrahim came to a close, his eldest son Bikhan Khān, under the name of Sultan Mahmud, assumed the sovereignty. As his deeds were not approved, the sentence of deposition was issued against him and his

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Six *Jaunpur* rulers,—97 years.

brother Husain raised to power. He made rectitude his rule of conduct and his chief object the conciliation of all hearts. Fortune favoured his desires and the world praised him but intoxicated by the maddening fumes of worldly success, he became arrogant. He was involved in war with Sultān Bahlol and was defeated. Sultān Bahlol left his son Bārbak at Jaunpur and entrusted him with the government. [1478.] On the death of Sultān Bahlol the throne of Delhi devolved on Sultān Sikandar. Sultān Husain with the connivance of Bārbak collected troops, made several attempts against Delhi, but with him the *Sharqi* dynasty closed.*

The Subah of Oudh.

It is situated in the second climate. Its length from the Sarkār of *Gorakhpur* to *Kanauj* is 135 *kos*. Its breadth from the northern mountains to *Sidhpur* on the frontier of the *Subah* of Allahabad is 115 *kos*. To the east is *Bihar;* to the north, the mountains; to the south, *Manikpur,* and to the west *Kanauj*. Its climate is good. Summer and winter are nearly temperate. Its principal streams are the *Saru* (*Sarju*), the *Ghaghar* (*Gogra*) the *Sai* and the *Godi* (*Gumti*). In the first mentioned, divers aquatic animals and forms of strange appearance show themselves. Agriculture is in a flourishing state, especially rice of the kinds called *Sukhdās, Madhkar,* and *Jhanwān,* which for whiteness, delicacy, fragrance and wholesomeness are scarcely to be matched. They sow their rice three months earlier than in other parts of Hindustān. When the drought begins, the Sai and the Gogra rise high in flood and before the beginning of the rains, the land is inundated, and as the waters rise, the stalks of rice shoot up and proportionately lengthen: the crop, however, is destroyed if the floods are in full force before the rice is in ear. Flowers, fruits and game are abundant. Wild buffaloes are numerous. When the

* Jaunpur continued to be governed by the Lodi synasty till the defeat and death of Ibrahim grandson of Bahlol and last of the line, at Panipat by Bābar in 1526. A local kingdom was for a short time established under Bahadur Khān governor of Jaunpur who asserted his independence. It was recovered by Humayun, passed again into the hands of Sher Khān and his son of Salim. Humayun on his reconquest of Hindustān died before he could master his eastern possessions. Jaunpur continued under the Afghāns until Akbar in the 4th year of his reign, took possession of it through Ali Quli Khān and incorporated it with his dominions. In 1575 the Viceregal Court was removed to Allahabad and Jaunpur was governed thenceforth by a Nizam.

plains are inundated the animals take to the high ground where the people find sport in hunting them. Some of the animals remain all day in the water and only at night approach the dry ground and breathe in freedom. *Awadh* (*Ajodhyā*) is one of the largest cities of India. In is situated in longitude 118°, 6′, and latitude 27°, 22′. It ancient times its populous site covered an extent of 148 *kos* in length and 36 in breadth, and it is esteemed one of the holiest places of antiquity. Around the environs of the city, they sift the earth and gold is obtained. It was the residence of Rāmachandra* who in the *Treta* age combined in his own person both the spiritual supremacy and the kingly office.

At the distance of one *kos* from the city, the *Gogra*, after its junction with the Sai, [*Saraju*] flows below the fort. Near the city stand two considerable tombs of six and seven yards in length respectively. The vulgar believe them to be the resting-places of Seth and the prophet Job, and extraordinary tales are related of them. Some say that at *Ratanpur* is the tomb of Kabir,† the assertor of the unity of God. The portals of spiritual discernment were partly opened to him and he discarded the effete doctrines of his own time. Numerous verses in the Hindi language are still extant of him containing important theological truths. *Bahraich* is a large town on the banks of the river Sarju. Its environs are delightful with numerous gardens. *Sālār Masud*[1] and Rajab Sālār are both buried here. The common people of the Muhammadan faith greatly reverence this spot and pilgrims visit it from distant parts, forming themselves in bands and bearing gilded banners. The first mentioned was connected by blood with Mahmud Ghaznavi, and sold his life bravely in battle and left an imperishable name. The second was the

* The 7th *avatār*, who in this capital of the solar dynasty founded on the chariot wheel of Brahma, consummated the glories of sixty generations of solar princes and as the incarnate Rāmā, is the hero of the famous epic that bears his name.

† His doctrines were preached between A.D. 1380 and 1420 and attempted the union of Hindu and Muhammadan in the worship of one God whether invoked as Ali or Rāmā. On his decease both these sects claimed the body and while they contested it, Kabir suddenly stood in their midst and commanding them to look under the shoud, vanished. A heap of beautiful flowers was there discovered, which, divided among the rival worshippers, were buried or burnt according to their respective rites. Pilgrims from upper India to this day beg a spoonful of rice water from the Kabir Monastery at Puri in Orissa.

[1] Under the orders of Mahmud of Ghazni, he penetrated the country in A.D. 1033, but was eventually defeated at Bahraich and fell fighting, *sanguine purpuratum*, as Tieffenthaler writes, crowned with the double glories of the hero and the martyr.

father of Sultān Firoz king of Delhi and won renown by the recitude of his life.

In the vicinity of the town, there is a village called *Dogon* which for a long time possessed a mint for copper coinage.

From the northern mountains quantities of goods are carried on the backs of men, of stout ponies and of goats, such as gold, copper, lead, musk, tails[2] of the *kutās* cow, honey, *chuk* (an acid composed of orange juice and lemon boiled together), pomegranate seeds, ginger, long pepper, *majith*[3] root, borax, zedoary, wax, woollen stuffs, wooden ware, hawks, falcons, black falcons, merlins, and other articles. In exchange they carry back white and coloured cloths, amber, salt, assafœtida, ornaments, glass and earthen ware.

Nimkhār is a fort of considerable note and a shrine of great resort. The river Godi (Gumti) flows near it, and around are numerous temples. There is a tank called *Brahmāwartkund* in which the water boils and with such a swirl, that a man cannot sink therein,[4] and it ejects whatever is thrown into it. In the neighbourhood is also a deep hollow, the springhead of a stream, one yard in breadth and four digits deep that flows into the Gumti. The Brāhmans tell strange tales of it and pay it worship. Its sand shapes itself into the form of *Mahādeo* which quickly disappears again and of whatever is thrown in, as rice and the like, no trace remains.

There is likewise a place called *Charāmiti*, whence, during the *Holi* festival, flames spontaneously issue forth with astonishing effect.

[2] It would seem from a passage of Ferishta mentioning an inroad of Tibetans into Kashmir in the reign of Ibrahim, son of Nāzuk Shāh (p. 359, II) that the yāk is meant. The Kashmiris retaliated by pursuing the marauders, and exacting as compensation 500 horses, 1000 pieces of *pattu*, 200 sheep and 50 kutās cows. Later on, it is mentioned by Abul Faẓl among the fauna of India and described as little differing from the common cow except in the tail which is a distinguishing peculiarity, and the origin of its name, *kutās*.

[3] Rubia Munjista, Roxb. a native of Nepal and other mountainous countries N.-E. of Bengal. Its root yields a red dye.

[4] Tieffenthaler asserts that it derives its name from Brahma who is supposed to have sacrificed here, but according to the *I. G.* there is a legend that in one of these tanks, Rāmā washed away his sin of having slain a Brāhman in the person of Ravana, who had carried off his wife Sita.

Lucknow is a large city on the banks of the Gumti, delightful in its surroundings. *Shaikh Mina* whom the people consider a saint, lies buried here.

*Surajkand** is a place of worship frequented by various classes of people from the most distant places.

Kheri is a town on the banks of the river *Sai* upon which the people go in boats to spear fish.

Bilgrām is a small town the air of which is healthy and its inhabitants are generally distinguished for their quick wit and their love of singing. There is a well here which adds to the intelligence and comeliness of whomsoever drinks of it for forty days.

This *Subah* is divided into five *Sarkārs* and thirty-eight *parganas*. The measured lands are 1 *kror*, 1 *lakh*, 71,180 *bighas*. Its revenue, 20*krors*, 17 *lakhs*, 58,172 *dāms*, (Rs. 5,043,954-4), of which 85 *lakhs*, 21,658 *dāms* (Rs. 213,041-7). are *Suyurghāl*. The provincial force consists of 7.640 Cavalry, 168,250, Infantry and 59 Elephants.

Sarkār of Oudh.

Containing 21 *Mahals*, 2,796,206 *Bighas*, 19 *Biswahs*, Revenue, 40,956,347 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl*, 1,680,248 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 1,340, Elephants 23, Infantry 31,700.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Infantry	Cavalry	Elephants	Castes
Oudh, with suburban district, 2 mahals ..	38,649-17	2,006,366	168,741	5	500	...	Brāhman Kumbi
Ambodha, has a brick fort	282,037	1,298,724	7,318	30	700	...	Bais
Ibrahimābād	19,338-8	445,417	103,806	...	...	...	Ansāri

* Identified with Asokpur, between Ajodhya and Gonda [Elliot, ii, 549]

Sarkār of Oudh—(contd.).

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Infantry	Cavalry	Elephants	Castes
Anhonah, has a brick fort	74,090	1,268,470	...	100	2,000	...	Chauhān,* newly converted to Islām
Panchhamrāth ..	289,085	4,247,104	38,885	20	500	...	Rājput, Bāchhāl, Ghelot
	15,859	815,831	...	50	2,000	...	Bachgoti
Bilehri, has a brick fort	31,188	505,473	1,500	20	500	...	Do.
Basodhi	8,703-2	427,509	36,172	...	1,000	...	Do.
Thānah Bhadāon ..	44,401	385,008	3,960	...	500	...	Do.
Bakthā							
Daryābād, has a brick fort	487,014	5,369,521	226,871	100	2,000	...	Rājput Chauhān, Raikwār*
Rudauli, has a brick fort	351,533	3,248,680	269,083	50	2,000	...	Rājput, Chauhān, Bais
Silak, do. ..	571,071	4,723,209	200,945	100	2,000	...	Rājput, Raikwār
Sultānpur do. ..	75,903	3,832,530	98,967	200	7,000	8	Bachgoti
Sātanpur do. ..	80,154	1,600,741	109,788	300	4,000	...	Bais, newly converted to Islām, Bachgoti, Joshi
Subeha†	104,780	1,609,293	87,200	30	1,000	...	Rājput
Sarwapāli	58,170	1,210,335	47,107	...	1,000	...	Bachgoti
Satrikah (Satrikh) ..	37,041	1,126,295	92,695	20	1,000	...	Ansāri
Gawārchak	79,158	3,773,417	3,782	50	1,070	...	Raikwār
Kishni, has a brick fort	25,674	1,339,286	123,847	...	1,500	3	Rājput
Mangalsi	116,401	1,360,753	86,504	20	1,000	...	Sombānsi
Naipur	5,997	308,788	2,940	...	500	...	Various

* The origin of this tribe *Raikwār* is given in the I. G. (Bahraich) and their settlements in Sherring I, 219.

† Subeha is a well-known *parganah* in Bāra Banki District. In the *I. G.* its area is recorded as 88 square miles, or 56,467 acres of which 30,783 are cultivated. Govt. land revenue £6611. In Akbar's time according to the above figures Rs. 40,232-7, and the average taking the bigha ⅝ of an acre, 65,487½ acres nearly.

Sarkār of Gorakhpur.

Containing 24 *Mahals*, 244,283 *Bighas*, 13 *Biswas*. Revenue 11, 926,790. *Dams* in money. *Suyurghal* 51,235 *Dams*. Castes various. Cavalry 1,010. Infantry 22,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Utraulā, has a brick fort	32,052	1,397,367	6,935	50	1,500	...	Afghān-i-Miyānah
Unhaulā ..	4,114-17	201,120	2 170	...	400	...	Bisen
Bināikpur, has a brick fort	13,857-7	600,000	...	400	3,000	...	Rājput Surajbansi
Bānbhanpārah (E. Bamhni, p.	6,688	414,194	...	...	2,000	...	Rājput
Bhawāpārali	3,105-15	155,900	...		200	...	Bisen
Telpur, has a brick fort	9,005-17	400,000	...	100	2,000	...	Rājput Surajbansi
Chilupārh, do. ..	6,536-14	289,302	...	...	2,000	...	Rājput
Daryāpārh (E. Dhuria, (p.)	31,357-19	1,517,078	5,067	60	400	...	Bisen
Dewāpārah and Kotlah* 2 mahals	16,194-17	717,840	...	20	2,000	...	Do.
Rihli, (or Rudauli) ..	33,183-19	1,618,074	20,873	...	1,000	...	Rājput Bisen
Rasulpur and Ghosi, 2 mahals (E. Ghaus) ..	4,200	622,030	..	...	500	...	Sombansi
Rāmgarh and Gauri, 2 mahals	10,762	485 943	..	...	...	...	Do., troops entered under Bināikpur
Gorakhpur with suburban district, has a brick fort on the Rapti, 2 mahals ..	12,656-8	567,385	3,919	40	200	...	Surajbansi
Katihlā, has a brick fort	900-12	40,000	...	300	2,000	...	Bansi
Rahlāpārh, Do. (E. Rihlā, p.)	16,012	425,845	...	20	300	...	Bisen
Mahauli. Do. ..	2,523	618,256	...	...	2,000	...	Bisen
Mandwah	1,909-19	452,321	...	20	500	...	Sombansi
Mandlah	1,252-6	51.100	...	...	...	...	
Maghar and Ratanpur, 2 mahals, has a brick fort	26,062	1,352,585	16,771	...	2,000	...	Bisen, Bais

* Elliot, Dhewāpāra Kuhānā.

Sarkār of Bahraich.

Containing 11 *Mahals*, 1,823,435 *Bighas*, 8 *Biswas*. Revenue 24,120,525 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghal*, 466,482 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 1,170. Infantry 14,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyur-ghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bahraich with suburban district has a fort on the river Sarju ..	697,231	9,139,141	402,111	600	4,500	...	Rājput
Bahrah	926	37,185	...	...	500	...	Kahnah (Kher?)
Husāmpur, has a brick fort	157,415	4,707,035	1,601	70	900	...	Raikwār, Bisen
Dāngdun	84,436	440,562	...	...	2,000	...	Janwār*
Rajhat	4,064-11	166,780	...	...	1,000	...	Ditto
Sujhauli	124,810	877,007	...	...	...	...	Rājput, Janwār
Sultānpur	58,146	166,001	...	...	700	...	Janwār
Fakhrpur, has a brick fort	191,720	3,157,876	56,035	150	2,000	...	Raikwar
Firozābād, ditto ..	108,601	1,933,079	4,107	200	7,000	...	Rājput or Tanwār
Fort of Nawagarh ..	417,601	2,140,858	...	50	1,000	...	Various
Kharonsa, has a brick fort	28,489-17	1,315,051	2,628	100	1,000	...	Bais

* A tribe of Rajputs in Sihonda and Simaúni of Bundelkhand: Rasulābād and Bithur of Cawnpore, and in Kutiya Gunir of Fatehpur.

Sarkār of Khairābād.

Containing 22 *Mahals*, 1,987,700 *Bighas*, 6 *Biswas*. *Revenue*, 43,644,381 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghal*, 171,342 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 1,160. Infantry 27,800.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyur-ghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Baror Anjnah	79,670-9	4,325,437	107,079	50	2,000	...	Rājput, Brāhman
Baswār, has a brick fort	135,119	3,545,643	107,916	30	1,000	...	Rājput, Bāchhal
Pāli	144,627	1,849,270	37,945	30	1,000	...	Āsnin?

Sarkār of Khairābād—(contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bāwan	56,156	1,161,235	26,488	20	1,000	...	Ditto.
Basrah	60,063	...	...	...	300	...	Various
Bhurwārah, has a brick fort	8,971-18	43,543	...	50	2,500	...	Ahnin
Basārā	21,740	276.066	...	...	200	...	Bachhal
Pilā	981-14	48,202	...	...	200	...	Ahnin
Chhatyāpur	64,706	1,765,641	41,094	50	700	...	Rājput Gaur
Khairābād with suburban District, 2 Mahals, has a brick fort ..	159,072	2 161,234	174,191	50	2,000	...	Brāhman
Sāndi, has a brick fort	211,804	3,055,339	195,106	20	2,000	...	Sombansi
Sarah	68,832	2,091,983	8,666	60	500	...	Chauhān
Sadrpur	120,698	831,175	15,581	20	500	...	Janwār Bāchhal
Gopāmau, has a brick fort	107,368,5	5,620,466	562,037	100	3,000	...	Rājput Kuār
Kheri, do. do. ..	260,168	3,250 522	50,522	60	1,500	...	Bisen, Rājput, Janwār
Khairigarh, one of the most important fortresses in Hindustān. There are 6 forts of brick and mortar, at a short distance from it	43,052-7	1,829,328	...	300	1,500	...	Bais, Bisen, Bachhal, Kahnah
Kharkneiā	15,815-16	473,727	...	20	500	...	Asin?
Khānkhat Mau ..	3,058-11	235,656	...	...	400	...	Various
Lāharpur	208,288	3,029,479	209,079	50	1,000	...	Brāhman
Machharhatta	71-069	2,112,176	2,430	30	2,000	...	Rājput, Bachhal
Nimkhār, has a brick fort	58,775-18	3,566,055	66,055	100	1,500	...	Ahir
Hargarāon	66,952	200,000	26,385	20	500	...	

Sarkār of Lucknow.

Containing 55 *Mahals*, 3,307,426 *Bighas*, 2 *Biswas*. Revenue 80,716,160 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl*, 4,572,526 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 2,680. Elephants 86. Infantry 83,450.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Amethi, has a brick fort	117,381	3,976,480	300,217	300	2.000	20	Ansāri
Unām, has a brick fort	61,045	2,012-372	253 747	50	4,000	...	Sayyid
Isauli, has a brick fort on the Gumti ..	1,670,093	4,208,046	240,846	50	2,000	...	Rājput, Bachgoti

Sarkār of Lucknow—(contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Asiyun	57,726	890,625	63,421	10	500	...	Bais, Chandel
Asoha	25,027	509,901	...	...	400	...	Ahnin
Unchalgāon	33,122	417,957	...	1000	2,000	...	Bais
Bilgrāon, has a brick fort	192,800	5,124,113	356,892	20	1,000	...	Sayyid, Bais
Bangarmau Ditto ..	242,291	3,802,122	151,481	...	2,000	...	Rājput, Ghelot
Bijlaur [v. Bijnor] ..	80,581	2,505,047	193,961	30	1,000	...	Chauhān
Bāri	80,590	1,284,799	51,560	30	1,000	...	Bais
Bharimau	19,409-3	591,406	...	20	500	...	Bais
Pangwān	34,727	420,732	12,730	...	500	...	Bais
Bethloli	8,736	340,191	8,194	...	200	...	Rājput, Jāt
Panhan	8,945	267,809	...	...	300	...	Bais
Parsandan	9,111	237,537	...	...	200	...	Rājput, Kumbhi
Pātan	5,621	214,256	...	...	400	...	Brāhman, Kunbi
Bārāshakor	9,357	168,584	...	...	300	...	Brāhman
Jahalotar	61,774	1,123,176	21,441	20	2,000	...	Chandel
Dewj, has a brick fort	88,637	1,938,837	174,207	30	2,000	...	Rājput
Deorakh	13,340-9	689,556	...	100	1,500	...	Bais
Dadrah	10,796	73,737	...	50	...	...	Rājput
Ranbarpur, has a brick fort	75,490	2,425,885	79,225	100	2,000	...	Bais, Brāhman
Rāmkot, Ditto ..	9,790	268,099	...	...	200	...	Rājput
Sandilah, Ditto ..	393,700	10,623,901	837,245	100	5,000	...	Ghelot, Bāchhal
Sāipur	39,083-15	2,625,388	28,836	40	1,000	...	Rājput, Chandel
Sarosi	2,571	1,239,767	1,567	20	1,000	...	Chandel, Rājput
Sātanpur	60,600	1,028,800	10,192	50	2,000	...	Bais, Brāhman
Sahāli	13,065	694,707	130,216	10	500	...	Rājput
Sidhor*	35,794	1,692,281	313,022	100	1,000	...	Afghān, Rājput
Sidhpur	9,371-4	505,018	...	150	1,500	...	Bais
Sandi	7,856-9	392,313	13,792	...	1,000	...	Rājput
Sāron	5,576	210,316	2,858	...	100	...	Rājput,
Fatehpur, has a brick fort	198,300	3,161,440	261,440	200	2,000	5	Shaikhzādah, Kunbi Rājput
Fatehpur Chaurāsi ..	105,952	909,176	6,594	10	500	...	Rājput, Chandel
Garh Anbhatti (Amethi) has a brick fort ..	47,356	1,800,000	...	250	5,500	8	Rājput, Bahman Goti
Kursi, has a brick fort	80,817	1,693,844	62,919	20	2,000	3	Rājput
Kākori, Ditto ..	31,584	1,134,432	14,430	30	500	...	Rājput, Bisen
Khanjrah	22,300	818,472	...	100	2,000	...	Bais

* *Var.* Sayyidpur, Seopur, Sheopur. G. Seedhore.

Sarkār of Lucknow—(contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Ghātampur	27,390	552,561	...	...	500	...	Brāhman
Kachhandan	22,066	430,596	4,460	...	500	...	Chandel
Gorandā	4,803	334,769	...	...	200	...	Brāhman
Konbhi	5,940	267,089	...	...	400	...	Rājput
Lucknow with suburban district	91,722	1,746,771	241,195	200	3,000	...	Shaikhzādah, Brāhman, Kāyath
Lashkar	16,894	168,529	...	...	4,000	...	Bais
Malihābād, has a brick fort	169,269	4,479,250	198,545	30	1,000	...	Bais
Malāwah	83,022	3,598,713	222,038	30	2,000	...	Bais
Mohān has a brick fort	60,990	1,996,673	198,484	30	2,000	...	Rājput, Bais
Morāon has a brick fort	68,847	1,698,444	4,806	150	2,000	...	Rājput, Bais
Madiāon	49,422	1,136,213	32,900	30	500	...	Barkhalā*
Mahonāh ..	50,895	977,860	8,805	50	2,000	...	Rājput
Manawi, has a brick fort	29,455	771,372	13,767	...	2,000	...	Mussalmān, Rājput
Makrāed	17,959	576,200	5,247	...	1,000	...	Rājput, Bais
Harha, has a brick fort	163,226	2,450,522	6,509	100	1,500	...	Bais
Hardoi	11,734	359,748	6,026	...	300	...	Brāhman
Hanhār	13,109	329,735	...	80	500	...	Bais

* Here a word illegible, Barkalā is an inferior class of Rājputs found in Western and Central *parganahs* of Bulandshahr.

The Subah of Āgra, the Royal Residence.

It is situated in the second climate. Its length from Ghātampur on the Allahabad side to *Palwal* on that of Delhi is 175 *kos*. In breadth it extends from *Kanauj* to *Chanderi* in *Mālwah*. On the east lies *Ghātampur;* to the north, the *Ganges;* to the south *Chanderi*, and to the west, *Palwal*. It possesses many rivers, of which the principal are the *Jumna* and the *Chambal*. The former flows down from the northern mountains, the latter rises at *Hāsilpur* in *Mālwah* and unites with the *Jumna* at *Kālpi*. Ranges of hills lie scattered to the south. The excellence of its climate is almost unrivalled. Agriculture is in perfection. Fruits and flowers of all kinds abound. Sweet-scented oil, and betel-leaf of the first quality are here obtained, and its melons and grapes rival those of Persia and Transoxiana. *Āgra* is a large city and possesses a healthy climate. The river *Jumna* flows through it for five *kos*, and on either bank are delightful villas and pleasant stretches of meadow. It

is filled with people from all countries and is the emporium of the traffic of the world. His Majesty has built a fort of red stone, the like of which travellers have never recorded. It contains more than five hundred buildings of masonry after the beautiful designs of Bengal and Gujerat which masterly sculptors and cunning artists of form have fashioned as architectural models. At the eastern gate are two elephants of stone with their riders graven with exquisite skill. In former times Agra was a village dependent on *Biānah*. Sultan Sikandar Lodi made it his capital, but his present Majesty embellished it and thus a matchless city has arisen. On the opposite side of the river is the *Chār Bāgh*, a memorial of Bābar.* It was the birth-place of the writer of this work, and the last resting-place of his grandfather and his elder brother. Shaikh Ālāu'ddin Majzub, Rafiiu'ddin Safawe and many other saintly personages also repose there.

Near the city on the banks of the river Jumna is a village called *Rangtah* a much frequented place of Hindu worship.

Fatehpur was a village formerly one of the dependencies of *Biānah*, and then called *Sikri*, situated twelve *kos* distaut from Agra. After the accession of his Majesty, it rose to be a city of the first importance. A masonry fort was erected and two elephants carved in stone at its gate inspire astonishment. Several noble buildings also rose to completion and although the royal palace and the residences of many of the nobility are upon the summit of the hill, the plains likewise are studded with numerous mansions and gardens. By the command of his Majesty a mosque, a college and a religious house were also built upon the hill, the like of which few travellers can name. In the neighbourhood is a tank, twelve *kos* in circumference and on its embankment his Majesty constructed a spacious courtyard, a *minār*, and a place for the game of *Chaugān;* elephant fights were also exhibited. In the vicinity is a quarry of red stone whence columns and slabs of any dimensions can be excavated. In these two cities under his Majesty's patronage carpets and fine stuffs are woven and numerous handicraftsmen have full occupation. *Biānah* in former

* The old Agra of the Lodi dynasty lay on the left bank of the river where traces of its foundations still exist. The modern city is on the right bank and is the work of Akbar. The fort was built in A.D. 1566. Babar's garden later called *Hasht Bihisht*, or *Nurafshān* Gardens, now called the Rām Bāgh.

times was a large city. It possesses a fort containing many buildings and cellars, and people at the present day still find therein weapons of war and copper utensils. There is also a lofty tower. Fine mangoes grow here, some of them more than two pounds in weight. Sugar of extreme whiteness is also manufactured. Here too is a well, with the water of which mixed with white sugar, they make cakes weighing two pounds more or less which they call *kandaurah* (with no other water will they solidify) and these are taken to the most distant parts as a rarity. Indigo of finest quality is here to be obtained, selling at ten to twelve rupees per *man* weight. Excellent *hinna* (*Lawsonia inermis*) is also to be found, and here are the tombs of many eminent personages.

Todah Bhim is a place at a distance of three *kos*, from which is a pit full of water, the depth of which none has sounded. Mines of copper and turquoise are said to exist, but the expense of working them exceeds their income.

Mathura (Muttra) is a city on the banks of the *Jumna*: it contains some fine temples, and is one of the most famous of Hindu shrines. *Kālpi* is a town on the banks of the *Jumna*. It is the resting-place of many saintly personages. Excellent sugarcandy is here manufactured. In the time of the *Sharqi* princes, it was tributary to Delhi. When Qādir Khān affecting the airs of sovereignty proclaimed his independence, Sultān Hoshang marched from Mālwah and having chastised him, reinstated him in the government. Sultān Muhmud of the *Sharqi* dynasty, however, seized it in turn from Nasir Khān, the son of Qādir Khān.

Kanauj was in ancient times the capital of Hindustān.

Gwalior is a famous fortress and an elephant carved in stone at its gate fills the beholder with astonishment. It contains some stately edifices of its former rulers. Its climate is good. It has always been noted for its exquisite singers* and lovely women: here is an iron mine.

Alwar (Ulwar) produces glass and woollen carpets.

Bairāt possesses a copper mine, so profitable that from a *man* weight of ore, they obtain 35 *sers* of metal. A silver mine is also said to exist but it does not pay to work it. [A dependency of Narnol, but now in Jaipur.]

Near the hill of *Nārnol* is a well at which the Hindus worship and when the *tithi* of *Amāwas* falls on a Friday,

* According to the *S. ul M.* the famous Tānsen was one of these. See Vol. I, pp. 611 of the Āin.

it overflows at sunrise and water can be drawn without the aid of a rope.

At *Singhānah, Udaipur* and *Kotputli* are mines of copper. In the town of *Kānori* are many cold and hot springs.

The *Subah* contains thirteen *Sarkārs*, two hundred and three *Parganahs* (fiscal subdivisions). The measured lands are 2 *krors*, 78 *lakhs*, 62,189 *bighas*, 18 *biswas*. The revenue is 54 *krors*, 62 *lakhs*, 50,304 *dāms*. (Rs. 13,656,257-9-6). Of this, 1 *kror*, 21 *lakhs*, 5,703½ *dāms* (Rs. 302,642-9)are *Suyurghāl*. The provincial force consists of 50,681 cavalry, 577,570 Infantry and 221 elephants.

Sarkār of Agra.

Containing 33 *Mahals*, 91,007,324 *Bighas*. Revenue 191,819,265, *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 14,566,818 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 15,560. Infantry 100,800.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Agra with suburban district	891,990-5	44,956,458	8,824,454	3000	1,50-0	...	Gaur,* Jat, Lodh, &c.
Etāwan, has brick fort on the Jamna	284,106	10,739,325	151,362	2000	1,5000	...	Chauhān, Bhadauriya, Brāhman
O'l [=*Ao*, near Dig.]	153,377-9	5,509,477	81,542	1000	1000	...	Rājput, Brāhman
Oudehi, (Elliot Odhi)	274,067	2,884,365	78,165	20	500	...	Rājput, Brāhman, &c.
Ud [Udai]	203,505	1,003,848	36,870	100	500	...	Shaikhzādah
Bijwārah has a stone fort ..	663,286	10,966,560	...	1500	5000	...	...
Biānah with suburban dist. has a stone fort ..	235,442	7,110,104	562,205	50	100	...	Ahir, Jat
Bāri	276,964	5,064,158	57,414	300	7000	...	Rājput, Panwār
Bhosāwar	303,509	5,505,460	255,460	50	1500	...	Rājput of various castes
Banāwar [?Bhandor]	12,880	155,360	...	30	400	...	Bargujar

* A Surajbansi tribe of Rajputs. *Lodh*, a widely spread tribe, chiefly fishermen. *Bhadauriya* is a branch of the Chauhan Rājputs. For *Oudehi* I suggest *Uchen* and for *Bhaskar* either *Pahesar* or *Bisawar*. [J. S.]

Sarkār of Agra—(contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Todah Bhim ..	264,103-11	3,737,075	13,361	100	1000	...	Rājput, Thatthar[1]
Bhaskar	43,009	2,891,100	15,325	20	700	...	Rājput, Brāhman, Ahir
Jalesar, has a brick fort	904,733	6,835,400	412,080	400	5000	...	Ghelot, Suraj Bānkrah
Chandwar, has a brick fort on the Jumna	407,652	11,442,250	60,342	200	7000	...	Chauhān
Chausath [Chaumuha]	974,34	4,182 048	674,315	50	1000	...	Rājput, Brāhman, Jat, Ahir
Khānwāh	5,334	2 912,495	222,628	30	4000	...	Rājput, Jat
Dholpur, has a brick fort on the Chambal	284,087	9,729,311	255,747	200	4000	...	Sikarwār[2]
Rāpri, has a brick fort	477,201-11	13,508,035	173,407	200	4000	...	Chauhān, descendants of Rāwat-Bāhan
Rajhohar [?Rajakhera]	318 285	1,694,208	48,023	20	300	...	Rājput
Songar Songri ..	90,599	985,700	7,822	70	500	...	Rājput, Chauhān
Fatehpur, has a stone fort ..	202,723-17	8,494,005	597,346	500	4000	...	Shaikhzādah Chishti, Rājput, Sankarwāl
Kotumbar	96,760	745,951	...	50	300	...	Rājput, Jat
Mahāwan, has a brick fort ..	290,703	6,784,780	284,787	200	2000	...	Sayyid, Brāhman
Mathurā, do. ..	37,347	1,155,807	69,770	...	...	...	...
Maholi	66,690	1,501,246	...	30	500	...	Rājput, &c.
Mangotlah [Mangtai]	74 974	1,148,075	79,355	20	400	...	Do.
Mandāwar	10 190	132 500	...	150	800	...	Chauhān
Wazirpur	71,328	2 009 255	9,255	20	300	...	Rājput
Hindaun	432,930	9,049,831	301,980	100	1000	...	Rājput, Brāhman, Jat
Haikānt, has a brick fort	606.991-12	5,693,807	43,231	2000	20,000	...	Chauhān, Bhadauriya
Hilak	137,421	2,789,494	30,531	20	500	...	Rājput of various castes.

[1] Gujars converted to Islam. Elliot, I, 101.
[2] Sikarwār, a branch of the Bargujar Rajputs.

Sarkār of Kālpi.

Containing 16 *Mahals*, 300,023 Bighas, 9 Biswas, Revenue, 49,356,732 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 278,290½ *Dāms*. Castes various, Cavalry 1,540. Elephants 30. Infantry 34,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
U'lai [? Urai] ..	95 677-18	1.297.379	72 213	20	500	...	Rājput
Bilāspur	126 888-14	3,714.547	13 110	100	50 000	...	Kachhwāh
Bhudekh	72 930-14	1 260.199	3 414	50	2000	...	
Derāpur	103,085	1,760 750	4 221	50	2000	..	Shaikhzādah
Deokali [?Churki] ..	109,652	1 466.985	1,700	200	2000	10	Brāhman
Rāth, has a brick fort	510,970-16	9.270,894	270,894	70	3000	9	Afghan, Turkoman
Rāepur	43,156-8	120,000	...	...	500	10	Rājput,
Suganpur [?Jagmanp]	...	1 507.877	58 664	60	1000	...	Rājput, Bais
Shāhpur	...	8,848,420	245,747	300	3000	6	Chauhān, Malikzādah
Kālpi, with suburban district	...	4,871,053	203 909	4000	5000	10	Various
Kanār [? Karmār]	...	4,943.096	6,085	100	2000	1	Sengar[a]
Chandaut	...	3,027,917	27,121	50	4000	...	Parihār
Khandelah, (Elliot Khurela)	86,053-11	871 733	15,008	20	1000	...	Rājput
Muhammadābād ..	184,080	1,617,257	4 260½	50	1000	..	Rājput Kumbi
Hamirpur	404,797-6	4,803,828	182 245	200	2000	...	Kumbi

Sarkār of Kanauj.

Containing 30 *Mahals*, 2,776,673 *Bighas*, 16 *Biswas*. Revenue 52,584,624 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 1,184,655 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 3,765. Infantry 78,350.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bhongāon, has a fort and near it a tank called Somnāt full of water extremely sweet	337,105	4,577,010	53.316	1000	10,000	....	Chauhān
Bhojpur	150,974-13	3,446.737	104 705	150	3000	...	Kharwār
Tālgrāon	74,100-10	3,387,076	128,558	20	1000	..	Rājput, Musalmān

[a] *Sengar*, a branch of the Agnibansi Rājputs

Sarkār of Kanauj—(Contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bithur	175,042-11	2,921 389	...	300	5000	...	Chandel
Bilhaur	63,773-14	2 828 347	216,741	20	1000	...	Rājput
Patiāli	158,634-14	1,877,600	45,656	100	2000	...	Rājput, Chauhān
Pati Alipur	39.418-11	1,153,682	8,060	20	500	...	Rājpūt
Pati Nakhat [?Agath]	49,261-18	566,997	2,497	50	500	...	Sengar
Barnah	34,736-14	450,000	...	10	200	...	Rājput of various castes
Bārā	8,739-14	400,000	...	10	300	...	Chauhān
Phapund	111.546	5,482 391	19,813	300	2000	...	Sengar
Chhabrāmau	76,318-7	1,522,028	22,128	20	500	...	Rājput, Chauhān
Deohā	11,950-12	483,171	79,046	20	300	...	Chauhān Bais, Dhākar[1]
Saket	132,955-9	3 230.752	158,310	100	3000	...	Chauhān
Sonj [=Sonkh] ..	64,070-6	1 200.000	...	200	3000	...	Dhākar
Sohāwar	78,574-9	252 245	21,969	20	500	..	Gāuruah[2]
Sheoli	12 523	623 473	...	10	300	...	Rājput
Sakatpur	22 561	628 441	...	300	4000	...	Rājput, Bais
Sakrāon	19 817-10	549 050	2 253	10	500	...	Rājput
Ṣahār	25,195-8	846,553	1,640	30	500	...	Chauhān,
Saurikh	10,089-5	465,328	7,138	20	400		Chauhān, Dhākar
Sikandrapur Udhu ..	4,964.14	276,918½	22,624	10	200	...	Gauruah, Brāhman
Saror [Barour] ..	20,121-16	447,563	2,044½	10	800	...	Chauhān, Sengar
Sikandarpur Atreji ..	36,084-17	269,622	6 511	5	150	...	Rājput
Shamsābād, has a fort on the Ganges ..	718,577-7	7,138,452	19,603	400	2000	...	Rāthor
Kanauj, with suburb. dist. has a brick fort: one of the great capitals of Hindustān ..	126,255-12	2,470,743	222,036	200	10,000	...	Shaikhzādah, Farmuli, Afghān, Chauhān
Kampil	139,803-6	1,651,586	30,370	100	200	...	Rājput, Chauhān, Panwār
Kurāoli	40 445-6	1 409 988	...	20	1000	...	Rājput
Malkusah	30 229-14	1,500,000	...	300	15,000	...	Rājput, Ghelot
Nānāmau[3]	3,329-5	136,921	...	200	200	...	Rājput, Brāhman

[1] *Dhākar*, a Rājput tribe scattered over Agra, Mathura, Etawa and Rohilkhand. Elliot, I. 78.

[2] *Gauruah*, an inferior clan of Rājputs often confounded with Gaurāhars but quite distinct. Elliot, I. 115.

Sarkār of Kol, (Koil).

Containing 21 *Mahals,* 2,461,730 *Bighas.* Revenue 54,992,940 *Dāms* in money, *Suyurghāl* 2,094,840 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 4,035. Infantry 78,950.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Atrauli	320,569	5,454,459	5400,459	500	9500	...	Rājput, Chauhān, Afghān
Akbarābād	118,389	3,003,409	23,060	500	5000	...	Rājput, Pundir[1]
Ahār, has a brick fort on the Ganges ..	45,764	2,106,554	67,140	20	400	...	Musalmān, Brāhman
Pahāsu	55 060	2 502,562	...	100	2000	...	Bargujar
Bilrāon	111,878	2,131,765	56,561	50	1000	...	Afghān Chauhān
Pachlānā	39,128	624,625	...	200	5000	...	Rajput, Gaurāhar
Tappal, has a brick fort	163,046	1,802,571	2,571	100	3000	...	Chauhān
Thānah Fāridā [=Pharihā]	63.847	112,750	...	20	500	...	Rajput, Bāchhal
Jalāli	145,801	2,957,910	86,352	500	6000	...	Rājput, Pundir
Chandaus	42 469	1,749 238	36,662	100	2000	...	Chauhān
Khurjah	89,726	3,703,020	583,056	200	5000	...	Bargujar
Dibhāi, has a brick fort	48 539	2,169 939	72,869	50	1000	...	Do.
Sikandrah Rāo, has a brick fort	83,480	4,412,331	290,458	400	4000	...	Afghān, Pundir
Soron, has a brick fort	40,656	875 016	16,900	20	400	...	Sayyid, Rājput
Sidhupur	70 567	989,458	...	200	2500	...	Rājput Sūrki
Shikārpur	44,830	1,974,827	50,291	250	2000	...	Sayyid, Shaikh zādah, Bargujar
Kol, has a brick fort ..	548,655	10,412 305	445	450	29,050	...	Chauhān, Janghārah[2]
Gangeri	53,545	372,050	31,849	25	200	...	Afghān, Rājput
Marahrah	205 537	3 679 582	156 095	200	2000	...	Chauhān
Malakpur	30,845	1,446,132	2,288	50	400	...	Pundir, Chauhān
Nuh, has a brick fort, (Elliot, Noh) ..	139,299	1,311,965	29,160	100	3000	...	Rājput, Jat, Afghān

[1] Pundir is one of the numerous branches of the Gujar clan. Elliot, I. 19.
[2] A turbulent tribe of Rājputs of the Tuar clan in the S. E. Rohilkhand. Elliot, I, 141.

Sarkār of Gwālior.

Containing 13 *Mahals*, 1,146,465 *Bighas*, 6 *Biswas*. Revenue 29,683,649 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 240,350 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 2,490. Infantry 43,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Anhon, has a fort ..	106 899-14	2.277,947	...	200	4000	...	Tonwar
Badrhattah, Do. ..	63,914-18	696,800	...	300	5000	...	Do., Rājput*
Chinaur Do. ..	140 140-16	1,051.341	35.930	100	4000	...	Brāhman
Jhalodā [Jakhoda] fort	32 677-15	219 306	...	100	2000	...	Gujar
Dandroli	197,316-11	1,807.207	...	50	1000	...	Rājput Tonwar
Rāepur	87 797-17	1,017 721	...	40	700	...	Tonwar
Sirseni [Sirsi] ..	94 243	832 128	...	200	5000	...	Sikarwāl
Samauli [Silauli] ..	46,284-8	2,001.344	...	50	700	...	Bāgri
Sarbandah, has a brick fort	22,124-17	267,497	...	200	6000	...	Sikarwāl
Alāpur, has a fort; during Sultān Alāuddin's time it was called Akhār[1] ..	211,229	5,128,766	...	50	500	...	Brāhman
Gwālior with suburban district	345,657	12 488,072	188.740	1000	2000	...	Rājput, Tonwar
Khatoli, has a fort ..	198,270	3 105,315	6,450	200	4000	...	Jat

Sarkār of Irij.

Containing 16 *Mahals*, 2,202,124 *Bighas*, 18 *Biswas*. Revenue 37,780,421 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 456,493 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 6,160. Elephants 190. Infantry 68,500.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Irij	625,597	2,922,436 in money.	101,661	100	5000	10	Kāyath
Parhār,[2] has a brick fort	752,79:	5,237,098	172,380	940	20500	59	Rājput
Bhānder	257 042-18	2,533,449	100,638	50	2000	5	Afghān, Kāyath
Bijpur [Bijawar] ..	30,635	1,391,097	...	3000	5000	...	Tanwar
Pāndor [Pandwaha ..	8,951	464 111	...	100	2000	5	Parihār

[1] Var. Akhar, Kahār, Sahār.
[2] Probably *Panwāri*.

Sarkār of Irij—(contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Jhatra, 4 mahals, has a brick fort ..	...	11,787,904	...	4000	15000	70	Rājput
Riābānah[1], has a fort ..	12,072	500,000	...	50	2000	...	Kachhwāhah
Shāhzādapur	21,257	450,781	...	...	...	...	...
Khatolah &c. 3 mahals, has a fort	...	3,000,000	...	100	5000	20	Gond
Kajhodah [?Gahrauli]	..	750,200	...	...	...	...	...
Kidār	...	120,000	...	...	...	...	...
Kunch, has a fort ..	155,320	1,851,802	27,712	50	2000	...	Kumbi
Khakes,[2] has a fort ..	89,283	1,343,073	7,673	50	1000	...	Kachhwāhah
Kānti	...	240,000	...	20	5000	10	Gond
Khāerah, [Khārela] has a brick fort ..	222,557	4,776,357	46,729	200	5000	10	Kachhwāhah
Maholi	26,581	502,102	...	100	10000	10	Parihār

Sarkār of Bayānwān.

Containing 27 *Mahals*, 762,014 *Bighas*. Revenue 8,459,296 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 82,662 Dāms. Castes various. Cavalry 1,105. Infantry 18,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Antri, yields excellent quality of betel leaf from which the revenue is chiefly derived	906,140	...	...	10	100	...	Various
Amwāri [Amola] ..	223,000	...	...	Entered under Ratangarh.			Mārwār Gauruah
Atiwan [Araon] ..	35,958	165,165	54,114	15	200	...	Gond, Gauruah
Autelah	29,444	32,455	1,257	...	100	...	Brāhman
Bayānwān	86,241	801,275	20,169	320	3000	...	Pundir, Panwār
Banwār	17,329	457,439	6,558	20	300	...	Brāhman, Khidmatiyah
Parānchah [Paraich] ..	89,784	396,193	21,541	20	500	...	Bundela

[1] *Riābānah* = ? *Rebai* of map.
[2] Kedpur.
[3] Khankes. Khakesh. Ganges. Khaksen.

Sarkār of Bayānwān—(contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Badnun [Bardun] ..	...	275,000	...	10	200	...	Bundela
Bhāsandā	...	169,040	...	10	300	...	Panwar
Chinaur, has a fort ..	50,973	548,631	3,800	10	200	...	Ahir, Brāhman
Jarhali	19,865	144,055	...	10	800	.	Panwār
Jagtān [?=Jignā] ..	...	128,680	...	...	150	...	Various
Dahāilah,* here a large lake, full of water-lilies	13,127	17,306	...	20	350	...	Brahmān, Gujar
Ruchādah [Ruchera] ..	94,223	472,839	15,702	10	200	...	Kāyath, Brāhman
Ratangarh, has a fort	70,523	855,995	...	200	4000	...	Jat
Roherah	2 309	1,017,682	...	50	500	...	Gujar
Sohandi, has a brick fort [? Suchendi] ..	81,655	896,959	...	800	5000	...	Panwār
Kanaulah [Karaia] ..	11,764	364,968	...	10	200	...	Gujar, Jat
Karharah	...	277,000	...	...	...	...	Mentioned under Ratangarh
Kaheod,† has a fort in the mountains ..	27,290	196,804	...	...	200	...	Brāhman
Khandhā	17,403	162,661	3,036	...	200	...	Ahir, Jat
Khand Bajrah the greater	33,782	138,934	...	25	300	...	Bundela, Jat
Do. the lesser ..	1,602	68,470	...	10	200	.	Mīnā, Gujar
Kherihāt	24,318	112,079	...	...	800	...	Do.
Kajhārah, has a stone fort on a hill ..	17,269	82,291	...	5	300	..	Gujar
Kadwāhah	7,169	43,296	...	50	300	...	Ahir
Mau, has a fort ..	59,070	850,429	5,189	50	1000	...	Ahir

* *Dahailah* [*Ind. Atlas*. 51 *S.E.*], 16 m. due east of Narwar, on the way to Antri, has a very large lake. It was 2 miles to the west of this place, according to T. that Abu'l Fazl lost his life in the ambuscade set for him by the Bundelā Chief Bir Sing. *Dabra* in the maps 13 miles south of Antri and 42 m. n. of Jhansi, has no lake, and cannot be this mahal.

† Prob. *Kāmod* of map.

Sarkār of Narwar.

Containing 5 *Mahals*, 394,353 *Bighas*. Revenue 4,233,322 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 95,994 *Dāms*. Castes, Rajput Tonwar. Cavalry, 500. Infantry, 20,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes.
Baroi, has a fort; some of the villages near the Saklā are of great productive value	88,085	638,700	...	...	...	...	...
Bauli (? Paori), has a fort on the Saklā ..	242,456	141,915	...	...	...	...	...
Seopuri, has a stone fort	24,975	1,250,000	...	...	...	..	...
Kolāras has 2 forts, one near the village of Barwā. There is a small hill with a waterfall. It is a place of Hindu worship	133,10	764,880	14,882	...	...	...	...
Narwar with suburb. dist. has a stone fort. In certain parts of the fort are ancient Hindu temples of stone	25,522	438,025	81,312	...	...	...	

Sarkār of Mandrāel.

Containing 14 *Mahals*. 65,642 *Bighas*. Revenue 3,738,084 *Dāms*. Castes Rājput, Jādon. Cavalry 4,000. Infantry 5,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.		Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.
Untgar, has a stone fort on a hill and below it flows the river Chambal ..	7,674	493,978	Dungri	902	54,126
	6,413	359,706	Ratanbalāhar ..	1,215	82 098
	6,866	324,091	Samarthalah ..	9.160	526,330
	4,382	261,746	Kamukherah ..	1,938	116,168*
Bijaipur	...	...	Kharnun	820	54,074
Balāoli	769	38,498	Kahtoni	1,925	51,944
Bākhar (=Manākhar) ..			Mandrāel, has a fort on a hill and the river Chambal on the north	15,745	697,794
Bagrond					
Jhakwār (=Jakoda) ..					
Dāng Makhori ..	7,812	493,978			

* Var. 1310 and 764,380 for the area and revenue.

Sarkār of Alwar.

Containing 43 *Mahals*, 16,62,012 *Bighas*. Revenue 39,832,204 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 699,212 *Dāms*. Cavalry 6,504. Infantry 42,020.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Alwar, has a stone fort on a hill	85,084	2,679,820	350 056	10	1,500	...	Khānzādah of Mewāt, descendants of Bahādur Khān
Anthlah Bhābru ..	24,956	850,731	...	20	500	...	Kachhwāhah
Umran	39,762	642,153	1,043	20	1,000	...	Baqqāl
Ismāilpur	28,988	503,840	2,266	40	500	...	Khānzādah of Mewāt
Bairāt, has a stone fort (Parāt, p. 103) ..	23,522	7,201,791	1,796	50	1,000	...	Baqqāl
Bihrozpur	119,015	2,621,958	9,317	350	2,000	...	Khānzādah of
Bahādurpur	60,451	1,950,000	95,000	500	2,000	...	Mewāt
Bharkol	74,281	678,733	...	50	1,000	...	Do. Do. Do. Do.
Balhār (? Bairohar) ..	58,654	443,612	...	40	500	...	Bargujar, Rājput
Barodah Fateh Khān ..	16,074	201,059	1,059	30	300	...	Mewāt Khānzādah o
Panāin	28,726	195,680	...	5	50	...	Khānzādah and Meo.
Baroda [Bagar] Meo ..	13,062	159,045	619	50	300	...	Do.
Bhudah Thal	80,606	146,000	...	5	50	...	
Bhiwāi	14,918	122,088	...	5	50	...	Various
Basānah (=Baswa) ..	20,789	100,356	...	5	50	...	Do.
Bajherah	2,663	104,890	...	10	50	...	Khānzādah and Meo.
Balheri (Bālhattah) ..	6,565	138,507	...	30	500	...	Bargujar
Jalālpur	46,840	893,599	10,665	...	...	...	Khānzādah and Meo.
Hasanpur Badohar ..	20,353	947,871	3,020	100	300	...	Do.
Hasanpur Kori, (Gori)	47,740	1,259,659	...	120	300	...	Do.
Hājipur, has a stone fort	26,489	456,779	3,120	500	1,000	...	Chauhān
Deoli Sājari	83,188	1,600,000	...	150	1,000	...	Bargujar
Dadekar	27,051	695,262	7,312	150	1,000	...	Meo.

[1] Mentioned in Elliot as in ancient times a well-known lawless plundering race, driven out of the Etawah tract by the Senghers and Chauhāns. According to Sherring (III, 90) they are an indigenous tribe converted to Islām, but retaining a good many Hindu customs; now an agricultural people divided into 12 clans.

Sarkār of Alwar—(contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Dharā	12,338	512,613	5,015	100	508	...	Khānzādah and Meo.
Rāth	6,030	229,741	3,744	10	100	...	Meo.
Sakhān	18,790	804,262	...	100	700	...	Chauhān
Khohari Rana ..	2,208	4,359,272	96,919	900	5,000	...	Khānzādah of Mewāt, A'nā and Duar (obscure text)
Khelohar	58,276	1,459,048	14,088	125	1,000	...	Meo
Kol [=Gol] Dhoār ..	33,956	627,100	...	30	500	...	Rājput
Kiyārah	307	600,000	...	100	1,000	...	Minā
Khirali	26,746	465,640	23,150	100	500	...	Sayyid, Gujar
Ghāt Sudan (or Seon) has a fort	16,494	357,110	...	...	...	...	
Kohrānā [=Ghosrana]	3,565	166,666	...	300	1,000	...	Māhat (?)
Mandāwar, has a brick fort	100,322	1,889,097	5,608	500	1,000	...	Chauhān
Maujpur	44,140	639,858	12,022	300	500	...	Abbāsi
Mubārākpur [Mārakpur]	18,636	514,193	...	50	300	...	Khānzādah
Mongonā [Mangwar] ..	38,112	475,260	...	100	700	...	Do.
Mandāuar	17,800	27,051	...	4	20	...	Chauhān
Naugāon (Nowgong) ..	23,771	2,056,512	34,296	70	500	...	Khānzādah
Nāhargarh	35,452	604,194	...	20	200	...	Do.
Harsoli	11,800	227,096	...	10	100	...	Meo
Harpur	16,944	686,605	3,255	20	4,000	...	Jat
Harsānā	4,025	208,281	...	40	500	...	Meo

Sarkār of Tijārah.

Containing 18 *Mahals.* 740,001 *Bighahs.* 5½ *Biswas.* Revenue 17,700,460 *Dāms.* *Suyurghāl* 701,761½. Cavalry 1,227. Infantry 9,650.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	fantry	Elephants	Castes
Indri, has fort on a hill	134,150	1,995,216	26,096	400	3,000	...	Khānzādah of Mewat
Ujinah [Uchaira] ..	33,928	428,347	22,796	45	150	...	Khānzādah, Thathar

Sarkār of Tijārah—(contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Umrā Umri	8,107	307,037	...	10	100	...	Thathar, Meo
Bisru	35,703	215,800	5,354	10	200	...	Khānzādah Meo
Pur	2,476	540,645	1,559	10	200	...	Thathar
Pinangwān, has a stone fort	75,148	1,329,350	34,312	20	300	...	Meo
Bhasohrā, has stone fort	57,778	1,416,715	25,471	30	400	...	Do.
Tijārah, has a fort ..	131,960	3,603,596	204,419	500	2,000	...	Do.
Jhimrāwat, has a stone fort on a hill ..	22,632-11	496,202½	31,283½	50	300	...	Do.
Khānpur	9,893	195,620	...	20	150	...	Do.
Sākras	12,106	460,088	50,411	14	150	...	Do.
Sānthādāri	7,712-11	406,811	267,470	200	...	...	Do.
Firozpur, situated on the skirt of a hill in which there is an ever-flowing fountain with an image of Mahadeo set up; a Hindu Shrine ..	64,150	3,042,642	69,044	50	1,000	...	Do.
Fatehpur Mungartā ..	43,700	1,135,140	12,955	10	200	...	Do.
Kotlah, has a brick fort on a hill on which there is a reservoir 4 *kos* in circumference	71,265	1,552,196	7,017	30	700	...	Khānzādah, Gujar
Karherah, (Ghāserah, Elliot)	9,785	330,076	...	10	200	...	Meo
Khora ka Thānah. So in MSS., but Elliot Khawā)	7,945	168,719	...	10	250	...	Do.
Naginān [Noganwa] ..	7,215-19	377 257	3,572	100	150	...	Do.

Sarkār of Nārnol.

Containing 16 *Mahals*. 2,080,046 *Bighas*. Revenue 50,046,703 *Dāms*. *Suyurghal* 775,103 Dāms. Castes various. Cavalry 7,520. Infantry 37,220.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bārh	146,754	2,080,662	...	100	1,000	...	Chauhān, Rājput, Musalmān, Khandār. (*Var.* Kedār).

Sarkār of Nārnol—(contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bābāi, has a stone fort and a coppermine; hills adjacent ..	78,426	920,170	...	400	3,000	...	Parihār.
Barodah [Bahora] Rāna	47,266	592,995	...	300	2,000	...	Chauhān.
Chālkaliānah	517,540	7,744,027	56,164	200	5,000	...	Jat of the Sangwān clan.
Jhojeun [Jhajlai], has a stone fort on the skirt of a hill ..	95,331	2,329,069	...	2000	3,000	...	Kiyām-Khāni.*
Singhānah Udaipur, has a coppermine and mint for copper coinage	...	11,881,629 in money.	3,351	400	1,000	...	Tonwar, Parihār.
Kānodah, in the village of Zerpur in this Parganah, a large Hindu temple	10,723	4,356,189	91,577	1000	4,000	...	Rājput, Musalmān, Hālu. [Jat]
Kotputli, has a stone fort and in the village of Bhandhārah is a copper mine in working	170,674	4,266,837	29,425	700	4,000	...	Tonwār Rājput, Gond.
Kanori [?Kanti), has 3 forts in three villages	150,297	2,721,126	...	1000	5,000	...	Tonwār.
Khandelā	...	1,300,000 in mouey.	...	200	2,000	...	Rājput, Kachhwāhah.
Khodāna [or Konodana]	18,493	803,109	...	20	700	...	Jat.
Lapoti [=Pātaudi] ..	88,281	1,512,470	16,000	100	500	...	Chauhān.
Villages at the foot of the mountain where is a copper mine. In that of Rāepore is a copper mine and a mint and the stream there is polluted by it	176,650	274,350	...	100	2,000	...	Narbān.
Nārnol, has a stone fort	214,218	5,913,228	549,161	500	2 000	...	[Chauhan]
Narhar [?Narera] do. ..	356,293	4,262,837	29,405	500	2,000	...	Ahir. Kiām Khāni, Afghan, Mākar.(?)

* Called Kāim Khāni by Elliot and Sherring. They are Chauhāns converted to Islam. Their ancestors fought against Bāber in 1528.

Sarkār of Sahār.

Containing 7 *Mahals*. 763,474 *Bighas*. Revenue 5,917,569 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 109,447 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 265. Infantry 1,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Pahāri	106,422	1,228,999	26,045	20	700	...	Meo, Thathar
Bandhauli	25,980	441,840	6,840	10	300	...	Jat &c.
Sahār. has a fort ..	385,895	2,489,816	21,678	200	7,000	...	Bāchhal, Gujar, Jat, Kachhwāhah.
Kāmah	90,500	505,724	1,229	10	300	...	Meo, Jat Ahir
Koh Mujāhid [Q. Kho]	23,769	170,365	...	4	200	...	Meo, Jat,
Nunherah	50,816	618,115	17,515	...	...	...	Ahir, Jat, Meo
Hodal	78,500	462,710	33,140	10	200	...	Jat &c.

THE SUBAH OF MĀLWA.

It is situated in the second climate. Its length from the extreme point of *Garha* (*Māndla*) to *Bānswārah* is 245 *kos*. Its breadth from *Chanderi* to *Nandarbār* is 230 *kos*. To the east lies *Bāndhun* [Rewa]; to the north *Narwar;* to the south *Baglānah;* to the west *Gujarāt* and *Ajmer*. There are mountains to the south. Its principal rivers are the *Narbadah*, the *Siprā*, the *Kāli Sind*, the *Betwa*, and the *Godi*.* At every two or three *kos* clear and limpid streams are met on whose banks the willow grows wild, and the hyacinth and fragrant flowers of many hues, amid the abundant shade of trees. Lakes and green meads are frequent and stately palaces and fair country homes breathe tales of fairyland. The climate is so temperate that in winter there is little need of warm clothing, nor in summer of the cooling properties of saltpetre. The elevation of this province is somewhat above that of other areas of the country and every part of it is cultivable. Both harvests

* The *Godi* is a tributary of the Narmada.

are excellent, and especially wheat, poppy, sugarcane, mangoes, melons and grapes. In *Hāsilpur* the vine bears twice in the year, and betel leaves are of fine quality. Cloth of the best texture is here woven. High and low give opium to their children up to the age of three years. The peasants and even grain dealers are never without arms. *Ujjain* is a large city on the banks of the Sipra. It is regarded as a place of great sanctity and wonderful to relate, at times the river flows in waves of milk. The people prepare vessels and make use of it, and such an occurrence brings good fortune to the reigning monarch.

In the 43rd year of the Divine Era when the writer of this work was proceeding to the Deccan by command of his Majesty, a week before his arrival at *Ujjain*, on the 16th of the Divine month of *Farwardin* (March) four *gharis* of the night having elapsed, this flow occurred, and all conditions of people, Musalman and Hindu alike talked of it.*

In the neighbourhood are 360 places of religious worship for Brāhmans and other Hindus. Close to this city is a place called *Kāliyādah*, an extremely agreeable residence where there is a reservoir continually overflowing yet ever full. Around it are some graceful summer dwellings, the monuments of a past age.

Garha† is a separate State, abounding with forests in which are numerous wild elephants. The cultivators pay the revenue in mohurs and elephants. Its produce is sufficient to supply fully both Gujarāt and the Deccan.

Chanderi was one of the largest of ancient cities and possesses a stone fort. It contains 14,000 stone houses, 384 markets, 360 spacious caravanserais and 12,000 mosques.

Tumun is a village on the river *Betba* (Betwā) in which mermen are seen. There is also a large temple in which if a drum is beaten, no sound is heard without.

In the Sarkār of *Bijāgarh* there are herds of wild

* Another reading adopted by Gladwin is "partook of it." Gladwin while rejecting this fable, suggests a sudden impregnation of the river with chalk.

† It was the ancient capital of the Gond Dynasty of Garha Māndla and its ruined keep known as the Madan Mahal still crowns the granite range along the foot of which the town stretches for about 2 miles. *I. G.*

elephants. *Mandu* is a large city; the circumference of its fort is 12 *kos*, and in it there is an octagonal tower. For some period it was the seat of government and stately edifices still recall their ancient lords. Here are the tombs of the Khilji Sultāns. A remarkable fact is that in summer time water trickles from the domed roof of the mausoleum of Sultān Hoshang and the simpleminded have long regarded it as a prodigy, but the more acute of understanding can satisfactorily account for it. Here the tamarind grows as large as a cocoanut and its kernel is extremely white.

Learned Hindus assert that a stone is met with in this country which when touched by any malleable metal turns it into gold, and they call it *Pāras*. They relate that before the time of Bikramājit, there reigned a just prince named Rājā Jai Sing Deva who passed his life in deeds of beneficence. Such a stone was discovered in that age, and became the source of vast wealth. The sickle of a straw cutter by its action was changed into gold. The man, not understanding the cause, thought that some damage had occurred to it. He took it to a blacksmith by name Māndan to have it remedied, who divining its properties, took possession of it, and amassing immense wealth, garnered a store of delights. But his natural beneficence suggested to him that such a priceless treasure was more fitted for the reigning prince, and going to court he presented it. The Rāja made it the occasion of many good deeds, and by means of the riches he acquired, completed this fort in twelve years, and at the request of the blacksmith, the greater number of the stones with which it was built, were shaped like an anvil. One day he had a festival on the banks of the Narbadah, and promised to bestow a considerable fortune on his Brāhman priest. As he had somewhat withdrawn his heart from worldly goods, he presented him with this stone. The Brāhman from ignorance and meanness of soul, became indignant and threw the precious treasure into the river to his subsequent and eternal regret. Its depth there prevented his recovering it, and to this day that part of the river has never been fathomed.

Dhār is a town which was the capital of Rājā Bhoja and many ancient princes. The vine here bears twice in the year when the sun first enters Pisces (February) and Leo (July), but the former of these two vintages is the sweeter.

In the Sarkār of *Handiah* are numerous wild elephants.

In *Nandurbār* good grapes and melons are obtainable.

This *Subah* contains 12 *Sarkārs*, subdivided into 301 *Parganahs*. The measured land is 42 *lakhs*, 66,221 *Bighas*, 6 *Biswas*. The gross revenue is 24 *krors*, 6 *lakhs*, 95,052 *Dāms*. (Rs. 6,017,376,-4-15). Of this 11 *lakhs*, 50,433 *Dāms* (Rs. 28,760-13) are *Suyurghāl*. The Provincial force consists of 29,668 Cavalry, 470,361 Infantry and 90 Elephants.

Sarkār of Ujjain.

Containing 10 *Mahals*. 925,622 *Bighas*. Revenue 43,827,960 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl*, 281,816 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 3,250. Infantry 11,170.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Ujjain with suburban district, has fort of stone below and of brick above ..	289,560	1,888,035	55,323	760	2,000	...	Ujjainia, Rāthor
Unhel	56,841	2,801,972	20,935	130	500	...	Rājput, Ujjainia, Dhakarah
Badhnāwar has a stone fort	60,096	3,056 195	1,095	500	3,000	...	Rāthor, &c.
Pānbihār	36 567	1,937 596	29,400	100	500	...	Ujjainia
Dipālpur	95,706	6,000,000	...	500	1,000	...	Rājput, Ujjainia
Ratlām	94.466	4,421,540	21,548	500	1,000	...	Rājput Mehtar, Soriah
Sānwer	46,694	2,418,875	133,156	150	300	...	Rājput, Magwar
Kampil has a fort partly stone, partly brick	59 802	2.907.817	2,344	150	400	...	Rājput
Khāchrod	66,626	2,651,044	...	60	1,200	...	Rājput, Deora [Chauhan], Dharar or Dhur (?)
Nolāi has a brick fort on the banks of the Chambal [? Naulāna]	126,264	3,851,886	18,015	400	1,200	...	Bais, Jādon, (Yadu)

Sarkār of Rāisin.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Asapuri &c. 6 *Mahals* ..	3,238	...	173,064	170	945	...	
Bhilsah	40,816	6,094,970	...	480	1,000	...	Rājput
Bhori (? Bamari) ..	5,970	316,017	...	...	100	...	
Bhojpur	4,097	220,592	...	115	1,000	...	
Bālābahat	...	215,122	...	265	500	...	
Thānah Mir Khān ..	...	735,315	...	200	500	...	Rājput
Jājoi (Khajuri ?) ..	...	215,122	...	15	100	...	
Jhatānawi	3,404	184,750	...	10	150	...	
Jalodā	250	13,290	...	2	5	...	
Khiljipur	775	41,060	...	2	150	...	
Dhāmoni (=Dharoli) ..	13,007	788,389	...	5	400	...	
Digwār	4,932	292,313	...	75	620	...	Rājput
Dilod	1,974	144,000	...	35	100	...	
Diwatia [?or Dhānia]	...	21,502	...	20	170	...	
Raisin, with suburb, district has a stone fort on a hill, one of the famous fortresses of Hindustān ..	17,497	934,739	...	80	425	...	Rājput, Solankhi
Siwāni	10,975	580 828	...	80	945	...	
Sarsiah (? Bersia) ..	5,557	279,346	...	70	500	...	
Shāhpur	1,673	89 067	...	5	40	...	
Khimlāsah	11,720	645,665	...	40	100	...	Rājput
Kherā	10,534	560,037	...	30	320	...	
Kesorah	8,375	473 267	...	40	100	...	
Kham-Khera	7,102	378 460	...	50	100	...	
Kargarh	6,907	365,707	...	70	500	...	
Korai	...	145,566	...	50	100	...	
Laharpur	...	32,267	...	30	100	...	
Māhsamand (Dhamand)	814	43,024	...	50	140	...	

*Sarkār of Garha.**

Containing 57 *Mahals.* Revenue 10,077,080 *Dāms.* Castes Gond. Cavalry 5,495. Infantry 254,500.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Amodgarh has a brick fort on a hill ..	...	239,000	...	...	...	...	Gond
Bāri and Bangar, 2 mahals	...	485,000	...	5	200	...	Do.

* Clearly printed in the Persian text as *Garha*, but misread by Jarrett as *Kanauj*. [J. S.]

Sarkār of Garha—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bhutgāon	...	400,025	...	50	1,000	...	Gond
Bārh, Sānā and Jhāmā-har, 3 mahals ..	...	395,000	...	200	4,000	...	Do.
Biāwar and Nejli, 2 mahals	...	300,000	...	...	...	...	Do.
Bakhrah	...	238,000	...	100	10,000	...	Do.
Banākar, Amrel, 2 ma-hals, has a stone fort ..		140 000	...	150	10,000	...	Do.
Babai	...	82,000	...	100	10,000	...	Do.
Bairagarh has a strong fort	...	45,000	...	15	200	...	Do.
Chāndpur, Chanderi, 2 mahals	...	39,000	...	5	...	...	Do.
Jetgarh, Bhaldewi and suburb, district, 3 mahals	...	12,000	...	400	30,000	...	Do.
Jethā (v. Chetia) ..	...	12,000	...	100	1,000	...	Gond Brāh-man
Damodah	...	1,355,000	...	10	500	...	Gond
Dhāmeri (=Dhamari) and Dhamerā, 2 mahals . ..	...	49,000	...	10	200	...	Do.
Deogāon	...	25,000	...	20	1,000	...	Do.
Deohār, Hurbhat, 2 mahals	...	18,000	...	20	1,000	..	Do.
Darkarah	...	18,000	...	10	200	...	Do.
Ratanpur and Parhar, 2 mahals	...	613,000	...	10	...	...	Do.
Rāngarh	...	400,000	...	200	10,000	...	Do.
Rāngarh and Sārangpur (? Singarpur) 2 mahals	...	1,055,000	...	10	200	...	Do.
Rasuliyā	...	12.000	...	200	5,000	...	Do.
Sitalpur	...	75,000	...	...	...	...	Gond men-tioned un-der G irha
Shāhpur, Chaurāgarh, 2 mahals, has a strong fort	...	350,000	...	100	1,000	...	Gond
Garha with suburb. dis-trict has a strong fort	...	1,857,000	...	500	8,000	...	Do.
Kedārpur &c. 12 mahals	...	121,000	...	500	50,000	...	Do.
Khatolah	...	1,626,000	...	500	10,000	...	Do.
Lānji, Karolah, Dunga-rolah, 3 mahals ..	...	1,000,000	...	200	20,000	...	Do.
Mandlā ..	...	352,000	...	100	1,000	...	Do.
Harariya(Deogarh, 2 mahals, has a wooden fort on a hill . ..	...	900,000	...	1500	50,000	...	Do.

Sarkār of Chanderi.

Containing 61 *Mahals.* 554,277 *Bighas.* 17 *Biswas.* Revenue 31,037,783 *Dams.* *Suyurghāl* 26,931 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 5,970. Infantry 66,085. Elephants 90.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Udaipur has a stone fort	35,995	832,086	...	2000	10,400	...	Bāgri, Bakkāl
Aron	...	216,000	...	10	40	...	Khāti
Eran	1,759	1,759	...	10	100	...	Dāngi (Bundelas)
Itāwa	2,315	80,000	...	15	50	...	Ahir &c.
Bhorāsa has a stone fort on the Betwa ..	6,783	755,000	...	40	150	...	Brāhman
Bandarjhalā	2,750	720,000	...	25	600	...	Brāhman, Jat, Bāgri
Bāra &c. 5 mahals. Each of the 5 Parganahs has a fort of which 4 are stone and that of Māl (?) brick	12,074	635,500	...	500	5,000	...	Bundela, Kāyath
Badarwās and Ahak, 2 mahals	4,951	304,800	...	10	170	...	Ahir
Bajhāt (? Pachar) has a brick fort and a large tank and small hill are adjacent ..	2,600	174,000	...	20	300	...	Brāhman
Beli [=Bijli]	1,253	70 000	...	10	170	...	Ahir
Tāl Baroda [Barwa Sagar]	18,619	1,090,000	...	60	3,000	...	Musalmān
Tumun, on the Betwa: the residents there say that mermen inhabit the river. There is also a temple ..	6,704	312,504	...	15	120	...	Brāhman
Thatābariyār (? Manohar Thāna)	403-17	22,500	...	5	10	...	
Thanwāra, Lalatpur &c. 3 mahals, has a stone fort	10,977	619,997	...	80	2,000	...	Rājput Sāhti

Sarkār of Chanderi—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Chanderi* with suburban district, 2 mahals, has a stone fort	23,021	1,186,388	...	95	1,350	...	Ahir
Jhājhon, Deohari the smaller, 2 mahals ..	6,468	387,480	...	30	900	...	Chauhān &c.
Jorsingār &c. 5 mahals	9,568	448,000	...	30	100	...	Mākhāti
Chirgāon has a fort ..	5,096	200,000	...	15	150	...	Khāti
Joāsah	2,550	144,000	...	15	40	...	Rājput, Khāti
Deohari, the greater, on the river Sindh ..	16,466	857,998	...	65	200	...	Do.
Dub Jākar has a stone fort	8,875	580 500	...	500	5.000	...	Khichi
Daurāhal &c. 4 mahals	2,600	147,282	...	310	5,000	...	Various
Ranod has a stone fort and near it a large reservoir which is a Hindu shrine ..	5,833	364,000	...	15	60	...	Baqqāl
Rodahi &c. 5 mahals, has a stone for above the *bundar* where there is also a large temple ..	3,662	206,000	...	20	700	...	Rājput, Gond
Rāgah (? Rāghogarh) has a stone fort ..	1,487	84,000	...	50	150	...	Rājput, Us Karor
Saronj, white muslin of the kind called Mahmudi is here manufactured	186,427	11,065,765	26,931	100	2,500	...	Rawāthansi karer (?)
Sahjan &c. 3 mahals ..	70,221	3,976,700	...	150	20,000	...	Dandar (?)
Shādora near this town is a small hill ..	5,840	334,290	...	50	1.000	...	Makhāti
Gunā has a brick fort ..	18,615	1,092,062	...	15	250	...	Khichi &c.
Garanjiyah has a stone fort on the Betwa ..	8,837	468,000	...	30	200	...	Dingi
Koroi (=Korwai) on the Betwa	4,196	252,000	...	25	150	...	Brāhman
Kāngrah has a stone fort on the Sind ..	4,670	239,990	...	35	100	...	Musalman
Kādrola has a stone fort	2,970	166,000	...	20	400	...	Dingi

* Emendations suggested by J. S.—Deohari (=Dehri), Kangra (=Kanjit), Kadrala (=Kadwana), Kojan (=Kanjia), Bandarjhala (=Bandrāila), Birah (=Barāgāon), Thanwara (=Tahrauli), Jhājhon (=Jaklon), Joāsa (=Churāra), Kalakot (=Kālapāhar), Laroola (=Ladhaura), Rāgah (may also be Raksa)—all found in the Survey of India maps.

Sarkār of Chanderi—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Kolakot, has a stone fort on a hill ..	2 771	156 459	...	150	1,500	...	Gujar.
Kojān, on the Betwa ..	1,224	69,152	...	10	20	...	
Larośāh, on the Betwa	3,140	168,000	...	10	20	...	Bakkāl.
Mungāoli, has a brick fort	29,756	1,440,000	...	70	700	...	Kāyath.
Miānah, 3 kos from it is a high hill ..	12,196	668,600	...	60	3,000	...	Rājput Khātri.
Mahadpur	561	144,000	...	...	140	...	Khātri.

Sarkār of Sārangpur.

Containing 24 *Mahals*. 706,202 *Bighas*. Revenue 32,994,880 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 324,461 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 3,125. Infantry 21,710.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Ashtah	48,502	800,790	790	230	1,500	...	Chauhān, Dodhi, (Dodhia).
Akbarpur	30,094	170,610	...	45	150	...	Various.
Āgra	7,852	472,362	...	100	2,000	...	Chauhān.
Bajilpur produces the finest quality of betel leaf	11,590	647,544	...	140	560	...	Khichi.
Paplun	11,180	610,544	...	160	700	...	Rathor.
Bhorāsah	4,147	269,777	...	30	100	...	Various.
Bajor (? Pachor) ..	1,100	65,320	...	10	200	...	Do.
Bānian	721	40 841	...	25	100	...	Do.
Beāwar	2,505	158,740	...	60	700	...	Kāyath.
Talain	48,056	1,200,700	27,826	150	560	...	Chauhān.
Khiljipur	113	6,027	...	100	200	...	Various.
Zirapur	6,047	377,362	...	40	300	...	Various.
Sārangpur, with suburb. district 2 mahals, has a brick fort ..	21,800	1,294,821	47,569	120	2,000	...	nil. Khichi. Chauhān.
Sahār Bābā Hāji ..	20,268	1,099,049	...	150	1,000	...	Dhandel.

Sarkār of Sārangpur—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Sandarsi	9,443	434,889	...	105	2,000	...	Chauhān.
Sosner	121	54,676	...	25	300	...	Various.
Shujāapur	133,433	8,017,124	238,212	500	3,000	...	Chauhān.
Karhali (Karapli) .	17,179	7,447,906	80,506	500	2,000	...	Do.
Kāyath (=Kāoti) ..	33,936	1,193 396	10,368	110	700	...	Do.
Kānhar (Khātar) ..	26,045	1,097,047	15,218	...	...	...	
Karhari	286	17,252	....	25	200	...	Various.
Muhammadpur ..	47,704	1,981,182	...	170	1,000	...	Aljiyah, Dharar, Rāthor, Dudmā. (?)
Naugām	69,472	2,755,436	4,882	200	1,500	...	Chauhān.

Sarkār of Bijāgarh.†

Containing 29 *Mahals.* 283,278 *Bighas,* 13 *Biswas.* Revenue 12,249,121 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 1,773. Infantry 19480.

	Bighas Bighas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Anjari (=Amjad), situated near the Narbada	13,713	1,707,096	...	...	...	...	Bhil, included in seorānah.
Un, Sanāwada, here a temple to Mahadeo	5,321	290,348	...	300	1,000	...	Sohar, Rajput.
Amlāta, here a lake called by the Hindus Saman (? Biman) ..	4,919	226,677	...	...	...	...	Rājput, Sodar, included in Balakwarah.
Bāmangāon	15,679	781,014	...	5	100	...	Bersiya Brāhman.
Balakwāra, famous for fine sweet musk melons	9,266	407,014	...	500	1,000	...	Sohar, Rājput.
Barodara	5,452	269,898	...	5	50	...	Brāhman.

† South of the Narmada and south of Mandaleshwar.

Sarkār of Bijāgarh—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bikhangāon, has a stone fort; here good horses are procurable	12,580	223,816	...	50	215	...	Rājput, Sohar.
Balkhar, near the Narbada; adjacent are small hills ..	5,584	223,615	...	included in Balakwārah		...	Rājput.
Bāsniyah	9,870-13	85,000	...	...	50	...	As above mentioned.
Badriya (? Beria) ..	8,839	84,293	...	...	50	...	Rājput, Sohar.
Bangelah, forest adjacent where elephants are hunted	2,185	52,939	...	5	300	...	Bhil.
Biror (=Barur) ..	7,477	391,333	...	5	500	...	Do.
Tikri, on the Kodi; here a large temple to Mahādeo, and a small hill	14,771	645,245	...	included in Seorānah		...	Rājput, Bhil, &c.
Jalālābād, with suburb. district has a stone fort	9,285	414,268	...	34	1,470	...	Bhil, Bāhal.
Chamāri, has a stone fort	17,916	543,994	...	100	500	...	Rājput, Sohar.
Deolā Khatiā (Dival) ..	6,430	392,060	...	...	...	...	Rājput, Sohar, included in Balakwārah.
Deolā Narhar (?Dhaoda)	3,286	98,569	...	5	500	...	Bhil.
Seorānah, near the Narbadah, and a large temple there ..	13,074	627,207	...	300	2,025	...	Bhil, &c.
Sindhawā, good hunting ground for elephants	9,974	353,819	...	24	550	...	Koli.
Silwārah, has a brick fort	9,628	325,544	...	350	9,000	...	Bhil.
Sāngori (=Sangvi) ..	4,807	170,210	...	5	250	...	Nahal, Karhah.
Kasrāod, on the Narbadah; has a large tank and a small hill	20,490	1,150,869	...	under Balakwārah.			Sohar.

Sarkār of Bijāgarh—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Khargon, has a fort, stone below, brick above	14,626	753,194	...	50	500	...	Rājput, Sohar, Kanārah (Khatri ?)
Kānapur	5,358	126,846	...	under Balakwarah.			Do. do.
Khudgāon	2,738	85,062	...	5	20	...	Rājput, Kanāri.
Lahrpur, commonly Muhammadpur .	6,792	205,743	...	5	400	...	Rājput, Kahiri.
Lowārikoh	2,476	50,000	...	5	300	...	Bhil.
Mandawara, here a large temple ..	15,948	777,881	4,187	under Seoranah			Do.
Mahoi (Mohipur), near the Narbada	8,318	395,206	...	5	50	...	Bhil, &c.
Morāna (Mardāna) has a stone fort ..	9,211	355,902	...	5	70	...	Rājput, Sohar.
Nāwari (Newali), has a stone fort	9,779	408,164	...	...	...	...	Bhil.
Nangalkādi	9,057	370,208	...	5	500	...	Bāhal.

Sarkār of Mando.

Containing 16 *Mahals*. 229,969 *Bighas*, 15 *Biswas*. Revenue 13,788,994 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 127,732 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 1,180. Infantry 2,526.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Amjhera	...	395,400	3,806	60	...	...	
Barodah	27,370-19	1,307,760	3,936	80	150	...	
Betmān	7,780-12	656,556	8,750	60	100	...	
Choli Mahesar ..	18,183	968,370	10,500	70	200	...	
Hāsilpur, the vine here bears twice a year, and fine cloth of the kind *Amān* and *Khāsah* are manufactured	4,805-13	210,000	...	40	85		
Dhār, anciently a large city	38,660	2,079,306	36,364	120	150	...	

Sarkār of Mando —Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayur-ghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Dikhtān	17,643	958,986	...	70	200	...	
Dharmagāon	3,018-11	916,442	...	...	...	...	
Sāgor	12,807-14	683,084	...	50	150	...	
Sanāsi	70,670	3,097,190	29,696	800	600	...	
Kotra	...	2,393,871	385	165	300	...	
Mando, with suburb. district, 2 mahals ..	540-17	48,398	...	10	50	...	
Manāwara	2,048-10	102,164	...	20	50	...	
Nalchah	9,949-7	545,952	34,105	70	200	...	
Nawāli	...	224,608	...	45	100	...	

Sarkār of Handiah.

Containing 23 *Mahals*. Land under special crops 20 *Mahals*. 89,573-18 *Bighas*, 18 *Biswas*. Amount of revenue in cash from crops charged at special rates and from land paying the general *bigah* rate. 11,610,969 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 157,054 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 1,296. Infantry 5,921.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayur-ghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Unchod	59,495	2,037,877	10,825	200	500	...	
Angalgāon	414	422,947	...	150	200	...	
Amondah	392	21 834	...	7	20	...	
Bijnolā	606	44,418	...	25	100	...	
Punāsa	873	25,251	...	10	100	...	
Balahri (? Bhilakheri)	...	825	...	...	15	...	
Chakhodā	2,319	158,876	13,324	20	80	...	
Champāner	317	20,350	...	20	100	...	
Dewās	188,249	6,718,000	42,837	875	2,000	...	
Rājorā	383	26,641	...	7	20	...	
Satwās	971	89,080	7,504	45	150	...	
Samarni [? Timurni] ..	775	52,115	...	5	40	...	
Siyāmgarh	160	20.494	...	111	550	...	
Seoni	...	2,250	...	50	500	...	
Khandohā Islāmpur ..	22,632	1,296,581	6,400	120	500	...	
Mundi	367	19,443	...	7	20	...	
Mardānpur	...	450	...	50	500	...	
Nimāwar	18,207	946 467	...	25	100	...	
Naugāon	1,187	79,284	...	30	120	...	
Nimau (=Nimanpur) ..	1,160	75,152	...	14	56	...	
Hāndah (=Harda) ..	2,954	146,044	...	50	100	...	
Handia, with suburb. district, has a stone fort on the Narbada on a level plain ..	5,154-15	350,051	76,160	40	150	...	

Sarkār of Nandurbār.

Containing 7 *Mahals*. 2,059,604 *Bighas*. Revenue 50,162,250 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 198,478 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 500. Infantry 6,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bhāmber (Bhamer) ..	212,830	69,244,355	...	...	...	...	
Sultānpur	995,993	28,119,749	159.744	...	...	...	
Khāer (or Jahur?) ..	868	53,310	...	...	...	...	
Nandurbār, with sub. district	203,007	14,252,191	38,734	...	...	...	
Ner	15,253	722,760	...	...	...	...	
Namorhi	1,645	89,585	...	...	...	...	

Sarkār of Mandesor.

Containing 17 *Mahals*. Revenue 6,861,396 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 23,387 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 1,194. Infantry 4,280.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Ringnod	...	716,355	...	80	250	...	Sisodiā.
Ujenwās	...	170 953	...	60	200	...	Ahir, Gond.
Basād	...	515,400	...	80	250	...	Sisodiā.
Budha	...	255,062	...	65	300	...	Rājput, Dodia. (Bodhia.)
Tharod	...	109,220	...	74	250	...	Ahir.
Barāudah	...	106,703	...	50	200	...	Ahir, Gond.
Baraltah	...	90 970	727	30	100	...	Chauhān.
Bhathpur (? Bhanpur)	...	63.104	...	16	250	...	Rājput. Dodia.
Tāl	...	1,600 000	...	160	250	...	Do. do.
Titrod	...	500 000	...	80	220	...	Do. do.
Jamiāwara	...	619,759	...	80	200	...	Sisodiā.
Sukhera	...	46 090	...	50	300	...	
Ghiyaspur	...	138 890	...	60	300	...	Gond, Ahir.
Qiyāmpur	...	175,350	...	110	300	...	Deorā.
Kotri	...	803	...	50	500	...	
Mandesor, with suburb. district, 2 mahals ..	.....	1,651,920	23,360	100	400	...	Rājput.

Sarkār of Gāgron.

Containing 12 *Mahals.* 63,529 *Bighas.* Revenue 4,535,794 *Dāms.*

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayur-ghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Urmāl	...	502,774 in money.	...	...	...	...	
Akbarpur	...	62 500	...	...	...	...	
Panch Pahār	21,399	1,573 560	...	...	...	...	
Chechat	...	222,640	...	...	...	...	
Khairābād	17,136	646 000	...	...	...	...	
Rāepur	9,716	28,730	...	...	...	...	
Sonel	9,638	231,909	...	...	...	...	
Sendar (=Sandhara) ..	695	81,929	...	...	...	...	
Ghāti	...	600,046	...	...	...	...	
Gāgron, with suburb. district, has a stone fort	...	19,781 in money.	...	...	...	...	
Nimthor	4 945	606,834	...	...	...	...	

Sarkār of Kotri Parāwa.

Containing 10 *Mahals.* 190,039 *Bighas.* Revenue 8,031,920 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 2,245. Infantry 6,500.

	Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayur-ghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Alot (*missp.* Āsop) ..	42 220	1,738 927	250	700		...	...
Ājigarh	4,553	855 612	350	200		...	Rajut, Deora.
Āwar	9 204	532,056	...	80	300	...	
Barod	20,224	923,667	...	160	400	..	Rajput, Sondhia.
Dāgdudhālia	13,361	456,144	...	125	400	...	Do. do.
Soyat	13 361	699,585	...	240	500	...	Do. Deora.
Kotri Parāwa, 2 mahals with suburb. dist. ..	46,046	1,886,896	...	770	1,800	...	Kayath.
Gangrār	200,615	1,066,683	...	200	700	...	Rajput, Sondha.
Ghosi (? Gadguchi) ..	2,597	116,380	..	60	200	..	Sondhia.

Princes of Mālwa.

I.

Five Rājahs of this dynasty reigned in succession, 387 years, 7 months, 3 days.
(Dates from Prinsep.)

		Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
B. C. 840.	Dhanji, (Dhananjaya, a name of Arjun, about 785 before Vikramaditya), ...	100	0	0
,, 760.	Jit Chandra, ...	86	7	3
,, 670.	Sālivāhana, ...	1	0	0
,, 680.	Nirvāhana, ...	100	0	0
,, 580.	Putrāj, (Putra Rājas of Vansāvalis without issue), ...	100	2	0

II.

Eighteen princes of the Ponwār caste reigned 1,062 years, 11 months, 17 days.

B. C. 400.	Aditya Panwār, (elected by nobles. [Co-temp. Sapor, A. D. 191. Wilford.	86	7	3
,, 390.	Brahmarāj, (reigned in Vidarbhanagar), ...	30	7	3
,, 360.	Atibrahma, (at Ujain, defeated in the north), ...	90	0	0
,, 271.	Sadhroshana, (Sadasva Sena. Vāsudeva of Wilford, Basdeo of Ferishta, A. D. 390, father-in-law of Bahrām Gor. revived Kanauj dynasty), ...	80	0	0
,, 191.	Hemarth, (Heymert, Harsha Megha, killed in battle), ...	100	0	0
,, 31.	Gandharb,* (Gardabharupa, Bahrāmgor of Wilford), ...	35	0	0
B. C. 56.	Bikramjit, (Vikramaditya. Tuār caste, 3rd of Wilford), ...	100	2	3

* Under power of a curse, in consequences of a crime, he was changed into an ass resuming his human form only at night. Hemar I, notwithstanding, gave him his daughter in marriage and she gave birth to Vikramaditya.

		Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
A. D. 44.	Chandrasen of the same race (possessed himself of all Hindustān), ...	86	3	2
,, 135.	Kharagsen, (Surya Sena, w. 676),	85	0	0
,, 215.	Chitarkot, ...	1	0	0
,, 216.	Kanaksen, (conquered Saurashtra [Surāt and Gujerāt] founder of the Mewār family, ancestry traced by Jain Chronicles consulted by Tod, to Sumitra, 56th from Rāma), ...	86	0	0
,, 302.	Chandrapāl of the same race, ...	100	0	0
,, 402.	Mahendrapāl, ...	7	0	0
,, 409.	Karamchand of the same race, ...	1	0	1
,, 410.	Bijainand, (Vijyananda), ...	60	0	0
,, 470.	Munja, (killed in the Deccan, reigned A. D. 993, according to Tod).			
,, 483.	Bhoja, (by Tod 567 A. D. The other two Rājās Bhoja, Tod fixes in 665 [from Jain MSS.] and 1035, the father Udāyati. Kālidās flourished), ...	100	0	0
,, 583.	Jayachand, (put aside in favour of the following), ...	10	0	2

III.

Eleven princes of the Tonwar, (Tuar) caste reigned 142 years, 3 days.

A. D. 593.	Jitpāp, ...	5	0	0
,, 598.	Rānā Rāju, ...	5	0	0
,, 603.	Rānā Bāju, ...	1	0	3
,, 604.	Rānā Jaj Jalu, *var.* and U. T.), ...	20	0	0
A. D. 620.	Rāna Chandra, ...	30	0	0
,, 654.	Rāna Bahadur, ...	5	0	0
,, 659.	Rāe Bakhmal, (Bakhtmal), ...	5	0	0
,, 664.	Rāe Sukanpāl, ...	5	0	0
,, 669.	Rāe Kiratpāl, ...	5	0	0
,, 674.	Rāe Anangpāl, (rebuilt and peopled Delhi 791, Tod.), ...	60	0	0
,, 734.	Kunwarpāl, ...	1	0	0

IV.

Eleven princes of the Chauhān caste reigned 140 years.

		Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
A. D. 735.	Rājā Jagdeva, ...	10	0	0
,, 745.	Jagannāth, his nephew, ...	10	0	0
,, 755.	Hardeva, ...	15	0	0
,, 770.	Bāsdeva, ...	16	0	0
,, 786.	Srideva, ...	15	0	0
,, 801.	Dharmdeva, ...	14	0	0
,, 815.	Baldeva, ...	10	0	0
,, 825.	Nānakdeva, ...	9	0	0
,, 834.	Kiratdeva, ...	11	0	0
,, 845.	Pithurā, ...	21	0	0
,, 866.	Māldeva, (conquered by Shaikh Shāh father of Ala u'd din), ...	9	0	0

V.

Ten princes reigned 77 years.

A. D. 1037.	Shaikh Shāh, (from Ghazni), ...	70	0	0
,, 1037.	Dharmrāja Sud, (Vizier during minority of, ...	20	0	0
,, 1057.	Ālā u'd din, son of Shaikh Shāh, put the Vizier to death, ...	20	0	0
,, ,,	Kamāl u'd din, (murdered by, ...	12	0	0
,, 1069.	Jitpal Chauhān, (Jaya Sing of Delhi and Lahore? 977, a descendant of Mānikya Rai?)'	20	0	0
,, 1089.	Harchand, ...	20	0	0
,, 1109.	Kiratchand, ...	2	0	0
,, 1111.	Ugarsen, ...	13	0	0
,, 1124.	Surajchand, ...	12	0	0
A. D. 1136.	Birsen, (dispossessed by the following), ...	10	0	0

VI.

Eight princes reigned 205 years.

A. D. 1146.	Jalāl u'd din, (an Afghan), ...	22	0	0
,, 1168.	A'alam Shah, (killed in battle by, ...	24	0	0

			Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
A.D.	1192.	Kharagsen, son of Birsen (Birsen, emigrated to Kāmrup, married the king's daughter, succeeded to the kingdom and regained Malwah), ...	8	0	0
,,	1200.	Narbāhan. { Udayādityadeva, Naravarmadeva, Yasovarmadeva, Jayavarmadeva, Lakhan,* ...	20	0	0
,,	1220.	Birsāl, ...	16	0	0
,,	1236.	Puranmal, ...	39	0	0
,,	1268.	Haranand, ...	62	0	0
,,	1330.	Sakat Sing, (killed at the invasion of the following), ...	60	0	0

VII.

Eleven princes reigned 142 years, 2 months 4 days.†

A. D.	1390.	Bahādur Shāh, (king of Deccan, killed at Delhi), ...	some ms.		
			Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
,,	1390.	Dilāwar Khān Ghori, (viceroy of Mālwah assumed sovereignty), ...	20	0	0
,,	1405.	Hoshang Shāh, ...	30	0	0
,,	1432.	Muhammad Shāh, (Ghizni Khān, poisoned), ...	some ms.		
,,	1435.	Sultān Mahmud, uncle of Hoshang, (Rānā of Chitor Kumbho, presents *tankas* coined in his own name, 1450), ...	34	0	0

* These five reigned A.D. 1137—1143 according to the Ujjain inscription.

† Correct list of Malwa Sultans—

	A.H. 794/1932 A.D.
Dilawar Kh. Ghuri	
Hushang Sh.	808/1405
Muhammad Sh. (Ghazni Kh.)	838/1435
Ma'sud	839/1436
Mahmud I.	839/1436
Ghiyās-ud-din	873/1469
Nāsir-ud-din	905/1500
Mahmud II.	916-937/1510-31

			Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
A.D. 1469.	Sultān Ghiyās u'd din, ...		32	0	0
,, 1500.	,, Nāsir u'd din, (his son Shahāb u'd din revolts),		11	4	3
,, 1512.	,, Mahmud II, (younger son, last of the Khiljis),		26	6	11
,,	Qādir Shāh, ...		6	0	0
,,	Shujāat Khān, known as Shujāwal Khān, ...		12	0	0
,,	Bāz Bahādur.				

In 1534 *Malwah was incorporated with Gujerāt kingdom; in* 1568 *as a province of Akbar's empire.*

It is said that two thousand, three hundred and fifty-five years, five months and twenty-seven days prior to this, the 40th year of the Divine Era [761 B.C.] an ascetic named *Mahābāh*, kindled the first flame in a fire-temple, and devoting himself to the worship of God, resolutely set himself to the consuming of his rebellious passions. Seekers after eternal welfare gathered round him, zealous in a life of mortification. About this time the Buddhists began to take alarm and appealed to the temporal sovereign, asserting that in this fire-temple, many living things were consumed in flaming fire, and that it was advisable that Brahmanical rites should be set aside, and that he should secure the preservation of life. It is said that their prayer was heard, and the prohibition against the said people was enforced. These men of mortified appetites resolved on redress, and sought by prayer a deliverer who should overthrow Buddhism and restore their own faith. The Supreme Justice brought forth from this fire-temple, now long grown cold, a human form, resplendent with divine majesty, and bearing in its hand a flashing sword. In a short space, he enthroned himself on the summit of power, and renewed the Brahmanical observance. He assumed the name of *Dhananjaya* and coming from the Deccan, established his seat of government at Mālwah and attained to an advanced age.

When Putrāj, the fifth in descent from him. died without issue, the nobles elected Aditya Ponwār his successor, and this was the origin of the [illegible]nty of this house. On the death of Hemarth in battle, Gandharb, the chosen, was raised to the throne. The Hindus believe that he is the same as Hemarth whom the Supreme Ruler introduced

among the celestials in the form of a *Gandharb*[1] and then clothed in human shape. Thus he became universally known by this name and prospered the world by his justice and munificence. A son was born to him named Bikramājit who kept aflame the lamp of his ancestors and made extensive conquests. The Hindus to this day keep the beginning of his reign as an era and relate wonderful accounts of him. Indeed he possessed a knowledge of talismans and incantations and gained the credulity of the simple. Chandrapāl obtained in turn the supreme power and conquered all Hindustān. Bijainand was a prince devoted to the chase. Near a plant of the Munja[2] he suddenly came upon a newborn infant. He brought him up as his own son and called him by the name of Munja. When his own inevitable time approached, his son Bhoja was of tender age. He therefore appointed Munja his successor, who ended his life in the wars of the Deccan.

Bhoja succeeded to the throne in the 541st year of the era of Bikramājit and added largely to his dominions, administering the empire with justice and liberality. He held wisdom in honour, the learned were treated with distinction, and seekers after knowledge were encouraged by his support. Five hundred [*correctly* nine] sages, the most erudite of the age, shone as the gathered wisdom of his court and were entertained in a manner becoming their dignity and merit. The foremost of these was Barruj [Vararuchi], a second was Dhanpāl [Dhanwantari] who have composed works of great interest and left them to intelligent seekers of truth, as a precious possession. At the birth of Bhoja, either through a grave miscalculation of the astrologers or some inadvertence on the part of those who cast his horos-

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[1] A class of demigods who inhabit the heaven of Indra and form the celestial choir at the banquets of the deities. He appears in the lists as *Gandhapāla*, fostered by an ass, *Gandha-rupa* or *Harshamegha*, epithets of the same animal. According to Wilford the Pandits who assisted Abul-Fazl disfigured the chronology of the supplement to the *Agni-purana*. Of Salivahana and Naravahana they made two distinct persons as well as of Bahrām with the title of Gor in Persian and Himār, or the Ass in Arabic. Thus they introduced Himār or Hemarth and Gor or Gandharb.

[2] *Saccharum munja*, a rush or grass from the fibres of which a string is prepared of which the Brahmanical girdle is properly formed. Munja wrote a geographical description of the world or of India which still exists under the name of *Munja-prati-desa-vyvastha* or state of various countries. It was afterwards corrected and improved by Rāja Bhoja, and still exists in Gujerāt. Munja transferred the capital from Ujjain to Sonitpura in the Deccan called after him *Munja-pattana* on the Godaveri.

cope, the learned in the stars in consultation announced a nativity of sinister aspect. They prognosticated hazard to the lives of such as sympathised with him, and these to save their own, cast this nursling of fortune in the dust of destitution and exposed him in an inhospitable land. He was there nourished without the intervention of human aid. The sage Barruj, who at that time was not accounted among the learned, having recast his horoscope after profound investigation, foretold the good tidings of a nativity linked to a long life and a glorious reign. This paper he threw in the way of the Rājā, whose heart on reading it, was agitated with the impulse of paternal love. He convened an assembly of the astrologers, and when the nativity was scrutinised, and it was ascertained where the error lay, he went in person and restored Bhoja to favour and opened the eyes of his understanding to the strangeness of fortune. They relate that when the child was eight years old, the short-sighted policy of Munja impelled him to desperate measures and he contemplated putting the innocent boy to death. He entrusted him to some of his trusty followers to make away with him secretly, but these ministers of death spared him, and concealing him, invented a plausible tale. On his taking leave, he gave them a letter telling them to read it to the Rājā in case he should inquire regarding him. Its purport ran as follows :—"How doth darkness of soul in a man cast him out of the light of wisdom, and in unholy machinations stain his hands in the blood of the innocent! No monarch in his senses thinks to carry with him to the grave his kingdom and treasures, but thou by slaying me seemest to imagine that his treasures perpetually endure and that he himself is beyond the reach of harm." The Rājā on hearing this letter, was aroused from his day-dream of fancied security and brooded in remorse over his crime. His agents, when they witnessed the evidences of his sincerity revealed to him what had occurred. He gave thanks to God, welcomed Bhoja with much affection and appointed him his successor.

When his son Jayachand's[1] reign was ended, none of the Ponwār caste was found worthy to succeed. Jitpal of the Tonwar caste, who was one of the principal landowners was elected to the throne, and thus by the vicissitudes of fortune the sovereignty passed into this family.

[1] Jayananda according to Wilford, who gives the next name as Chaitra or Jytepāl and identifies or confounds him with Chandrapāla.

When Kunwarpāl died, the royal authority passed into the hands of the Chauhāns. During the reign of Maldeva, Shaikh Shāh came from Ghazni and acquired possession of Mālwah and lived to an advanced age. At his death his son Alā u'd din was a minor, and his chief minister Dharm Rāj Sud occupied the throne. As soon as Alā u'd din came of age, he rose in arms to assert his rights and put to death the disloyal usurper. Jitpal Chauhān, a descendant of Mānik Deva Chauhān, who was in the service of Kamāl-u'd-din, under the impulse of malice and in pride of wealth compassed the destruction of his master and in the hope of gain, acquired for himself eternal perdition. Under the rule of Tipparsen, an intriguing Afghān, getting together some desperate characters as his abettors, laying an ambush for the Rājā, slew him while hunting, and assumed the sovereignty with the title of Jalāl u'd din. Tipparsen had married his son Kharagsen into the family of the Rājā of Kāmrup. The Rājā, for his eminent services, appointed this adopted son his heir, and when the Rājā died, Kharagsen ascended the throne and to avenge his wrongs marched an army against Mālwah and Aālam Shāh was killed in battle.

In the reign of Sakat Singh a prince named Bahādur Shāh advanced from the Deccan and having put the Rājā to death, marched against Delhi and was taken prisoner while fighting against Sultān Shahāb u'd din.

From the time of Sultān Ghiyās u'd din Balban (A.D. 1265) to that of Sultān Muhammad son of Firoz Shāh (A.D. 1387) no serious weakness in the imperial authority betrayed itself, but on his death the empire of Delhi became a prey to distractions. Dilāwar Khān Ghori who had been appointed by him to the government of Mālwah, assumed independence. The Sultān bestowed the government of four provinces upon four individuals who had been faithful to him in his adversity. To Zafar Khān[1] he gave Gujerāt; Khizr Khān was appointed to Multān; Khwājah Sarwar to Jaunpur and Dilāwar Khān to Mālwa. After his death, the time being favourable, each of the four assumed independence. [Persian text confused.]

Alp Khān the son of Dilāwar Khān was elected to the succession under the title of Hoshang. It is said that his father was poisoned by his order whereby he has gained

[1] Zafar Khān took the title of Muzaffar Shāh.

everlasting abhorrence. Sultān Muzaffar of Gujerāt marched against him and took him prisoner and left his own brother Nasir Khān in command of the province. But as he was tyrannous in conduct and ignored the interests of his subjects, Musa, cousin of Hoshang, was raised to the throne. Sultān Muzaffar released Hoshang from confinement and despatched him to Mālwa in company with his own son Ahmad Khān, and in a short time he was restored to power. On the death of Muzaffar, he perfidiously marched against Gujerāt, but meeting with no success, returned. On several subsequent occasions he attacked Sultān Ahmad of Gujerāt but was shamefully defeated.

On one occasion cunningly disguised as a merchant, he set out for *Jājnagar*.[1] The ruler of that country accompanied by a small retinue visited the caravan. Hoshang took him prisoner and hastened back. While journeying together, Hoshang told him that he had been induced to undertake this expedition in order to procure a supply of elephants and added that if his people attempted a rescue, the prince's life should pay the penalty. The prince therefore sending for a number of valuable elephants, presented them to him and was set at liberty.

Hoshang was engaged in wars with Mubārak Shāh son of Khizr Khān viceroy[2] of Delhi, with Sultān Ibrahim of the Jaunpur dynasty, and with Sultān Ahmad of the Deccan.[3] On his death, the nobles, in accordance with his bequest, raised his son Nasir Khān to the throne under the

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[1] Jājpur on the Baitarani river in Orissa, capital of the province under the Lion Dynasty, the Gajpati or Lords of Elephants. This story occurs in the Tab. Akbari, p. 537, and in Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 236. (Briggs, IV, 178). Ferishta's account is that in A.H. 825 (1421—2), Hoshang with a 1,000 picked cavalry disguised as a merchant set out for Jājnagar, one month's journey from Mālwa and took with him a number of cream-coloured horses, much sought after by the ruler of Orissa and stuffs of various kinds, his object being to exchange these for elephants the better to meet Sultān Ahmad of Gujerāt in the field. On his arrival near Jājnagar he sent to inform the Rājah of the presence of his caravan and the prince arrived with a number of elephants to barter for the horses, or ready to pay in coin, as the need arose. The horses were caparisoned and the stuffs laid out for inspection, when a storm of rain came on and the lightning frightening the elephants, they trampled on the goods and caused great damage. Hoshang tore his hair and swore that life was no longer worth having and at a signal, his men mounted and attacked the Rājā's guard, and put them to flight. Capturing the Rājā, Hoshang discovered himself and excused his action on the ground of destruction of his property. He then stated his object. The Rājah admired his audacity and 75 elephants purchased his own release. Hoshang carried him as far as the frontier and set him at liberty.

[2] He never assumed the royal title but styled himself viceroy of Timur in whose name the coin was minted and the *Khutbah* read.

[3] Ahmad Shah Wali of the Bahmani dynasty (1422—35).

title of Muhammad Shāh. Mahmud Khān, cousin of Sultān Hoshang, basely bribed his cup bearer and that venal wretch poisoned the Sultān's wine. The generals of the army kept his death secret hoping to place his son Masaud Khān upon the throne and they sent to confer with Mahmud Khān. He replied that worldly affairs had no longer any interest for him but that if his presence in council were necessary, they must come to him. They foolishly went to his house and were placed in confinement, and by the aid of some disloyal mercenary partisans, he seized upon the sovereignty of Mālwa and was proclaimed under the title of Sultān Mahmud (Khilji). Upon such a wretch,[1] in its wondrous vicissitudes thus did Fortune smile and the awe he inspired secured him the tranquil possession of power. He waged wars with Sultān Muhammad son of Mubārak Shāh, king of Delhi, with Sultān Ahmad, king of Gujerāt, with Sultān Hussain Sharqi of Jāunpur, and with Rānā Kumbha of Mewār.

Khwājah Jamāl u'd din Astarābādi[2] was sent to him as ambassador by Abu Said Mirza with costly gifts which greatly redounded to his glory. Mahmud II (1512 A.D.) through his ungenerous treatment of his adopted followers fell into misfortune but was again reinstated in power by the aid of Sultān Muzaffar Shāh (II) of Gujerāt (A.D. 1511-26). Through his reckless bravery in battle he was taken prisoner by the Rānā (Sanga)[3] who treated him with generosity and restored him to his kingdom. He was again captured in action against Sultān Bahādur of Gujerāt and conveyed to the fortress of Chāmpāner. He was killed (A.D. 1526) on his way thither and Mālwa was incorporated with Gujerāt until it was conquered by Humayun. When this monarch returned to Agra, one of the relations of Sultān Mahmud, by name Mallu, seized on the government of Mālwa under the title of Qādir Khān.

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[1] He proved notwithstanding, the ablest and most chivalrous of all the Mālwa princes.

[2] This ambassador arrived with presents from Mirza Sultān Said 3rd in descent from Tamerlane who reigned over Transoxiana and held his court at Bokhārā—grandfather of Bāber. He returned with presents of elephants, singing and dancing girls, Arab horses and an ode in the vernacular composed by Mahmud himself which Abu Said valued above all the other gifts. Ferishta II, 254.

[3] The reference is to his dismissal of his Hindu minister Medni Rāe and the Rājput troops to whom he owed his kingdom when deserted by his nobles at the beginning of his reign.

[4] Rana Sanga (A.D. 1508—1529) under whom Mewār reached its highest prosperity, fought Babar in 1526.

During the supremacy of the usurper Sher Khān the control of the province was invested in Shujāat Khan, who rebelled under the reign of Salim Khān and assumed independence under Mubāriz Khān.

On his death, his eldest son Bāyizid succeeded under the title of Bāz Bahādur until the star of his Majesty's fortune arose in the ascendant and this fertile province was added to the imperial dominions.

May the robe of this daily-widening empire be bordered with perpetuity, and its inhabitants enjoy to their hearts' fill a prosperity that shall never decay.

SUBAH OF DĀNDES.

This flourishing country was called *Khāndes*, but after the capture the fortress of *Asir* (1600 A.D.) and when this province fell under the government of prince Dānyāl, it was known as *Dāndes*.[1] It is situated in the second climate. Its length from *Borgāon* which adjoins *Handiah* to *Lalang* which is on the borders of the territory of *Ahmadnagar* is 75 *kos*. Its breadth from *Jāmod* adjoining *Berār* to *Pāl* which borders *Mālwa* is 50, and in some parts only 25 *kos*. On its east is *Berār;* to the north, *Mālwa;* to the south, *Gālnah* (Jālna)*: to the west, the southern chain of the mountains of *Mālwa*. The rivers are numerous, the principal being the *Tāpti* which rises between *Berār* and *Gondwāna,* the *Tabi* which has its source from the same quarter and which is also called the *Purna,* and the *Girna* near *Chāpra*. The climate is pleasant and the winter temperate.

Jowāri is chiefly cultivated, of which, in some places, there are three crops in a year, and its stalk is so delicate and pleasant to the taste that it is regarded in the light of a fruit. The rice is of fine quality, fruits grow plentifully and betel leaves are in abundance. Good cloth stuffs are woven here: those called *Siri Sāf* and *Bhiraun* come from *Dharangāon*.

Asir is the residence of the governor. It is a fortress on a lofty hill. Three other forts encompass it which for strength and loftiness are scarcely to be equalled. A large and flourishing city is at its foot. *Burhānpur* is a large city three *kos* distant from the *Tapti*. It lies in latitude 21° 40', and is embellished with many gardens and the sandalwood also grows here. It is inhabited by people of all countries and handicraftsmen ply a thriving trade. In the summer, clouds of dust fly which in the rains turns to mud.

Ādilābād is a fine town. Near it is a lake, a noted place of worship, and the crime of Rājā Jasrat (Dasarath)[1]

* *Galna* is 20 m. S.W. of Dhulia in W. Khandesh, while *Jalna* is far to the south of E. Khandesh, beyond the Ajanta range.

[1] Dasarath's crime was committed in his youth when he unwittingly killed the hermit's son in the forests by the banks of the river Sarayu in Oudh. The story is told in Rāmāyan, Bk. II, Sec. 63 (see Griffith's translation, Vol. II, p. 243). He was cursed by the bereaved father and fated to be similarly agonised for the loss of his son in after years.

was expiated at this shrine. It is full all the year round and it irrigates a large area of cultivation.

Chāngdeo is a village near which the *Tapti* and the *Purnā* unite, and the confluence is accounted a place of great sanctity. It is called *Chakra Tirth*. Adjacent to it is an image of *Mahādeo*. They relate that a blind man carried about him an image of Mahādeo which he worshipped daily. He lost the image at this spot. For a time he was sore distressed, but forming a similar image of sand, he placed it on a little eminence and adored it in a like spirit. By a miracle of divine will, it became stone and exists to this day. Near it a spring rises which is held to be the Ganges. An ascetic by the power of the Almighty was in the habit of going to the Ganges daily from this spot. One night the river appeared to him in a dream, and said, "Undertake these fatigues no longer; I myself will rise up in thy cell." Accordingly in the morning it began to well forth and is flowing at the present time.

Jāmod is a rich *parganah*. In its neighbourhood is a fort on a high hill called *Pipaldol*. *Dhāmarni* is a prosperous town. Near it is a tank in which a hot spring perpetually rises and which is an object of worship.

Choprah is a large flourishing town, near which is a shrine called *Rāmesar* at the confluence of the *Girna* and the *Tapti*. Pilgrims from the most distant parts frequent it. Adjacent to it is the fort of *Malkāmad* [=Malkheda].

Thālner was for a time the capital of the *Fāruqi* princes. The fort though situated on the plain is nevertheless of great strength.

This *Subah* contains 32 *parganahs*. Scarce any land is out of cultivation and many of the villages more resemble towns. The peasantry are docile and industrious. The provincial force is formed of *Kolis, Bhils* and *Gonds*. Some of these can tame lions, so that they will obey their commands, and strange tales are told of them.

Its revenue is 12,647,062, *Beṛāri tankahs* as will appear in the statement. After the conquest of Asir, this revenue was increased by 50 per cent. The *tanka* is reckoned at 24 *dāms*. The total is therefore, 455,294,232 Akbari *dāms*. (Rs. 11,382, 355-12-9).

Sarkār of Dāndes.

Containing 32 *mahals*. Revenue in money 12,647,062 Tankas.

	Tankahs
Asīr, north of Burhanpur ...	1,060,221
Atrāl, south	264,249
Erandwel, east, by south ...	543,328
Amalnerā	2,406,180
Warangāon, east by south ...	215,504
Pāchorah, west	206,728
Purmāl, west	162,830
Bodwad, south-west ...	183,540
Names omitted in all MSS ...	{ 58,511 / 246,112
Bāhil, south	290,311
Bhadgāon, south	256,331
Betāwad, south	320,782
Bāer [Bhāmer], west by south	595,968
Thālner, west by south ...	594,239
Jāmod, east	175,844
Jāmner, midway between E. and W.	470,042
Chāndsir, south	198,900
Jalod, south [Jalam?] ...	317,205
Chopra, west	730,965
Dāngri, south	315,325
Dāmri, west	325,300
Rāver, west	883,655
Renpur, east [? Ratanpur]	820,971
Sāvdā, south	430,008
Shendurni, between E. and W.	104,754
Ādilābād, east by south ...	527,223
Laling, south	352,644
Lohārā, south	247,965
Mānjrud, east [Mānjal] ...	104,965
Nasirābād, south	824,925
Name omitted in all MSS. ...	316,338

In ancient times this country was a waste and but few people lived about the fortress of Asir. The locality was traditionally connected with *Ashwatthāmā** and established as a shrine. It is related that *Malik Rāji* from whom *Bahādur*[1] is the ninth in descent, under stress of misfortune came from *Bidar* to these parts and established himself in the village of *Karondā*,[2] a dependency of *Thālner*, but being molested by the natives, he repaired to Delhi and took service under Sultān Firoz. The king admired his skill as a huntsman, and his reward being left to his own choice, he received a grant of that village and by judicious policy acquired possession of other estates and reclaimed much waste land. In the year 784 A.H. (A.D. 1382), he made *Thālner* his seat of government, assumed the title of Ādil Shāh and reigned for 17 years. He was succeeded by his son Ghizni Khān under the title of Nasir Shāh, after which this province became known as Khāndes. He reigned 40 years, 6 months, and 26 days. On his death his son Mirān Shāh administered the State. By some he is called Ādil Shāh. He occupied the throne 3 years, 8

*Son of Drona, a hero of the *Mahābhārat*.

[1] Bahādur Khān Fāruqi, 1596 A.D. last of the dynasty.

[2] According to T., his father was Khān Jahān one of the ministers in the court of Alā-ud-din Khilji and of Muhammad Tughlaq. He claimed descent from the Caliph Omar called by Muhammad "al Fāruq" or the discriminator, on the day that he publicly professed his conversion, because on that day "Islām was made manifest and truth distinguished from falsehood." See as Suyuti's *Hist. of the Caliphs*, Jarrett's translation, p. 118. Karonda=*Karwand*, 12 m. n. of Thalner.

months and 23 days. He was followed by his son Mubārik Shāh Chaukandi Sultān during 17 years, 6 months and 29 days. His son Aādil Shāh Aynā whose name was Ahsan Khān, had a prosperous reign of 46 years, 8 months and 2 days. He removed to *Burhānpur* and made himself master of Asir. Sultān Ahmad of Gujerāt, the founder of Ahmedābād, gave him his daughter in marriage. At his death, his brother Dāud Shāh reigned for 7 years, 1 month and 17 days. Aādil Shāh (II) son of Hasan took refuge in Gujerāt. Sultān Māhmud Bigarah Rāji gave him in marriage *Ruqayya* the daughter of Sultān Muzaffar, (his son) and accompanying him to *Khāndes*, restored him to his kingdom and returned to his own. He reigned 13 years. He left two sons, Mirān Muhammad Shāh and Mubārik Shāh. Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt being on terms of friendly alliance with the first-named[1] made him his heir, and guadian to his nephew Mahmud and his own brother Mubārik. Mirān Shāh from a sense of their deserts, and with political sagacity did them no injury and contenting himself with the kingdom of Khāndes, restored Mahmud to the sovereignty of Gujerāt. He reigned 16 years, 2 months and 3 days. When the measure of his days was full, the nobles raised his son Rāji to the throne. Mirān Mubārik wrested it from him and reigned in succession to his brother, administering the government for 31 years, 6 months and 5 days. He was succeeded by his son Mirān Muhammad who reigned 9 years, 9 months and 15 days. When he died, his younger brother Rāja Ali Khān[2] was elected and assumed the title of Aādil Shāh. His administration was conducted with ability and he was killed in the

[1] His sister being mother of Mirān Shāh.
[2] He married a sister of Abul Fazl.

Khandesh Muslim rulers—

Malik Rājā, Rājā Ahmad ...	...	...	A.H. 784/1382	A.D
Nasir Khan	...	...	801/1399	
Adil Kh. I.	...	...	840/1437	
Mubārak Kh. I, Chaukanda	...	...	844/1441	
'Adil Kh. II, Ainā ...	...	...	861/1457	
Dāud Kh.	...	....	907/1501	
Ghazni Kh.	...	...	914/1508	
Hasan Kh.	...	...	914/1508	
'Alam Kh. (usurper) ...	...	...	914/1508	
'Adil Kh. III. ('Alam Kh.)	...	...	91 /1509	
Mirān Muhammad Sh. I. ...	...	...	6/1520	
Ahmad Sh.	...	...	943/1537	
Mubārak Sh. II.	...	...	943/1537	
Muhammad Sh. II. ...	...	...	974/1566	
Hasan Sh.	...	...	984/1576	
'Adil Sh. IV. (Rājā 'Ali Kh.)	...	...	985/1577	
Bahādur Sh. (Qadr Kh.) ...	...	...	1006-1009/1597-1601	

wars of the Deccan fighting on the side of his Majesty's victorious troops. He was buried at Burhānpur, after a successful reign of 21 years, 8 months and 20 days. At his death the succession devolved on Khizr Khān, his son, who took the name of Bahādur Shāh. But the star of his destiny was obscure and in the 45th year of the Divine era, he was deprived of his kingdom as has been recorded in its proper place.

SUBAH OF BERĀR.

Its original name was *Wārdātat*, from *Wārdā*, the river of that name and *tat*, a bank. It is situated in the second climate. Its length from *Baithalwādi* to *Biragarh* is 200 *kos*, its breadth from *Bidar* to *Handia* 180 *kos*. On the east lies *Biragarh* adjoining *Bastar;* to the north is *Handia;* to the south *Telingāna;*[1] on the west *Mahkarābād*. It is a tract—situated between two hill-ranges having a southerly direction. One of these is called *Bandah* upon which are the forts of *Gāwilgarh, Narnāla* and *Melgarh*. The other is *Sahia*, where rise the forts of Mahur and Rāmgarh.

The climate and cultivation of this province are remarkably good. There are many rivers, the principal of which is called *Ganga Gautami* called also the *Godavari*. As the Ganges of Hindustān is chiefly connected with the worship of Mahādeo, so is this river with (the *Rishi*) *Gautama*. Wonderful tales are related regarding it and it is held in great sanctity. It rises near *Trimbak*[2] in the *Sahia* range and passing through the country of *Ahmadnagar*, enters *Berār* and flows into *Telingāna*. When Jupiter enters the sign Leo, pilgrims flock from all parts to worship.[3] The *Tāli* and *Tapti* are also venerated. Another river the *Purnā* rises near *Dewalgāon*, and again the *Wardā*

[1] As this province corresponds geographically with the ancient *Tri-Kalinga*, Gen. Cunningham thinks Telingana to be probably, a slight contraction of Tri-Kalinga. See *Anc. Geo. Ind.*, p. 519.

[2] In the Nāsik District, about 30 miles from the Indian Ocean. At this spot is an artificial reservoir, reached by a flight of 90 steps, into which the water trickles drop by drop from the lips of an earthen image shrouded by a canopy of stone.

[3] Once in every 12 years, a great bathing festival called *Pushkaram*, is held on the banks of Godaveri, alternately with the other eleven sacred rivers of India. The most frequented spots are the source at Trimbuk, Bhadrāchalam on the left bank about 100 miles above Rājāmahendri, the latter itself, and the village of Kotipāli. *I. G. Tāli*, variants *Pāli, Pāti*.

issues forth ten *kos* higher up than the source of the *Tāli*. The *Napta** also rises near *Dewalgāon*.

In this country the term for a *Chaudhri* [village headman] is *Desmukh*, for a *Qānungo*, *Des Pāndia*; the *Muqaddam* is called *Patil* and the *Patwāri*, *Kulkarn*.

Elichpur is a large city and the capital. A flower violet in colour is found here and is very fragrant. It is called *Bhui champah*[1] and grows close to the ground.

At the distance of 7 *kos* is *Gāwil*, a fortress of almost matchless strength. In it is a spring at which they water weapons of steel.

Panār is a strong fort on an eminence which two streams surround on three sides.

Kherla is a strong fort on a plain. In the middle of it is a small hill which is a place of worship. Four *kos* from this is a well, into which if the bone of any animals be thrown it petrifies, like a *cowrie-shell* only smaller. To the east of this resides a *Zamindār* named *Chātwāi* (=Jātibā) who is master of 2,000 cavalry, 50,000 foot and more than 100 elephants. Another such *Zamindār* is named *Dādhi Rāo* who possesses 200 cavalry, and 5,000 foot. To the north is *Nāhar Rāo* a chief whose force consists of 200 horse and 5,000 foot. Formerly in this neighbourhood was a *Zamindār* named *Hatiā*, but now his possessions are under other subjection and the whole race are *Gonds*. Wild elephants are found in this country. The chiefs were always tributary to the kings of Mālwa; the first, to the governor of *Garha*, and the others to the government of *Handia*. *Narnālah* is a strong fortress on a hill, containing many buildings. *Bija Rāo* is a *Zamindār* in the neighbourhood who has a force of 200 cavalry and 5,000 foot. Another is *Dungar Khān* with 50 horse and 3,000 foot: both of the *Gond* tribe. Near *Bālāpur* are two streams, about the borders of which are found various kinds of pretty stones, which are cut and kept as curiosities. Six *kos* distant was the head-quarters of Prince Sultān Murād which grew into a fine city under the name *Shahpur*.

Near *Melgarh* is a spring which petrifies wood and other substances that are thrown into it.

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* *Napta*—doubtfully written in Persian. The great *Penganga* is evidently meant, but only one small feeder of it rises here; NPTA=PNNA.

[1] The *S. ul M.* calls it *Bhuin Champa* and adds "it grows also in Bengal; it shoots from the ground with leaves like the ginger-plant and till the rainy season it continues in growth and is green. In the winter it withers away and disappears altogether." The word is properly *Bhum Champak*, "The ground Champak", and is the Kœmpferia Rotunda.

Kallam (Kalamb), is an ancient city of considerable importance; it is noted for its buffaloes. In the vicinity is a *Zamindār* named *Babjeo* of the *Gond* tribe, more generally known as *Chāndā*: a force of 1,000 horse and 40,000 foot is under his command. *Birāgarh* which has a diamond mine and where figured cloths and other stuffs are woven, is under his authority. It is but a short time since that, he wrested it from another chief. Wild elephants abound.

About *Bāsim* is an indigenous race for the most part proud and refractory called *Hatkars*: their force consists of 1,000 cavalry and 5,000 infantry. *Banjāra* is another *Zamindāri*, with 100 horse and 1,000 foot. At the present time it is under the authority of a woman. Both tribes are Rājputs.

Māhur is a fort of considerable strength situated on a hill. Adjacent is a temple dedicated to *Durgā*, known in this country as *Jagadathā* [=Jagatdhātri]. Here the buffaloes are of a fine breed and yield half a *man* and more of milk. The *Zamindār* is a Rājput named *Indràdeo* and is entitled *Rānā*. He commands 100 horse and 1,000 foot.

Mānikdrug is a remarkable fort on a hill surrounded by extensive forests. It is near *Chandā*, but up to the present is independent territory.

Jitanpur is a village in the Sarkār of *Pāthri*, where there is a thriving trade in jewels and other articles of value.

Telingānah was subject to *Qutb ul Mulk*[1] but for some time past has been under the authority of the ruler of Berār.

In *Indur* and *Nirmal* there exist mines of steel and other metals. Shapely stone utensils are also carven here. The breed of buffaloes is fine and, strangely enough, the domestic cocks are observed to have bones and blood of a black colour.* A *Zamindār* called *Chanāneri*,[2] is *Desmukh*, a man of the most distinguished character, who has a force of 300 horse. *Rāmgir* is a strong fort on a hill, enclosed by forests. Wild elephants are numerous. It has not as yet been annexed to the empire.

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[1] *Warangal* was the ancient capital of this kingdom founded by the Narapati Andhras which was also considered to include the coast territory from the mouth of the Ganges to that of the Kistnā known as Kalinga. After the invasion of Alā u'd din in 1303, it continued with some interruptions under Hindu rule till its remains were incorporated in the dominions of Quli Qutb Shāh the founder of the Qutb Shāhi dynasty, in 1512 with Golconda as its capital.

* See Constable's ed. of Bernier, p. 251, note.

[2] *Var. Jayaberi.*

Lonār is a division of *Mehkar*, and a place of great sanctity. The Brahmans call it *Bishan Gayā*. There are three *Gayās*, where the performance of good works can be applied as a means of deliverance to the souls of deceased ancestors; namely, *Gayā* in *Behār* which is dedicated to *Brahma*, *Gayā* near *Bijāpur* dedicated to *Rudra*, and this one. Here is also a reservoir, having a spring in it of great depth, and measuring a *kos* in length and in breadth, and surrounded by lofty hills. The water is brackish, but when taken from the centre or at its sides, it is sweet. It contains the essential materials for the manufacture of glass and soap, and saltpetre is here produced and yields a considerable revenue.

On the summit of a hill is a spring at the mouth of which is carved the figure of a bull. The water never flows from this spring to the other, but when the 30th lunar day (conjunction) falls on a Monday, its stream flows into the large reservoir. In the neighbourhood is a *Zamindār* called *Wāilah* of the Rājput tribe, commanding 200 horse and 2,000 foot. Another is called *Sarkath*, also a Rājput, and possesses 100 horse and 1,000 foot.

Batialah is a fort of considerable strength on a hill, of which *Pātāl Nagari* is a dependency. In the sides of the hill twenty-four temples have been cut, each containing remarkable idols. The *zamindar is Medni Rāo*, a Rajput, with 200 horse and 1,000 foot. Another is *Kāmdeo*, a Rājput having under him 100 horse and 1,000 foot.

This *Subah* contains 16* *sarkārs* and 142 (should be 242) *parganahs*. From an early period the revenues were taken by a valuation of crops, and since the *tankah* of this country is equal to 8 of Delhi, the gross revenue was 3½ *krors* of *tankahs* or 56 *krors* of *dāms*[1] (Rs. 14,000,000). Some of the Deccani princes increased the revenue to 37,525,350 *tankahs*. In the time of Sultān Murād a further

* But only 13 Sarkars are named in the detailed statement given in the following pages.

[1] This makes 16 *dāms* to the *tankah*. In the revenue statement of Khandesh, the *tankah* is reckoned at 40 *dāms*. That of Gujerāt = two-fifths of a *dām* or 100 to the rupee of 40 *dāms*. Bayley *Hist. of Gujerāt*, p. 6. If Prince Murād's increase be added to that of the Deccani princes, the total gives 40,162,804 *tankahs*. This sum multiplied by 16 results in 642,604,864 *dāms*. As 40 Akbari *dāms* are equivalent to a rupee, the above total represents 16,065,121 rupees. Under Akbar, according to the I. G. the land tax of Berār was Rs. 17,376,117. Under Shāh Jahan, Rs. 13,750,000, and under Aurangzeb, 15,350,625, but the latter amount, taken by Mr. E. Thomas from Manucci, is given by Tieffenthaler from the same authority as 10,587,500. See his dissertation on the apparent inaccuracies of calculation in the registers of the empire and their cause. Vol. I, p. 65.

addition of 2,637,454 Berāri *tankahs* was made. The total amounted to 40,162,704 Berāri *tankahs*. The original amount and the additional increase were thus tabulated, the whole reaching the amount of 642,603,272 Delhi *dāms*.

Eight *parganahs* of the *Sārkar* of *Kallam* (Kalamb) were annexed to *Chāndā*, the revenue of which is not included, nor those of 22 *parganahs* of the *Sarkār* of *Kherla*, held by Chātwā (Jātibā) and some few other *Zamindārs*.

Sarkār of Gāwil.

Containing 46 *parganahs*. Revenue 134,666,140 *dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 12,874,048 *dāms*.

	Revenue D	Suyurghāl D		Revenue D	Suyurghāl D
Snb. dis. of Ellichpur, has a fort of stone and brick on the plain ..	14,000 000	2,800,000	Thugāon	5,600,000	...
Ashti	4,800,000	...	Chakhli, (Banjārās) and Gonds, 400 Cav. 2,500 Inf.) ..	2,400,000	...
Aron	3 200 000	...	Daryāpur	6,400 000	...
Anji	1,600 000	...	Dhāmori	2,718,540	1.116,540
Anjangāon	3,200,000	...	Ridhpur	6,400,000	...
Karyāt Bāhil ..	604,000	...	Sarasgāon	5,296,000	496,000
,, Bāri ..	114,368	82,368	Qasbah Serālā ..	1,835 390	1,015,390
Bhādkali	3 200 000	...	Sarson	4,800,000	...
Basrauli	1,280 000	...	Sālor	340,000	...
Beāwadā	700,000	60,000	Karyāt Sherpur ..	48 000	...
Palaskher	960,000	...	Karhātha Kuram ..	2,400,000	...
Karyāt Pālā, (100 Cav., 2,000 Inf. Gonds)	800,000	...	Kholāpur	4,870,114	70,114
Baror	1,280,000	...	Kāranja, Badhonā, 2 mahals	4,800,000	...
Qasbah Baligāon ..	817,350	177,350	Karanjgāon, Qasbah Kherah, 2 mahals	523,200	...
,, Postah ..	814 416	594,460	Kumargāon ..	640 000	...
Radharāmani ..	4,825,300	1,625,300	Kāranja Bibi ..	4 200 000	1,400,000
Tivsā	800,000	...	Kurha	4,800 000	...
Maner	800,000	...	Mane	4,800,000	...
Mānjarkher ..	6,400,000	...	Nandgāon Pith ..		
Mālkher	480.000	...	Nandgāon	6,633,826	233,826
Manglor, (Mangrol)	2,800,000	...	Parganah Nir ..	3,220,000	...
Murjhi [Mojhri] ..	4,800,000	...	Hātgāon	3,200,000	1,600,000
				1,600,000	...

Sarkār of Panār.

Containing 5 *Parganas*. Revenue 13,440,000 *Dāms*.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Sub. dist. of Panār, has a lofty stone fort, surrounded on 3 sides by water ...	4,000,000	Kheljhari, 100 horsemen, 400 foot, Rājput	2,400.000
Sewanbārhā, Kānt Barhā ...	640,000	Māndgāon Karar, 25 horse, 400 foot, Rājput [=Nandgaon Qazi of map]	4,800,000
Shelu, 10 horsemen, 400 foot	1,600,000		

Sarkār of Kherla.

Containing 35 *Parganahs.* Revenue 17,600,000 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Atner, has a stone fort on the plain. Rājput, 100 horse, 2,000 foot ...	3,200,000	Suburb. dist. of Kherla, Rājput, Lohāri, Gond, 50 horse, 2,000 foot ...	3,200,000
Āshta	160,000	Sātner, Atner, 2 mahals, Gond, 100 horse, 2,000 foot	1,600,000
Patan	1,200,000	Sāinkherah	2,000,000
Bhesdahi, Rājput, 100 horse, 2,000 foot	1,600,000	Qasbah Jaror	480,000
Baror, Chandji Māli (?) 20 horse, 500 foot	2,800,000	Mundāvi, Brahman, Gond, 10 horse, 100 foot ...	480,000
Bāsad, (Māsod), Brahman, Gond, 10 horse, 100 foot ...	480,000	Multāi	
Pauni, Rājput, 40 horse, 500 foot	400,000	Durgah	
		Nārangwari [?Maramjhiri]	
		Mālābil	
Māloi		Bāri	
Mangah		Wāigāon	
Sewah		Deo thānah	
Jāmkher		Bāri	
Belwali		Saloi	
Sirāi		Rāmjok	
Chakhli		Janābak [?Halbatak] ...	
Khāwar [?Kenaur] ...		Jomār [?Chopar] ...	
Wāldah		Habiyāpur	

Sarkār of Narnāla.

Containing 34 *Parganas.* Revenue 130,954,476 *Dāms.* *Suyurghāl* 11,038,422 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D	Suyurghāl D		Revenue D	Suyurghāl D
Ankot	6,470,066	70,066	Dhāror	1,200,000	...
Ādgāon, Dogar, Gond, 50 horse, 2,000 foot ..	8,000,000	...	Dhendā	5,600,000	...
			Rohankher ..	2,000,000	...
Amner and Jalpi, 2 mahals	4,800,000	...	Rājor	1,000,000	520,000
Angolah	11,200 000	...	Sheolā	640,000	...
Bālapur	22 000,000	3,300,000	Sherpur	48,000	...
Panjer	2,000,000	...	Karankher	2,400,000	800,040
Bārsi Tānkli ..	2,864,000	...	Kothal	1,409,000	209,000
Pigalgāon	2,400,000	...	Kothil	640,000	...
Pātar Shaikh Bābu	3,700 000	500 000	Mangāon	4,800,000	...
Qasbah Bārigāon ..	1,600,300	640 000	Mahen	600,000	280,000
Pātarra	3,342,500	1,262 500	Malkāpur	11,200,000	...
Bānbalar	1,568,000	668 000	Melgarh, (from proceeds of road tolls or safe-conduct passports) ..	94,360	...
Badner Bhuli ..	2,764,450	364,452			
Badner Kāuka ..	4,813 700	13 80(	Karyāt Rājor ..	400,000	170,856
Jalgāon	10,000,000	2,000,000	Nādura, (Naudura)	1,200 000	...
Jaipur ..	400 000	...	Qasbah Hatgāon ..	1,600,000	800,000
Chāndor	4,887,000	87,000			

Sarkār of Kallam (Kalamb).

Containing 31 *Parganahs.* Revenue 32,828,000 *Dāms* in money..

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Indori [Undri]	1,200,000	Qasba Kallam	800,000
Amrāoti	1,200,000	Kelāpur	1,200,000
I'ni [Anjni] ...	1,600,000	Lādkher	1,600,000
Punah [? Pusda] ...	3,600,000	Nāigāon	960,000
Sori	1,200,000	Nachangāon	640,000
Belur	2,800,000	Yunt Lohārā [? Noni L.)]	128,000
Tālegāon	100,000	Barkhonda or Tark Chanda (in the possession of a *Zamindār*)	
Talegaon, Waigāon ...	4,800,000		
Dungar	1,600,000		
Rālegāon	200,000	Malbori	
Sālod	3,200,000	Chandur	
Kurha	960,000	Lahubāti [? Lohagarh] ...	

Sarkār of Bāsim.

Containing 8 *Parganahs.* Revenue 32,625,250 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 1,825,250.

	Revenue D	Suyurghāl D		Revenue D	Suyurghāl D
Aunda	4,864,000	64,000	Chār Thāna ..	4,800 000	1,800,000
Suburb. dist. of Bāsim, Rājput, 100 horse, 1,000 foot ..	8,161,250	161,250	Kalambuh Nāri ..	3 200,000	
			Karari and Bāmni ..	1,200,000	
			Manglur	3,200 000	
Bāthi [Pathri] ..	2,400,000	...	Narsi	4,800,000	

Sarkār of Māhur.

Containing 20 *Parganahs.* Revenue 42,885,444 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 97,844 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Ausim	960,000	Pusad	4,000,000
Amar Khor	6,400,000	Tāmsā	2,177,844
Chikni	3,200,000	Seoli	64,000
Chincholi	2,400,000	Giroli	3,200,000
Suburb. dist. of Māhur, with Qusbah, of Surah, *Suyurghāl* 97,844	3,680,000	Khanot	1,300,000
		Kurath [Korandh] ...	480,000
Dhārwah	2,400,000	Metti [Mantha] ...	2,400,000
Dhāki [Dhamni] ...	320,000	Mahāgāon ...	1,600,000
Shevāli	2,400,000	Nānāpur ...	2,000,000
		Hald Badhenā ...	

Sarkār of Manikdrug.

Containing 8 *Parganahs.* Revenue 1½,400,000 *Dāms* in money.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Papal	... 3,400,000	Rājor	... 2,400,000
Bhān	... 2,000,000	Karath	... 2,000,000
Chāndor	... 2,400,000	Nair	... 1,600,000
Jāir [? Jaora] ..	... 1,600,000		

Sarkār of Pāthri.

Containing 18 *Parganahs.* Revenue 80,805,954 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 11,580,954 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D	Suyurghāl D		Revenue D	Suyurghāl D
Ardhāpur	1,600,000	...	Jahri [Jherree] ..	1,600,000	400,000
Suburban district of Pathri	25,114,746	5,014,746	Shevli	2,000,000	1,200,000
Parbani	8,000,000	...	Kosri	3,200 000	...
Pānchalgāon ..	2,000,000	...	Lohgāon	4,800,000	1,600,000
Bolhor [Valur] ..	2,400,000	...	Makat Mādhikher ..	2,400,000	...
Basmat	11,200,000	...	Mātargāon [? Māne-gaon]	400,000	100,000
Bārad	160,000	...	Nander	6,871,200	471,200
Tākli	640,000	...	Wasā	400,000	...
Jintor	3,000,000	1,200,000	Hātā	1,200,000	240,000

Sarkār of Telingāna.

Containing 19 *Parganahs.* Revenue 71,904,000 *Dāms* in money. Suyurghāl 6,600,000 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Indur	... 4,800,000	Qaryāt Khudāwand Khān	... 640,000
Ullah	... 800,000	Dhakwār [? Degaur]	... 96
Bodhan, *Suyurghāl* 4,400,000	8,000,000	Rājor, *Suyurghāl* 800,000	... 1,600,000
Bāsar, *Suyurghāl* 400,000	... 1,600,000	Kotgir, *Suyurghāl* 1,000,000	2,200,000
Bhoisa	... 6,400,000	Kharki	... 6,400,000
Bilkonda	... 6,400,000	Kosambet	... 800,000
Bimgal [Potangal]	... 2,400,000	Luhgāon	... 11,200,000
Bānorā [Banauli] ...	... 3,200,000	Mudhol	... 6,400,000
Bhukar	... 1,600,000	Nirmal	... 6,400,000
Tamburni	... 1,600,000		

Sarkār of Ramgarh [= Rāmgir]

Containing 5 *Parganahs.* Revenue 9,600,000 *Dāms* in money.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Bel Arab	800,000	Khandvesh [? Khandār]	... 2,240,000
Subah. dist. of Rāmgir	... 2,560,000	Mal Marg	... 800,000
Chinur	... 3,200,000		

Sarkār of Mehkar

Containing 4 *Parganahs*. Revenue 45,178,000 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 376,000 *Dāms*.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Suburban district of Mehkar, 7 divisions	2,560,000	Dewalgāon	5,000,000
Tamurni [? Samarni] ...	7,200,000	Sakkar Kherla, *Suyurghāl* 376,000	6,770,000

Sarkār of Baithalwādi.

Containing 9 *Parganahs*. Revenue 19,120,000 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 4,800,000 *Dāms*.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Undangāon	400,000	Dahād [=Dhār] ...	4,800,000
Anāwān [Anva] ...	40,000	Dhāwer [=Dhāora] ...	2,600,000
Baithal-wādi	1,200,000	Seoni	640,000
Chāndor [=Chāndol] ...	1,280,000	Sānolad Bārah [? Shilod Barud]	1,600,000
Chikhli	2,000,000		

This province was dependent on the ruler of the Deccan. During the reign of Sultān Mahmud, five *Sardārs* rebelled and kept him under restraint, and the sovereignty was assumed by Fath-ullah who had held the office of Imād-ul-Mulk.[1] He ruled but four years. At his death,

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[1] Imād-ul-Mulk one of the oldest of the Bahmani ministers had been appointed to the government of Berār by Muhammad Shāh II of the Bahmani dynasty (A.D. 1463—1482) under the advice of his prime minister Mahmud Gawan, to whom this dynasty owed its splendour, and which perished at his death. Mahmud II (A.D. 1482—1518) for a period of 37 years was content with the nominal sovereignty leaving the real power in the hands of Qasim Barid and his son Amir, the founder of the Barid Shāhi dynasty of Ahmadābād. The Bahmani kingdom was now broken up into five independent sovereignties, viz., the Barid Shāhi, the Adil Shāhi of Bijāpur, the Nizām Shāhi of Ahmadnagar, the Qutb Shāhi of Golconda and the Imād Shāhi of Berār. Imād-ul-Mulk, in the general anarchy seized the government which had been entrusted to him and declared his independence in A.D. 1484. The succession is thus given in the U. T.

1484. Fath u'l lah Bahmani, governor of Berār, became independent.
——. Alā u'd din, Imād Shāh, fixed his capital at Gāwel.
1528. Darya Imād Shāh, married his daughter to Hasan Nizām Shāh.
——. Burhān Imād Shāh, deposed by his ministers.
1568. Tufal, whose usurpation was opposed from Ahmadnagar and family of Imād Shāh and Tufāl was extinguished. In the appendix to Elphinstone's Hist of India, (Edit. Cowell. 1866) the dates are as follows :—

	A.D.
Fatah Ullah ...	1484
Alā u'd din ...	1504
Derya (about) ...	1529
Burhān (perhaps) ...	1560

During the minority of Burhān, his prime minister, Tufāl usurped the government and the State merged in that of Ahmadnagar in A.D. 1572.

his son Alā-ud-din, took the same title and reigned 40 years. His son Daryā Khān succeeded, and enjoyed the government for 15 years. After him, his son, Burhān, a minor, was raised to the throne, but the nobles perfidiously usurped the administration, till Murtaza Nizām-ul-Mulk conquered and annexed the country to Ahmadnagar.

It is situated in the second climate. Its length from *Burhānpur* to Jagat [*i.e.*, Dwārkā in Kathiawar] is 302 *kos;* its breadth from *Jālor* to the port of *Daman* 260 *kos*, and from *Idar* to *Kambhāyat* (Cambay) 70 *kos*. On the east lies *Khāndes;* to the north *Jālor* and *Idar;* to the south, the ports of *Daman* and *Kambhāyat*, and on the west, *Jagat* which is on the seashore. Mountains rise towards the south. It is watered by noble rivers. Besides the ocean, there are the *Sābarmatti* (Savarnamati), the *Bātrak*, the *Mahendri*, the *Narbadah*, the *Tapti*, the *Saraswati*, and two springs called *Ganga* and *Jamna*. The climate is temperate and the sandy character of the soil prevents it from turning into mud in the rainy season. The staple crops are *Jowāri*, and *Bājra*, which form the principal food of the people. The spring harvest is inconsiderable. Wheat and some food grains are imported from *Mālwa* and *Ajmer*, and rice from the Deccan. Assessment is chiefly by valuation of crops, survey being seldom resorted to. The prickly pear is planted round fields and about gardens and makes a goodly fence, for this reason the country is difficult to traverse. From the numerous groves of mango and other trees it may be said to resemble a garden. From *Pattan*[1] to *Baroda* which is a distance of a 100 *kos*, groves of mango yield ripe and sweet fruit. Some kinds are sweet even when unripe. Fine figs grow here and musk-melons are delicious in flavour both in summer and winter, and are abundant during two months in both seasons. The grapes are only moderate in quantity: flowers and fruit in great plenty. From the thick growth of forest sport is not satisfactory. Leopards[2] abound in the wilds.

The roofs of houses are usually of tiles and the walls of burnt brick and lime. Some prudently prepare the foundations of stone, and of considerable breadth, while the walls have hollow spaces between, to which they have secret access. The usual vehicles are two-wheeled drawn by two oxen. Painters, seal-engravers and other handicraftsmen

[1] I. G. Anhilwāra Pattan, lat. 23° 51′ 30″ N., long. 72° 10′ 30″ E. on the Saraswati, one of the oldest and most renowned towns of Gujarāt.

[2] The term *yuz* is employed in *Ain* 27 and 28 Vol. I, (Book II) for leopards generally including the hunting leopard, (P. Jubata), being used indifferently with the common name for the latter, *chitā*.

are countless. They inlay mother-o'-pearl with great skill and make beautiful boxes and inkstands. Stuffs worked with gold thread and of the kinds *Chirah*, *Fotah*,[1] *Jāmahwār*, *Khārā*, and velvets and brocades are here skilfully manufactured. Imitations of stuffs from Turkey, Europe, and Persia are also produced. They make likewise excellent swords and daggers of the kinds *Jamdhar*[2] and *Khapwah*, and bows and arrows. There is a brisk trade in jewelry and silver is imported from Turkey and Irāq.

At first *Pattan*[3] was the capital of the province, next *Champāner* and at the present day, *Ahmadābād*. The latter is a noble city in a high state of prosperity, situated on the banks of the *Sābarmatti*. It lies in latitude 25°.[4] For the pleasantness of its climate and its display of the choicest productions of the whole globe it is almost unrivalled. It has two forts, outside of which are 360 quarters of a special kind which they call *Pura*,[5] in each of which all the requisites of a city are to be found. At the present time only 84 of these are flourishing. The city contains 1,000 stone mosques, each having two minarets and rare inscriptions. In the *Rasulābād Pura* is the tomb of *Shāh Ālam Bokhāri*. *Batwah*[6] is a village 8 *kos* from

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[1] See p. 52, (note 2) Vol. II, Book III, and pp. 93—95 of Vol. I, B. I. *Chirah* is a parti-coloured cloth used for turbans. *Jāmawār*, is a kind of flowered woollen stuff, well known, *Khārā* an undulated silk cloth.

[2] See p. 110, Vol. I, Book I.

[3] Of successive dynasties of Rājput kings from 746 to 1194 A.D. *Champāner* was taken by Mahmud (Bigārah) of Ahmadābād after a siege, it is said, of 12 years and was made his capital and continued to be that of the Gujarāt kings till about 1560 A.D. I. G.

[4] Lat. 23° 1′ 45″ N., long. 72° 39′ 30″ E. The Emperor Aurangzeb had a different opinion of its climate and called it among other abusive epithets, Jahannumābād or the Abode of Hell. See Bayley, p. 91.

[5] A quarter or ward of a town, having its own gateway. The I. G. has *pol* and describes it as a block of houses varying in size from small courts of 5 or 10, to large quarters of the city containing as many as 10,000 inhabitants. The larger blocks are generally crossed by one main street with a gate at each end and subdivided into smaller blocks each with its separate gate branching off from the chief thoroughfare.

[6] The text has *Patwah*, the variant *Batwah* being relegated to the notes, but the best authorities concur in the latter reading. For Qutb-i-Ālam, see Bayley, p. 128, and Briggs' Cities of Gujarashtra, p. 292. Regarding the lithoxyle over the tomb, Briggs writes that one of the legends given him concerning it is that Qutb-i-Ālam on a journey to his masjid tripped against a stone and picking it up, said, "Can this be stone, wood or iron?" and the combination ensued. A visitor who had preceded Briggs on a visit to this place wrote to him as follows: "The size mentioned by Abul Fazl is correct. The stone is not now on the sepulchre but deposited in the chief Said's house. Great reverence is paid to it and on such occasions as visitors desire to see it, it is produced under a covering of brocade. It appears to be petrified wood, the barky part gives it the appearance of iron oxydised; that portion where it has been chipped by the hand of Akber when he visited Batwa (according

Ahmadābād where are the tombs of *Quṭb-i-Aālam* father of *Shāh Aālam*, and of other eminent personages. In the vicinity are fine gardens. Over the tomb is suspended a covering of about the measure of a cubit, partly of wood, partly of stone and a part also of iron, regarding which they relate wonderful stories. At a distance of three *kos* is the village of *Sarkhech* (Sarkhej) where repose *Shaikh Ahmad Khattu*,[1] *Sulṭān Ahmad* after whom *Ahmadābād* is named, and many other princes. Indigo of good quality is here grown and exported to Turkey and other countries.

Twelve *kos* from Ahmadābād is *Mahmudābād* a city founded by *Sultan Mahmud*, in which are beautiful buildings extending to an area of 4 *kos* square. The whole is surrounded by a wall and at every half *kos* is a pleasure house and a preserve in which deer and other kinds of game are at large.

The chief of *Idar* is a *Zamindār* named *Narāin Dās*, and of such austere life that he first feeds his cattle with corn and then picks up the grains from their dung and makes this his food, a sustenance held in much esteem by the Brāhmans. He is regarded as the head of the *Rāthor* tribe and has a following of 500 horse and 10,000 foot.

The ports of *Ghoga* and *Kambhāyat* (*Cambay*) are included in this (Gogo) *Sarkār*. The latter is a large city where merchants of divers kinds reside and wherein are fine buildings and much merchandise. Vessels sail from and trade to *Ghogah*. The cargoes are put into small ships called *Ṭawari* which transport them to *Kambhāyat*.

In *Kari* are fine oxen, a pair being worth 300 rupees, and according to their shapeliness, strength and speed fetching even a larger price.

Jhālāwār was formerly a separate principality containing 1,200 villages. Its length is 70 *kos* and its breadth 40. It furnished 10,000 horse and the same number of infantry. Now it possesses but 2,000 horse and 3,000 foot. Its ruler was subject to the king of Gujarāt. It formed four divisions, the inhabitants mostly of the *Jhāla* tribe of Rājputs.

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to the Abbot of the community shews the fibre or vein of the wood; and upon the opposite side, where it seems to have been ground crosswise, it bears the appearance of stone."!

[1] See Bayley's *Hist. of Gujarāt*, pp. 90 and 130. A description of these mausoleums will be found in Messrs. Hope and Fergusson's *"Architecture of Ahmedabād."* London Murray, 1866. Khattu is one of the towns in the Sarkār of Nāgor. Cf. Brigg's *Cities of Gujarashtra*, p. 278.

At the present day it is accounted a *Pargana* of Ahmadābād, and its villages and districts are summarized in the following table.

Great Jhālāwār contains *Birāmgāon* residence of the chief, *Halod, Wadhwān, Koha, Daran Gadra, Bijānā, Pātri* which has a salt-pit, *Sahālā, Baroda, Jhinjhuwārā, Sanjān,* (? Sanand), *Dhulhar, Mandal.*

Parganahs of *Machhukhantā* contain *Morbi, Rāmpur, Tankārā, Khanjariā, Malia, Kazor,* in the vicinity of which pearls are found, *Dhansar, Amrol* (Amreli).

Parganahs of Jāmbuji contain Jāmbu, Limri, Siāni.

Parganahs of *Chaubisi,* chief seat of the *Parmār* tribe contain *Morbi,* with 36 villages and *Chotilā* with 55 villages. Now *Morbi* with 7 districts is included in *Sorath.*

Pattan has two forts, one of stone and one of brick. It lies in long. 117° 10′, lat. 23° 30′. It produces fine oxen that will travel 50 *kos* in half a day. Good cotton cloths are here woven and are taken to distant parts as gifts of value.

Sidhpur is a town on the Sarsuti and a great place of pilgrimage.

Barnagar [Vadnagar] is a large and ancient city and containing 3,000 pagodas, near each of which is a tank; it is chiefly inhabited by Brāhmans.

Chāmpāner is a finely situated fort on a crag of great height[1]; the approach to it for two *kos* and a half is extremely difficult. Gates have been posted at intervals. At one place a cutting about 60 yards long has been made across which planks are laid which can be removed when necessity arises. Fine fruits abound.

Surat is a celebrated port. The river *Tapti* runs by it and at a distance of 7 *kos* thence, falls into the sea.

Rānder on the opposite side of the *Tapti* is a port dependent on *Surat;* it was formerly a large city. The ports of *Khandewi* and *Balsār* also are a part of the Surat division. Numerous fruits abound especially the pine apple, and oils of all kinds and rare perfumes are obtainable. The followers of Zoroaster coming from Persia, settled here. They follow the teaching of the Zend and the Pāzend, and erect funeral structures. Thus through the wide tolerance of His Majesty every sect enjoys freedom. Through the negligence of the ministers of state and the commanders of the frontier pro-

[1] Tieffenthaler states that the fortress on the summit of the hill is called *Panagarh* and the town at its foot Chāmpāner.

vinces, many of these *Sarkārs* are in the possession of European nations, such as *Daman, Sanjān,*[1] *Tārāpur, Māhim* and *Base* (Bassein) that are both cities and ports.

Bharoj (Broach) has a fine fort. The *Narbada* flows past it in its course to the ocean. It is accounted a maritime town of first rate importance, and the ports of *Kāwi, Ghandhār, Bhābhut and Bhankorā* [Bhakora] are its dependencies.

Near the town of *Hānsot* is a game preserve 8 *kos* in length by 4 in breadth, full of deer and other animals. The cover is rich and fresh with verdure, being situated on the banks of the *Narbada* and is perfectly level.

The *Sarkār* of *Sorath*[2] was an independent territory; having a force of 50,000 cavalry and 100,000 infantry, the ruling tribe being *Ghelot*. Its length from the port of *Ghogo* (Gogo) to that of *Arāmdāe*[3] is 125 *kos;* its breadth from *Sardhar* (? *Sadra,* n. of Ahmadabad) to the seaport of *Diu,* 72 kos. On the east it is bounded by *Ahmadābād;* on the north by the State of Kachh (Cutch); on the south and west by the (Indian) Ocean. Its climate is healthy, its fruits and flowers numerous and grapes and melons grow here. This territory is divided into 9 districts each inhabited by a different tribe, as follows :—

Parganahs of new Sorath.

Junahgarh with suburban district, *Sultānpur, Barwa* [Bantva], *Hānsāwar, Chaura Rāmpur, Kandolnā, Hast Jati, Und, Bagsarā, Mahandrā* [Mandurda], *Bhāntror* [Ghantwar], and others.

Parganahs of old Sorath, called Nāghar.

Pattan Somnāth, Aunah, Delwārah, Manglor, Korinār, Mul Mahādeo, Chorwār, Diu, &c.

Parganahs of Gohelwārah.

Lāthi, Luliyānah, Bhimpur, Jasdhom, Mānawi, Birāi, Sehor.

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[1] A small village in Thānā (Tanna) Dist., where the Parsis first landed in India, known to the Portuguese and long after their time as St. John. I. G.

[2] The old name for Kāthiawār, or Saurāshtra and Prakritised in that of Sorath which is to this day the name of a large district 100 miles in length in the south-west.

[3] *Aramda,* near port Okha, n. of Jagat Dwarka.

Parganahs of Wālā.

Mahwah, Talājā, Pālitānah, &c.

Parganahs of Bādhelah.

Jagat (called Dwārkā), *Arāmdāe, Dhārhi* (? Sankudhār).

Parganahs of Barrā. (Berda ?)

Barrā, Gumli, &c.

Parganahs of the Bāghela[1] *tribe.*

Sordhār, Gondal, Rāyet, Dhānak, &c.
Parganahs of the Wāji in the uncultivated tracts.
Jhānjhmer.

Parganahs of the Timbel tribe.

Not assigned in any of the MSS.

The first district known as New *Sorath* had remained unexplored on account of the impenetrable nature of the forests and the intricate windings of the mountains. A recluse by chance found his way into it and through him a knowledge of it was gained. Here is the celebrated stone fortress of *Junahgarh* which Sultān Māhmud,[2] I, captured by force of arms and at the foot of it built another fort of stone. At a distance of 8 *kos* is the fort of *Osam* on the summit of a hill; it has now fallen into decay, but is worthy of restoration. There is also another stronghold on the summit of the hill of *Girnār* in which are many springs, a place of worship of the *Jains*. Adjacent is the port of *Kondi Kolidyā,*[3] which derives its name from two villages at a distance of one *kos* from it. In the rear of *Junahgarh* is an island called *Siālkokah* 4 kos in length by 4 in breadth,

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[1] The I. G. (I. 550) calls this clan Wāghelā tribe of Rājputs, a remnant of the Solānki race who fled from Anhilwārah when that kingdom was destroyed by Alā u'd dīn in A.D. 1297.

[2] Bigarah of Gujarāt. One derivation of this name is its supposed meaning of two forts (garh) because Mahmud's army conquered on one day Chāmpāner and Junahgarh, Vol. I, p. 506, n. According to T. Junahgarh signifies the ancient fort, because it was long concealed in the dense forest and discovered by a wood cutter. The legend runs that 1500 years elapsed from its discovery to the time of Māndalik from whom Mahmud wrested the fortress. See Bayley's Hist. of Gujarāt, pp. 161—182, for the derivation of the name.

[3] P'ar. and G. Koudi or Gondilakiyāt. [Can it be *Kodinar*?]

adjacent to which is a forest, 3 *kos* square, where wild fruits grow and where there is a settlement of *Kolis*. This tract is called *Gir*. Near the village of *Tunkagosha*,[1] the river *Bhādar* falls into the ocean. Its fish are so delicate that they melt when exposed to the sun. Good camels are here obtainable and a breed of horses somewhat larger than the Gunth.

In the second district is *Pattan*, a city on the seashore possessing a stone fort. This they call *Pattan Somnāth*. It is both a capacious harbour and a town having nine[2] stone towers on the plain, within an area of three *kos* on the seashore. Good swords are made here, there being a well in the vicinity the water of which gives them a keen edge.

The ports of *Manglor*,[3] *Diu*, *Purbandar*, *Korinār*, *Ahmadpur* and *Muzaffarābād* are about this coast. A spring of the Sarsuti (Saraswati[4]) rises near *Somnāth*. The Brahmanical shrines are numerous, but among these *Somnāth*, *Parānchi*, and *Korinār* are accounted among the most sacred. Between the rivers *Haran* and *Sarsuti* about 4,000 years ago, 560,000,000 of the *Yadu* race while engaged in sport and merriment, fell to fighting and all of them perished in that field of death, and wonderful are the legends that they relate. Two and a half *kos* from *Pattan Somnāth* is *Bhāl ka Tirth*[5] (or the shrine of the Arrow). In this place an arrow struck Sri Kishn and buried itself under

[1] A note says *Tunkragosā*, in the maps. There are two rivers of the name of Bhādar; one rises in the Māndav hills and flowing S. W. falls into the sea at Nawi-Bandar after a course of 115 miles. Another from the same hills, flowing E. falls into the Gulf of Cambay. The Kolis are a predatory tribe and their distribution is not confined to a single province. They were spread over the country between Cambay and Ahmadābād and the well-wooded country afforded them a refuge from attack.

[2] Gladwin has turned these words into a name which mistranslation I notice as it has been adopted by Count von Noer in his monograph on Akbar, p. 98. (Mrs. Beveridge's Trans.). The Diwān of Junagarh, Haridās Viharidās, has courteously given me the benefit of his local knowledge. The new temple and the ruins of the old are within the fort which was inhabited chiefly by the attendants of the shrine, the population living in the environs forming the town. Pattan is said to have had three walls and hence named *Trigadhi*. The length of the present walls covers nearly two miles. The fort had or has 10 towers or bastions of which 8 are existing and two are in ruins.

[3] The I. G. gives Mangrol. The text unites Diu and Purbandar (elsewhere Porbandar) in one name, as Somnāth is called Deo Pattan, but it is probable that the port of Diu was intended by Abul Fazl.

[4] The river rises in Mount Abu and enters the Runn of Cutch, though a part of its course near Sidhpur and Patan towns, is said to be subterraneen.

[5] Apparently the *Bhāt Kund* of the I. G. Yudhisthira after the slaughter of the 56 tribes of the Yadu race in the field of Kurukshetra and the death of Duryodhana, in grief at the loss of so many kinsmen, placed Parikshita on the throne of Indraprastha, and retired with Krishna and Baldeo to Dwarka. They were attacked by the Bhils and Krishna was slain. Baldeo founded the city of Patalibotra or Patna.

a *pipal* tree on the banks of the *Sarsuti*. This they call *Pipal sir*, and both these spots are held in great veneration. An extraordinary event occurs at the town of *Mul Mahādeo* where there is a temple dedicated to Siva. Every year on a certain day before the rainy season, a bird called *Mukh*[1] appears. It is somewhat smaller than a pigeon, with a coarser beak and pied in colour. It alights on the temple, disports itself for a while, and then rolls over and dies. On this day, the people of the city assemble and burn various kinds of perfume and from the proportions of black and white in the plumage of the bird, they calculate the extent of the coming rainfall, the black portending rain, the white, drought. In this tract, there are three crops of *jowar* annually. At *Unah* there are two reservoirs, one of which is called *Jamna*, the other *Ganga*. The water bubbles up and forms a stream and the fish of these two springs have three eyes, the third eye being in the forehead.

Between *Manglor* and *Chārāwār* is a tract into which the sea enters. On a certain day of the year the water is sweet. It is related that in ancient times a certain person was in need of Ganges water. A recluse made a sign to the expanse and sweet water came forth. Ever since, upon that day this wonder is repeated to the astonishment of all.

In both of these districts the *Ghelat* tribe of Rājputs prevail and the ruling power in this country is in their hands. At the present time the force (of the first district) consists of 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot. There is also a settlement of Ahirs called *Bābriyas*.[2] The force (of the second district) is 2,000 horse and 3,000 foot.

In the third district at the foot of the *Satrunjah* (Satrunjaya) hill,[3] is a large fort and on its summit, the fort of *Pālithānah*. Though in ruins, it deserves restoration. It is in great veneration with the *Jains*. The port of *Ghoga* (Gogo) is a dependency of this district. The island of *Birum* (Perim) was formerly the residence of the governor; it is 9 *kos* square and is a low rocky island in

[1] Or *Jākh*. In a work called *Haqiqat-i-Hindustān*, the word is *Sakh* or *Sukh*. See Bayley, p. 197, who records this event and places it in the village of Madhopur.

[2] The name of one of the old territorial *prants* or districts into which Kāthiawār was divided, was called Bābriawār, a hilly tract on the S.E.

[3] The hill is sacred to Adināth the deified priest of the Jains. The description of Pālitāna in the I. G. taken from Mr. Burgess' "Notes of a visit to Satrunjaya Hill," gives an interesting sketch of this temple hill. Perim (the Barnes of the *Periplus*) is in the Gulf of Cambay, 8 miles S. of Gogo.

the midst of the sea. The *Zamindār* is of the *Gohel*[1] tribe. This district possesses 2,000 horse and 4,000 foot.

In the fourth district, are the ports of *Mohwah* and *Talājā*, inhabited by the *Wali* clan. The local force consists of 300 men and 500 foot.

In the fifth district is *Jagat*, called also *Dwārkā*. *Sri Krishna* came hither from Mathura (Muttra) and here died. It is a great Brahmanical place of worship. The island of *Sankudhār* [Bait] 4 *kos* square is reckoned within this district. Near *Arāmdāe* is an island 70 *kos* in length and breadth. An area of half a *kos* of this land is for the most part stony and if an excavation is made salt-water pours in on all sides. *Malik Ayāz*[2] *Khās Khel*, of Sultān Mahmud I of Gujerāt, had, one-fourth of it dug up. The port of *Arāmdāe* is superior to most of its class. The inhabitants are of the *Bādhel* tribe. It musters 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot.

In the sixth district *Barra*,[3] the country is so hilly, the forests so impenetrable and the defiles so extensive that it is impassable for troops. The *Jaitwah* clan inhabit it. It furnishes 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot.

In the seventh district are the *Baghelahs*. It furnishes 200 horse and the same number of foot. The *Kāthis*[4] are numerous in this tract; they are of the *Ahir* caste and are skilful in the management of horses. The military force is 6,000 cavalry and 6,000 infantry. They are said by some to be of Arabian origin. Cunning but hospitable, they will eat of the food of people of every caste, and are a handsome race. When any *Jagirdar* comes amongst them they make it a condition that there shall be no account

[1] The Gohels came from the north in the 13th century, and retreating before the tide of Muhammadan conquest conquered for themselves new seats in the decadence of Anhilwāra. They are now in E. Kāthiawār.

[2] See Bayley's Hist. of Gujarāt, p. 233 et seq. Khās Khel represents the position of a royal equerry combined with high command. Ferishta calls him the *ghulām-i-khās* or confidential attendant of Mahmud. He was premier noble (Amir u'l Umarā) and commander in chief of the army, fought and defeated the Portuguese fleet at Chaul and sank the admiral's flagship valued at a *kror* of rupees. (A.H. 913—A.D. 1507).

[3] I have no doubt that this is Barda (or Jaitwār) of the I. G.; a division of Kāthiawār lying between 21° 11′ and 21° 57′ N. lat., and 69° 30′ and 70° 7′ E. long., bounded N. and N.-E. by Halār; E. by Sorath, and S.-W. by the Arabian Sea. The Barda hills are from 12 to 18 miles distant from the coast and formed a favourite refuge for outlaws.

[4] The name of Kāthiawār, was formerly given to a tract to the E. of the centre of the peninsula; from having been overrun by the Kāthis who entered from Cutch in the 13th and 14th centuries, it was extended to the whole country by the Mahrattas who had come into contact with them in their forays.

taken of the incontinence of any of their people. In the vicinity of the *Kāthis* on the banks of the river *Dondi*, there is a sept of *Ahirs* called *Porechas*. Their force is 3,000 horse and the same number of foot. They are perpetually at feud with the *Jāms*.[1]

In the eighth district Jhānjhmer is a maritime port. The *Wāji* tribe prevail. There are 200 horse and 2,000 foot.

In the ninth district is the Chāran tribe. Mahadeva formed a man from the sweat of his brow and gave him the charge of his own bull. He spoke in rhythmic sentences and sang the divine praises and revealed the past and the future. His descendants are known by his name. They chiefly recite panegyrics and genealogies and in battle chant deeds of valour and animate the warriors and some of them reveal future events. There are few of the nobles of Hindustān who have not some of these in their retinue. This district furnishes 500 horse and 4,000 foot. The tribe called *Bhāt* resemble this caste in their panegyrics, their powers, their battle-chants, and genealogical recitations, and although in some of these respects they surpass them yet the *Chārans* are better swordsmen. Some pretend that the *Chārans* were called into life by the mere volition of the divinity, and the *Bhāts* from *Mahādeva*.

Between *Jhālwāra* in the *Sarkār* of *Ahmadābād*, and *Pattan* and *Sorath* is a low-lying tract, 90 *kos* in length by 7 to 30 in breadth, called the *Ran*[2] (the Runn). Before the rainy season, the sea rises and covers this area and falls as the rains cease. A considerable part dries up and is covered with salt, the duties of which are collected in the *pargana* of *Jhālwāra*. *Ahmadābād* lies to the east of this tract. On the west is a large separate territory called *Kachchh* (Cutch) 250 *kos* in length by 100 *kos* in breadth. *Sind* lies to the

[1] The Jāreja Rājputs, to which branch the Rao of Cutch belongs, are descended from the Sammas (Samal) tribe and came originally from the north. They are said to have emigrated from Sind about the 13th century under the leadership of Jā Lākha, son of Jāra from whom the tribe derive their name. Till 1540 the Jāms ruled over Cutch in three branches. About that year Khengār succeeded in making himself head of the tribe and master of the province. His uncle Jām Rāwal fled to Kāthiawār and founded the present reigning house of Nawanagar, the rulers of which are still called Jāms. See Jām under the account of Sind.

[2] The word in Hindi signifies a waste or wilderness. There are two, the northern or larger Runn, 150 by 80 miles has an area of about 7,000 square miles. The eastern or smaller Runn, 70 miles from E. to W., covers an area of 2,000 square miles. Except a stray bird, a herd of wild asses, or an occasional caravan, no sign of life breaks the desert loneliness. *J. G.*

west of Cutch. The physical aspect of the country is barren and sandy. There is an excellent breed of horses believed to be of Arabian race, and there are good camels and goats. The chief of this country is of the *Yādu*[1] race and his tribe is now known as *Jārejas*. The military force of this clan is 10,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry. The men are handsome, tall in stature and wear long beards. The residence of the chief is *Bhuj*, which has two strong forts *Jhārah* and *Kantkot*. On the Gujarāt side towards the south is a *Zamindār* of note whom they call *Jām*, a relative of the ruler of the above-mentioned state. Sixty years ago, Jām Rāwal, after a war of two months, was driven out of the country, and settled in *Sorath* between the territories of the *Jaitwah*, *Bādel*, *Chāran*, and *Tumbel* tribes. He posssessed himself of other parts and founded the city of *Nawanagar* and his country received the name of *Little Cutch*. *Sattarsāl* the present Rājah, is his grandson. There are many towns and the agricultural area is extensive. The residence of the chief is at *Nawanagar* and his force consists of 7,000 cavalry and 8,000 infantry. The camels and goats are of good breeds. For a considerable period the prime ministers of these two states have been of the Muhammadan religion.

In the vicinity of *Morā* and *Mangrej* is a state called *Pāl*[2] through which runs the river *Mahendri* towards the Gujarāt side. It has a separate ruler who resides at *Dungarpur*. On the Mālwa side is Bānswāra and that too has a separate chief. Each of them has a force of 5,000 horse

[1] The lunar race established by the Scythian Budh, expanded into fifty-six branches and filled nearly the whole of northern India. Yadu 4th in descent from Budh gave his name to the royal line which closed in Krishna and Balrāma. While the solar race was confined to a narrow strip of land between the mountains and the Ganges, the Yadus had spread over the whole country. Yadu, says Elliot, (Races of the N.-W. P., Vol. I, 128) is the patronymic of all the descendants of Buddha, the ancestor of the Lunar race, of which the Bhatti and the Jāreja are now the most conspicuous, but the title of *Jādon* is now exclusively applied to that tribe which appears never to have strayed far from the limits of the ancient Suraseni, and we consequently find them in large numbers in that neighbourhood. The tract south of the Chambal called after them Yaduvati is in the possession of the Gwalior Mahrattas and the state of Kiranli on the Chambal is now their chief independent possession.

[2] *Pāk* in the text, with the emendation *Pāl* by the Editor. There are two of the name, one within Māhi Kānta on its N. E. frontier. The other one of the petty states in Hallār, Kathiawār. The former must here be meant, as Dungarpur lies in lat. 23° 52' N., long. 73° 49' E. It is now a separate native state. The early history of the ruling family is not known with certainty; they paid tribute to the Mughal Empire and did military service, and on the fall of the Empire became tributary to the Mahrattas. I. G. The name *Pāl* says Bayley, seems to have been given to a congeries of petty hill states of which the rulers were Hindus. They appear to have included Dungārpur, Bijanagar and others.

and 10,000 foot, and both are of the *Sisodia* clan. The rulers were of the Rānā's family, but for some time past it has been otherwise.

Adjoining the *Sarkār* of Pattan is a state, the chief town of which is *Sirohi* and which possesses a force of 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot. On the summit of a hill is the strong fortress of *Abugarh* (Mount *Ābu*) about which are 12 flourishing villages. Pasturage is plentiful.

There is also a territory having *Nandurbār* on the east, *Mandu* on the north, *Nandod* on the south and *Chāmpāner* on the west. Its length is 60 *kos*, and its breadth 40. The chief is a Chauhān and his residence is the town of *Āli Mohān*. Wild elephants are numerous. The force consists of 600 horse and 15,000 foot.

Between *Surat* and *Nandurbār* is a mountainous but flourishing tract called *Baglāna*, the chief of which is a *Rathor*, commanding 3,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry. Fine peaches, apples, grapes, pineapples, pomegranates, and oranges grow here. It possesses seven remarkable forts, among which are *Mulher*[1] and *Salher*.

Between the *Sarkārs* of Nandod and Nandurbār is a hilly district 60 *kos* in length by 40 in breadth, which the *Gohel* tribe of Rājputs inhabit. At the present day a Brāhman named *Tewāri* has the management of affairs, the titular Rajah being of no account. He resides at *Rājpipla* or *Khulu*, and has a force of 3,000 horse and 7,000 foot. The water of this tract is very unwholesome. Rice and honey of the finest quality are here produced.

This *Subah* embraces 9 *Sarkārs* and 198 *Parganahs*, of which 13 are ports. The revenue is 43 *krors*, 68 *lakhs*, 22,301 *dāms* (Rs. 10,920,557-8-0) and one *lakh*, 62,028¾ *Mahmudis*[2] as port dues.

The measured land (except Sorath which is paid in money by estimate) is 1 *kror*, 60 *lakhs*, 36,377 *bighas*, 3 *biswas*, out of which 4 *lakhs*, 20,274 *dāms* are *Suyurghāl*. The local force is 12,440 cavalry, and 61,100 infantry.

[1] Both these lie in the Navasari (Nosari) district of the Baroda territory, the latter in the S. E. corner. Songarh and Rupgarh are two other forts. The former 43 miles E. of Surat, and Rupgarh 10 miles S. of Songarh. The hills must refer to the Rājpipla range, there being no other in the whole territory.

[2] Mr. E. Thomas (*Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. III, 3rd series) quotes Sir T. Herbert as saying about 1676 A.D. "A mahmudi is twelve pence, a rupee two shillings and three pence." See Bayley's *History of Gujarāt*, p. 16. The relative value of coin varied according to time and locality. The Changezi Mahmudi is variously valued at half and two-thirds of a rupee and at half a crown, French money. *Ibid*, pp. 12 and 16.

Sarkār of Ahmadābād.

Containing 28 *Mahals*. 8,024,153 *Bighas*. Revenue 208,306,994 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 6,511,441 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 4,120. Infantry 20,500.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
City of Ahmadābād ...	...	15,000,073	144,680	100	300	
Suburb. dist. of Ahmadābād	370,087	23,999,371	4201,783	...	...	
Rurdhu Matar (*mis.* Arhar M.) on the river Baroli	145,384	9,662,753	160,938	100	200	Chauhān.
Ahmadnagar has a stone fort faced with *chunam*	54,370	1,770,912	50,774	500	5,000	Solanki.
Idar, [revenue by estimate of crops]	...	1,616,000	...	1000	5,000	Garāsiah[1]
Bahiel	375,675	6,968,920	...	100	200	Rājput.
Bārah Sewah [Bāla Sinor]	84,960	2,814,124	5,608	50	100	Bhodia Rājput, Lodiah.
Birpur [? Pithapur] has a stone fort on the Mahendri	173,385	1,778,300	...	300	600	Rājput, Kharbā and Bonah.
Paplod [Palod]	39,930	1,493,249	...	50	100	Rājput.
Parāntij	159,273	2,076,574	...	100	200	Ol.
Bandar Solah [?Bhadarwa] (revenue in money) ...	...	660,000	...	...	...	
Petlād	...	771,960	128,990	...	...	
Thāmanah [? Thawad] (rev. in money) ...	...	600,000	...	...	...	
Chhala-Babra, has a brick fort, somewhat dilapidated, saltpetre obtained here	43,283	34,903,220	232,680	200	10,000	Koli.
	579,877	4,825 392	5,627	50	200	Jhālāwār.
Dholqa, the Sābarmati flows adjacent	834,606	1,650,000	188,160	50	100	Ponwār.
Dhandhok, has a masonry fort of *chunam* ...	403,523	113077044[2]	...	500	4,000	Do.
Sirnāl	80,646	2,528,632	...	100	300	Garāsiah, Mehtar.
Kari	986,837	30,125,778[3]	394,963	300	1,000	Ol. etc.
Kambhāyat	336,813	22,147,986	160,406	100	200	Rājput, Bārah.
Kapadbhanj, a masonry fort of *chunam* ...	...	30,125,778	27,309	100	500	Koli.
Mandwa	...	22,147,978	391,320	50	500	Do.
Modāsa, has a brick fort	507,370	423,510	16,062	100	200	Do.
Mahmudābād, has a temple to Mahādeva ...	45,590	1,748.080	160,088	...	...	Chauhān
Māsaudābād, has a brick fort	213,905	1,400,000	...	...	...	Ol (Koli)
Mangrej, has a masonry fort of *chunam* ...	76,6.9	121,762	...	100	300	Chauhān.
Nāriād	202,063	3,198,096	49,478	entered under Sirnāl		Garāsiah.
Hasol	200,020	762,202	...	20	100	Koli.

[1] The Rājputs are here divided into two classes. (1) Garāsiahs or landowners (see Bayley's *History of Gujarāt*, p. 98, for the derivation of this term), and (2) Cultivators. The former live a life of idleness on their lands and are greatly given to opium. *I. G.*

Sarkār of Pattan, north.

Containing 16 *Mahals*. 38,500,015 *Bighas*. Revenue 600.325,099 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 210,627 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 715. Infantry 6,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Pattan, has two forts ...	...	957,462	143,862	150	3,000	Rājput, Koli, Kumbi.
Bijāpur	290,554	6,001,832	2,832	200	500	Koli.
Pāthanpur	...	528,611	3,600,000*	50	500	Do.
Badnagar, has a stone fort	37,600-13	1,844,324	1,749	under Bijapur		Do.
Visalnagar	13,281	674,348	...	20	100	Rājput, Jādun.
Therād, has a brick fort ...	240,052-11	4,000,000	...	50	200	Rājput, Bārhah.
Tervāda do. ...	294,516-17	2,130,000	...	50	1,000	Koli.
Suburb. dist. of Pattan ...	14,787-50	20,054,045	862,104	under Pattan		
Rādhan [-pur], has a brick fort	257,709-6	4,000,000	...	100	200	Koli.
Sami, has a shrine much venerated in Hindustan	107,298[1]	1,266,498	...	20	100	Do.
Santalpur	34,267	287,340	...	...	...	
Kherālu	101,946-17	4,000,000	...	...	...	
Kākrej	112,338	1,312,590	...	under Tehrār		
Munjpur	51,814-11	909,630	...	25	100	Do.
Morvāda	47,777	320,020	...	...	200	Do.
Disah, has a brick fort ...	288,270	1,600,000	...	50	200	Do.

* So the MSS, but I apprehend these figures should be reversed, the larger coming under revenue, as G. has it.

Sarkār of Nandod—north.

Containing 12 *Mahals*. 541,817 *Bighas*, 16 *Biswas*. Revenue 8,797,596 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 11,328 *Dāms*.

	Biswas Bighas	Revenue D.		Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.
Amreli	15,548-16	148,620	Jamungāon ...	21,444	4[illegible],093
Avidhā	4,290	17,076	Kahāar ...	14,903	[illegible],907
Barāsi, (*Suyurghāl* 11,328)	158,696	2,061,366	Marghadrah Māndun ...	15,028 5,402	[illegible],528 13,000
Bedāl [?Bhadli] ...	40,663	272,645	Nāndod with suburb		
Tilakwāda ...	55,859	1,595,525	dist. ...	128,021	3,[illegible],330
Tahwā [Tankhala]	73,263	[illegible],500	Natrang ...	15,188	40,798

Sarkār of Baroda, south.

Containing 4 *Mahals.* 922,212 Bighas. Revenue 41,145,895 *Dāms.* *Suyurghal* 388,358 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 900. Infantry 5,800.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Baroda with sub. dist. has a brick fort	500,920	20,403,485	...	200	400	Ponwār, &c Rājput.
Bahādurpur, has a brick fort	1,680,920	6,243,280	...	500	5,000	Rājput.
Dabhoi, has a stone fort ...	167,090	9,252,550	4,562	500	500	Rājput, Bahrāh.
Sinor, the Narbada, in its course from the north, passes under the town ...	148,150	5,746,580	...	500	5,000	Rājput, ,following name illegible).

Sarkār of Broach, south.

Containing 14 *Mahals.* 349,771 *Bighas.* Revenue 21,845,663 *Dāms.* *Suyurghal* 141,820 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 990. Infantry 8,600.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Olpād	186,420	1,659,877	...	...	...	
Anklesar	138,376	558,010	...	...	...	
Atlesar [Amalsari] ...	90,333	307,737	...	50	280	Gwāliā.
Broach, has a brick fort, on the Narbada; here is a Hindu shrine ...	64,669	456,230	...	500	5,000	Rājput,
Tarkesar	8,752	5,651	...	...	...	
Chharmandvi	44,821	122,795	...	...	...	
Suburban dist. of Broach	52,975	7,022,690	64,516	...	...	
Dehej Bārhā [Vagra] ...	42,684	1,174,540	...	...	...	
Kāri [Kareli]	177,969	4,275,000	12,650	20	300	Rājput, Barhāh.
Kala [Ghalha]	15,161	353,670	...	...	300	Rājput, Garāsiah.
Gandhār, a port frequented by vessels	...	240,000	...	...	...	

Sarkār of Broach, South—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Lorakh [?Luhara], on the seashore ...	31,760	1,287,250	...	...	...	
Maqbulābād, on the seashore. Salt here obtained	81,750	1,912,040	...	20	100	Rājput. Musalmān.
Hānsot, one of the ports of this district ...	77,560	2,439,158	...	400	3,000	Rājput Bāghelah.

Sarkār of Chāmpaner.

Containing 9 *Mahals.* 80,337 *Bighas.* 11 *Biswas.* Revenue 15,009,884 *Dāms.* *Suyurghāl* 173,730 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 550. Infantry 1,600.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Arwārah	19,129	48,209	...	...	...	
Chāmpāner, with sub. dist. has two stone forts, one on a hill called Pāwah, and the second at its foot	159,560	1,429,649	173,730	500	1,000	
Chandāwārah	27,328-8	21,530	...	...	...	
Chaurāsi	107,713	2,215,275	...	...	...	
Dohad, has a stone fort ...	68,249	1,283,300	...	...	...	
Dhol [Derol]	32,014	172,992	...	...	...	
Dilāwarah	18,129	48,628	...	...	...	
Sonkherah	240,313	2,995,696	...	...	...	
Sānwes, has a strong stone fort	120,391-1	2 300,000	...	50	100	Rājput.

Sarkār of Surat.

Containg 31 *Mahals.* 1,312,815 *Bighas.* 16 *Biswas.* Revenue 19,035,180 *Dams.* *Suyurghāl* 182,370 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 2,000. Infantry 5500.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Ambhel, has a stone fort	6,581	424,355	...	...	...	
Pārchol [=Parujan] ...	55,920	1,508,000	...	...	...	

Sarkār of Surat—Contd.

	Bighas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Balsār, on the sea ...	74,702	1,281.420	59,785	100	500	
Balesar	86,400	1,013,045	15,035	...	...	
Beāwarah, has a stone fort near Tapti	58,659	554,320	...	2000	5,000	Rājput.
Balwārah, has a stone fort, and a shrine with a hot spring [?Palsana] ...	41,650	478,620	...	...	...	
Bhesrot [Bhestan] ...	21,170	425,055	...	...	...	
Pārnera	54,460	277,475	...	...	...	
Bhutsār	12,075	146.230	...	...	...	
Bālor [?Kadod] ...	21,435	592,180	...	...	...	
Tilāri [Taori]	85,095	917,890	90,835	...	...	
Timbā	51,029-19	263,390	2,040	...	...	
Chikhli, on the sea, has an iron mine	337,613	389,320	...	...	...	
Dhamori, on the river Timi? (Kim?) ...	40,994-19	767,520	...	...	...	
Rander	5,528	63,692	13,092	...	...	
Surat with suburb. dist. has a stone fort ...	50,733	5,530,145	...	...	...	
Supā	37,594	73,151	8,720	...	...	
Sarbhun	64,127	601,257	...	...	...	
Khoblori [?Kumbharia] ...	4,024	026,760		...	...	
Ghandevi	4,524	835,330	7,810	...	...	
Kharka [Kharsawa], on the Timi	42.019	629,310	...	...	...	
Karodah [Kathodra] ...	000,704	383,240	24,550	...	...	
Kāmrej	68,044	328.205	...	...	...	
Kos [-amba], has a stone fort	9,771	228,390	...	...	...	
Lohari	5,928	85,280	...	...		
Maroli, on the sea ...	17,044	370,410	...	...	...	
Mahwah (Moha?) on the sea	15,016	100,290	...	...	...	
Nāroli	1,620	65,220	...	...	...	
Nosari, with a manufactory of perfumed oil, found nowhere else ...	17,353	297,720	...	...	...	
Nariād, on the sea ...	7,290	130,700	...	...	...	

Sarkār of Godhrā.

Containing 12 *Mahals*. 535,255 *Bighas*. Revenue 3,418,624 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 1,000. Infantry 5,000.

	Bigha	D.		Bigha	D.
Audhā [Ā'radrā]	17,877	184,935	Bera [Bariya] ...	37,318	257,202
Atlawara [?Atar Sunba] ...	46,704	63,460	Jadnagar* ...	46,690	120,680

* *Jādnagar*—either Jambughoda or Chandpur.

Sarkār of Godhrā—Contd.

	Bigha	D.		Bigha	D.
Jhālod [Halol] ...	92,409	794,654	Kohāna [Kadana]	20,858	785,360
Dhānbod [Dhanpur] ...	17,082		Marāl [Marwa]	46,755	525,975
Shehera ...	35,702	146,322	Mahadwārah ...	19,285	10,826
Godhra with sub. dist. ...	150,250	785,660			

Sarkār of Sorath (Kathiawad).

Containing 12 *Mahals*, of which 13 are ports. Revenue 63,437,366 *Dāms*. Cavalry 17,000. Infantry 365,000.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Una	7,620,388	Dharwār [Dholarwa] ...	59,792
Aivej	760,500	Dhāntror	252,048
Amreli	1,784,160	Dhāri	644,270
Apletah	1,214,592	Rānpur	16,127
Pattan Deo [Somnath] ...	4,453,912	Rālgan	113,280
Bānwāra [?Wadhwan] ...	2,049,340	Rāmot	28,320
Belkhā	140,000	Siyor	42,480
Bālsar	509,760	Sarii	4,936
Beri [?Baori]	145,600	Sultānpur	424,800
Barwa [?Baroda] ...	50,664	Gariadhar	623,040
Bandah	84,960	Korinār	4,538,560
Bāndor [Wanod] ...	14,060	Ghogah (Gogo), exclusive of port	
Bhimrād	28,320	Kianābanāerā	42,480
Pālitana	240,592	Kathar	127,480
Bagsra [?Digsar] ...	56,340	Garidhari	598,704
Barar	734,790	Gondal	56,640
Barwārā [?Wasawad] ...	74,792	Kotiānā (Katiana) ...	1,797,256
Bādli	14,160	Kandolnā	196,432
Tālāja	2,435,520	Luliānā	1,423,080
Chokh [Charkha] ...	453,120	Lemorā Batwā	487,576
Jaitpur		Lāthi	296,152
Jagat [Dwarka] ...	803,200	Malikpur	995,048
Chorwād (Charadwa) ...	936,960	Mohwah, (Mowa) ...	2,051,136
Chaurā	97,288	Mandwi	127,440
Jetwad	1,071,660	Manglor	16,689,472
Jasdhon (Jasdān ...	98,560	Medarah	2,208,160
Suburban dist. of Sorath	932,000	Morbi	2,603,328
Daulatābād	357,424	Mīānah	14,106
Dāng	4,410	Nāgsari	755,376
Dungar	760,400	Hatasni (?)	1,012,592

Port duties.

	Revenue Mahmudis		Revenue Mahmudis
Port of Manglor ...	27,000	Port of Mohwah (Mowa)	1,000
„ Pattan Deo ...	25,000	„ Meykor ? ...	3,000
„ Korinār ...	1,000	„ Dungar ...	1,000
„ Nāgsari ...	10,000	„ Talājā, 4 *Mahals*	7,000
„ Porbandar ...	27,228	„ Una	15,000

Princes of Gujarāt.

Seven princes reigned in succession 196 years.

	Years.
Bana-rāj Chauhan[1]	60
Jog Rāj	35
Bhimrāj	52
Bhor	29
Bahr Singh	25
Ratnādat (*var.* Rashādat)	15
Sāmant	7

* *Sorath* corresponds to mod. Junagad. The following emendations are suggested from Hamilton's *E. I. Gazetteer* and the Survey of India *Atlas*: Dhantror (=Dhamnagar), Dhari (=Darwa), Rālgaon (=Ranigaon), Siyor (=Sihor), Sārii (=Sarys), Korinar (=Kauri Nagar, 10 m. N. of Diu point), Kathar (=Kantharia), Kandolna (=Kadorna), Lulana (=Lilaola), Una =Una-Delwara).—*J. Sarkar.*

[1] The following table is from the *U. T.* taken from the *Ain-i-Akbari*, and collated with the Agni Purāna of Wilford.

A.D.
696. Saila Deva, living in retirement at Ujjain found and educated.
745. (S. 802) Banarāja, son of Samanta Sinh (Chohān) who founded Anhalpur, called after Anala Cohān.
806. Jagarāja.
841. Bhira Rāja, (Bhunda Deva. Wilford).
866. Bheur.
895. Behersinh.
920. Reahadat, (Raja Adity W.).
935. Samanta, (dau. married son of Delhi Raja). The total of years of reigns in the A. A. makes 223 instead of 196. G. and T. give Bhimrāj 25 instead of 42, and thus correct the error.

Ten princes of the Solanki race reigned 224 years.[1]

	Yrs.	Ms.
Mulrāj Solanki	56	0
Chāmand	13	0
Balabha	0	6
Durlabha, his nephew	11	6
Bhim, his nephew	42	0
Karan	31	0
Jai Singh, called also Sudhrāj	50	0
Kumārpāl, grandson of his uncle	23	0
Ajaipal, his nephew	8	0
Lakhmul	8	0

Six princes of the Bāghelah tribe reigned 126 years.[2]

	Yrs.	Ms.	Ds.
Hardmul Bāghelah	12	5	0
Baldeva	34	6	10
Bhim, his nephew	42	0	0
Arjun Deva	10	0	0
Sārang Deva	21	0	0
Karan	6	10	15

[1] The totals give only 238 years. The *U. T.* runs as follows :—

A.D.
910. Mula Rāja, usurped the throne.
1025. Chāmund, invaded by Sultan Mahmud (Samanta. W.).
1038. Vallabha (ancient line restored).
1039. Durlabha (Dabisalima Ferishta) usurped the throne.
1050. Bhima Rāja.
Kaladeva (Karan. A. A.) Carna Rajend-a or Visaladeva, (W.) who became paramount sovereign of Delhi.
1094. Siddha or Jayasinha, an usurper. Kumārapal, poisoned (by Ajayapala, son of Jayasinha).

[2] The *U. T.* give the following :—

The Bhāghela tribe.

Mula (Lakhmul. A. A. Lakhan Raya. W.) without issue.
Birdmul, Beildeva } Baluca—Mula, W. of Bhāghela tribe.

A.D.
1209. W. Bhima Deva, or Bala Bhima Deva, same as last V
1250. Arjun Deva,
1260. Saranga Deva, } A. A.
1281. Karan.
Karna the Gohila fled to the Deccan when in the year 1309 Gujarāt was annexed to Delhi by Alā ud din.

Fourteen (Muhammadan) princes* reigned about 160 years.

A.D.		Yrs.	Ms.	Ds.
1391.	Sultān Muzaffar Shāh, ...	3	8	16
1411.	Sultān Ahmad, I, his grandson (builds Ahmadābād and Ahmadnagar), ...	32	6	20
1443.	Mahammad Shāh, his son, ...	7	9	4
1451.	Qutb ud din Ahmad Shāh (opposes Malwa King and Chitor Raja Kombha), ...	7	0	13
1459.	Dāud Shāh, his uncle, (deposed in favour of)	0	0	7
1459.	Mahmud Shāh I, son of Muhammad Shāh (Begarrā : two expeditions to Deccan), ...	55	1	4
1511.	Sultān Muzaffar, his son, (war with Rājā Sangrām), ...	14	9	0
1526.	Sultan Sikandar, his son, (assassinated), ...	0	10	16
1526.	Sultan Nasir Khān, his brother, (Mahmud Shāh II, displaced by), ...	0	4	0
1526.	Sultan Bahādur, son of Sultān Muzaffar, (invades Mālwa : murdered by Portuguese), ...	11	9	0
1536.	Muhammad Shāh, sister's son, (Fāruqi of Mālwa), ...	0	9	0
1536.	Sultān Mahmud, grandson of Muzaffar, ...	18	2	some days.
1553.	Sultān Ahmad (II) a descendant of Sultān Ahmad, (spurious heir set up by ministers), ...	8	0	0

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* List of Gujrat Muslim rulers :

Muzaffar I	A.H. 798/1396	A.D.
Ahmad I	814/1411	
Md. I. Karim	846/1442	
Qutbuddin	855/1451	
Dāud	862/1458	
Mahmud I	862/1458	
Muzaffar II	917/1511	
Sikandar	932/1526	
Mahmud II	932/1526	
Bahādur	932/1526	
Muhammad II	943/1537	
Muhammad III	943/1537	
Ahmad II	961/1554	
Muzaffar III	969-980/1562-1572	

A.D.		Yrs.	Ms.	Ds.
1561.	Sultān Muzaffar III, (Habbu, a supposititious son of Mahmud), ...	12	&	odd.
1583.	Gujarāt becomes a province of Akbar's Empire.			

The Hindu chronicles record that in the year 802 of Bikramājit, corresponding with A.H. 154 *Sarāj* kindled the torch of independence and Gujarāt became a separate state. Rājā Sri Bhor Deva ruler of Kanauj put to death one of his dependants, named Sāmant Singh for his evil disposition, disloyalty and disorderly conduct, and seized his possessions. His wife was pregnant at the time, and urged by distress, she fled to Gujarāt and in an uninhabited waste gave birth to an infant. It happened that a Jain devotee named Saila Deva passing that way took compassion on the child and committed it to the charge of one of his disciples who took it to Rādhanpur, and brought it up with tender solicitude. When he grew to manhood, associating with wicked reprobates, he fell to outrage and highway robbery and a gang of free-booters was formed. He plundered the Gujarāt treasure on its way to Kanauj, and through the good fortune that attended him, he was joined by a grain merchant[1] called Chāmpā. Wisdom guided his sword and from works of evil he inclined to deeds of goodness till in the fiftieth year of his age, he acquired the sovereignty of the state, and founded Pattan. It is said that he long deliberated regarding the site of his capital and was diligent in search of a suitable place. A cowherd called Anhil inform[illegible] him that he knew an excellent site which he would sho[illegible] on condition that the king would call the city after his name. His offer being accepted, he directed them to a wooded spot where a hare, he narrated, had grappled with a dog and by sheer strength of limb had got away. The Rājā founded the city there and named it Anhilpur. Astrologers have predicted that after the lapse of 2,500 years, 7 months, 9 days, and 44 *gharis*, it shall be in ruins. Through the corruption of language and syllabic change it came to be called Nahrwālah, but as in the tongue of that country 'chosen' is rendered 'Pattan,' it became universally distinguished by that name.

Rājā Sāmant Singh gave his daughter in marriage to Sri Dandak Solanki, a descendant of the Delhi princes.

[1] A trade in favour, apparently, with Gujarāt kings. One was the intim[illegible]te friend and counsellor of Sultān Muhammad. See Bayley, pp. 132 and 188.

She died when on the point of giving birth, but a son was by a surgical operation taken from her womb. The moon at the time was in the sixteenth[1] mansion termed by the Hindus *Mul*, and hence he was named *Mulrāj*. Rājā Sāmant Singh adopted him as his own son and watched over his education. When he grew up, he entered into a conspiracy with some evil-disposed persons. The Rājā in a fit of drunkenness abdicated in his favour, but on becoming sober recalled his promise which so infuriated this miscreant that he slew his benefactor and assumed the sovereignty. During the reign of Rājā Chāmand A.H. 416 or 1064 of the era of Bikramājit,[2] Sultān Mahmud of Ghazni conquered this country, but on leaving, he found no fitter person on whom he might confer the government than a descendant of the royal line, and having arranged for the annual payment of a tribute, he returned by way of Sind. What is remarkable is that at the desire of this prince he carried with him captive another scion of the same family. After a time, either through fear or foresight, the captive's restoration was solicited by the same prince who went out to meet him as he approached his territory in order that intriguers might not secure his favour. On the day that they were to meet, the Rājā fell asleep for a short space under a tree, when an animal of prey tore out an eye. At that time a blind man being incapacitated from reigning, the ungrateful soldiers substituted the captive prince in his place and placed the Rājā in confinement.[3]

Kumārpāl Solanki through fear of his life lived in retirement, but when the measure of Jai Singh's days became full, he came forth from the wastes of disappointed ambition and seated himself on the throne and considerably enlarged his dominions. Ajaipāl wickedly poisoned his sovereign and for a fleeting gratification has acquired eternal abhorrence.

Lakhmul having no issue, the worthiest representative of the Baghelah tribe was chosen as sovereign.

[1] Variously taken as the 17th, 19th and 24th lunar asterism, containing 11 stars, apparently those in the tail of Scorpio and said to be unlucky. In the dissertation on Astronomy that follows in a subsequent book, Mul is counted as the 19th mansion.

[2] 1064 A.B. is equivalent to A.D. 1007 and A.H. 416 to A.D. 1025. It was in Sept. 1024 A.D. that Mahmud set out from Ghazni in his expedition against Somnāth.

[3] The story is related at greater length from the *Mirat i Ahmadi* in Bayley's Hist of Gujarāt, pp. 29-34 and its probability defended in a discursive note.

During the reign of Karan, the troops of Sultān Alā u'd din overran Gujarāt. Karan, defeated in the field, fled to the Deccan. Although previous to this time Muizz u'd din Sām[1] and Qutb u'd din Eibak had made expeditions into the country, it was not until the reign of Alā u'd din that it was formally annexed to Delhi.

In the reign of Muhammad, son of Firuz Shāh, Nizām Mustakhrāj, called also Rāsti Khān,[2] was appointed to the government of Gujarāt, but his injustice becoming oppressive, he was removed and the viceroyalty was conferred on Zafar Khān son of Wajih u'l Mulk Tānk. The former governor disloyally rebelling, was killed in the field. The events of this time may be gathered from the history of the Delhi sovereigns. His son Tātār Khān was a man of base character and in whom wickedness was ingrained. At this period after the death of Sultān Muhammad when the throne of Delhi devolved on Sultān Mahmud, considerable anarchy prevailed. Zafar Khān withdrew from affairs and Tātār Khān assumed the royal state and marched against Delhi, but was poisoned at the instigation of his father[3] who coming forth from his retirement had the *Khutbah* read and the coin struck in his own name, and was proclaimed under the title of Sultān Muzaffar. (1407.) Gujarāt thus became an independent kingdom and the government of the province was established in the *Tānk* family. The father of Zafar, Wajih u'l Mulk had been a Brahman and was converted to Islām. Ahmad the son of Tātār Khān conspired against the life of his grandfather and took possession of the throne thus garnering eternal perdition. Ahmadābād was founded by him. With deep design and meditated hypocrisy he withdrew himself from all worldly pageantries till at a festival when all suspicion was laid asleep in the midst of universal enjoyment, he put to death twelve of his uncles. Subsequently he applied himself with earnestness to the

[1] Otherwise Shahāb ud din Ghori.

[2] Malik Mufa.rah Sultāni, who afterwards obtained the title of Farhat ul Mulk Rāsti Khān. Zafar Khān was appointed to succeed him on the 2nd Rabia I, 793 A.H. (21st Feb. 1931) (Bayley *Hist. of Guj.*), p. 58. Wajih ul Mulk was a Hindu called Sadhāran, converted to Islam and belonged, says the *Mirat i Sikandari*, to the Tānk caste, an outcast branch of the Khatris. One of them was expelled for his use of strong drinks and the name is said in Hindi to signify an outcast. The derivation is asserted to rest on some form of the Sanskrit *tyāga*, meaning separation, divorce. See Bayley's note. *Ibid*, p. 67. Baber calls the race *Tang*. *Memoirs*, Erskine, p. 311.

[3] It is commonly believed, says the *Mirat i Sikandari* that Tātār Khān placed his father in confinement and seated himself on the throne under title of Mhd. Shāh, whence the reprisal. *Ibid.*, p. 81-82.

duties of his government and was filled with continual remorse, and to his last breath set himself to a just and capable administration of the state.

When Dāud Khān was deposed on account of his incapacity, Fath Khān son of Muhammad Shāh was raised to the throne and was proclaimed as Sultān Mahmud (I). He distinguished himself by his recognition of merit[1] and by his justice, and girt himself with the fence of munificence and liberality. Malik Shabān who held the title of Imād u'l Mulk was of the utmost service to him.[2] In the beginning of his reign some of the wealthy favourites conspired against the life of their lord and in the first instance plotted the overthrow of this judicious and sincere counsellor. Like intriguers as they were, they conveyed false allegations to the king, and as the worldly-minded are suspicious of each other, he imprisoned this peerless denizen of the world of faith and purposed putting him to death. He was on the point of being condemned when Malik Abdu'llah the superintendent of the elephants who had the royal ear, revealed the innocence of his faithful minister and the designs of the conspirators. The king skilfully contrived his escape and, the veil of their pretence being rent asunder, the miscreants took to arms. The royal guard and the slaves together with the officers in charge of the elephants made a stand against them, and the elephants themselves proved of service in chastising the rebels. Disgracefully routed, these disloyal subjects met with just retribution.. At Mahmud's death, his son Muzaffar Shāh, with the assistance of the nobles, ascended the throne and assumed the title of Sultān Muzaffar (II). His reign was beneficent. Shāh Ismail of the Sufi dynasty of Persia sent him as presents the choicest goods of Irāq[3] and he in turn courteously reciprocated his acknowledgments. On his decease, his son succeeded him under the title of Sultān Sikandar. In a short time he was wickedly done to death by Imād u'l Mulk who raised his brother Nasir Khān to the throne. The nobles plotted to

[1] And likewise by his enormous appetite. His daily allowance of food was one *man Gujarāt* weight (equal to 15 Bahloli *seers*). He put aside 5 *seers* of boiled rice and before going to sleep, placed half on one side of his couch and half on the other, so that on whichever side he awoke, he might find something to eat. This was followed in the morning by a cup of honey, a cup of butter and 100 to 150 plaintains. After this, Abul Fazl's appetite sinks into insignificance. His allowance was 22 *seers* daily.

[2] The whole account will be found in Bayley under this monarch's reign. The reader is referred to that work for details of this historical synopsis.

[3] A turquoise cup of great value, a chest full fo jewels, many valuable tissues and 30 Persian horses. Bayley, p. 244.

displace him. The king appealed for succour to His Majesty Bāber and engaged to surrender to him the port of *Dib* (Diu) with its dependencies and several *krors* of *tankahs,* if he would advance in aid with his victorious troops. On account of his former ungrateful conduct, his offer was refused.[1] At this juncture, Bāhadur the son of Sultān Muzaffar came from Delhi at the invitation of the Bābriyas[2] and the nobles joined his standard. During his father's reign he was unable to remain at court through the envy borne towards him by his brother (Sikandar). He, therefore, betook himself to Sultān Ibrahim Lodi at Delhi and was received with favour. The nobles of Jaunpur invited him to be their king, and his intentions were inclined that way, when at this time his partisans wrote to him from Gujarat and entreated his acceptance of the throne. He willingly set out for the capital and being successful, he made his administration prosperous by his justice and liberality. Carried away by the intoxication of worldly success, he imprudently engaged in a war with Humayun, and being defeated, sullenly withdrew in discomfiture.[3]

At his death, Mirān Muhammad ruler of Khāndesh, his nephew, whom during his lifetime he had constituted his heir, was in his absence proclaimed in the *khutbah* by the nobles, but died shortly before reaching Gujarāt. Mahmud, grandson of Sultān Muzaffar, who was then in confinement, succeeded him. A miscreant called Burhān with some of his adherents put him to death[4] and under pretence of

[1] Ferishta says (Bayley, p. 319) that this letter never reached Bāber, the Rājah of Dungarpur having intercepted it.

[2] See Bayley, p. 35, n.; and for his adventures after leaving Gujarāt, p. 321 *et seq.*

[3] Baber says of him that he acted rightly in enforcing the law of retaliation by putting to death Imād Mulk who had strangled his brother Sikandar, but besides this, he slew a number of his father's Amirs and gave proof of a blood-thirsty and ungovernable nature.

[4] Bayley, p. 445, *et seq.* Burhān who had been a low favourite of the king, poisoned and stabbed his master and sallied forth from the palace in the pomp of royalty when he was met and slain by Shirwān Khān Bhatti, adopted son of Afzal one of the murdered nobles. Ferishta's account is that on the death of the king becoming known, Itimād Khān with Changiz Khan, Ulug Khān, Habshi and others, came out to oppose him. Burhān was thrown at the first charge and killed by Shirwān Khān. His feet were tied to a rope and he was dragged throughout the city. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* gives the name of Razi ul Mulk to one of the nobles who was sent to bring the new king, Ahmad, to the capital, but Ferishta expressly states that this descendant of Ahmad Shāh was named Razi ul Mulk and was raised to the throne as Ahmad Shāh II. He continues, that disgusted with his nominal sovereignty, after a 5 years' tutelarge he took refuge with Mirān Mubārak Shāh one of the principal nobles on whose death in the field, an accommodation was again effected with Itimād Khān, but having expressed himself too openly as desirous of death of that minister, he himself was found dead the next day,

establishing a rightful succession, massacred twelve of the nobles. Itimād Khān prudently absented himself on the occasion, and next morning collecting his followers, attacked him and put him to the death he deserved. He then set up one Razi u'l Mulk by name a descendant of Sultān Ahmad, I, under the title of Sultān Ahmad (II) as a nominal sovereign and took the government into his own hands. But when the boy grew to manhood, he altered his purpose and carrying him to the house of one of his adherents, he slew him and then leading some unknown minor by the hand, swore upon oath that he was the son of the last Sultān Mahmud (II). By fraudful allegations, he bestowed on him the sovereign authority and giving him the title of Sultān Muzaffar, he himself assumed the reins of power, until his present Majesty threw the shadow of justice over the province and annexed this prosperous country to the imperial dominions.

May it ever be adorned with perpetuity and high and low enjoy unfading blessings.

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near the river opposite the house of Wajih ul Mulk and it was given out that, caught in a love intrigue in that nobleman's house, he had been unwittingly slain. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* tells the story more in detail. On his death, Itimād Khān produced a boy (not named in Ferishta nor, I think, in the *Mirat*) whom he swore to be the son of Mahmud Shāh II, his mother's pregnancy not having been discovered till the 5th month when too late to check it. For Mahmud had unnaturally interdicted the fertility of his wives to avoid a disputed throne. The nobles accepted or feared to oppose the pretension, and the boy was placed under the control of Itimad Khān. The subsequent history may be read in Ferishta, or in Brigg's free but generally faithful rendering, but the events of his worthless life—it cannot be called a reign—are lost in the contests of the nobles for their share of short-lived power till the incorporation of the kingdom with the empire on the 24th Rajab A.H. 980 (Nov. 20th, 1572). Bayley's translation concludes with the death of Mahmud Shāh IV, but his original continues the history of Gujarāt to 1001 A.H. (1592-3) and the death by his own hand of the last of its sovereigns.

It is situated in the second climate. Its length from the village of Pokhar (*Bhakar*—Pushkar) and dependencies of *Amber* to Bikaner and *Jaisalmir* is 168 *kos*. Its breadth from the extreme limits of the *Sarkār* of *Ajmer* to *Bānswārah* is 150 *kos*. To the east lies *Agra*: to the north the dependencies of *Delhi:* to the south *Gujarāt:* to the west *Dipālpur* and *Multān*. The soil is sandy, and water obtainable only at great depth, whence the crops are dependent on rain. The winter is temperate, but the summer intensely hot. The spring harvest is inconsiderable. *Jowāri, Lahdarah* and *Moth* are the most abundant crops. A seventh or an eighth of the produce is paid as revenue, and very little in money. The people dwell in tent-shaped bamboo huts. To the south are the (Aravalli) mountains of which the passes are difficult to traverse.

This Subah is formed of *Mewār, Marwar* and *Hadauti*.[1] The former possesses 10,000 (troops) and the whole of the *Sarkār* of *Chitor* is dependent on it. Its length is 40 *kos* by 30 in breadth. It has three famous fortresses, *Chitor* the residence of the governor, *Kombhalmer*[2] and *Māndal*. In the village of *Jāwar*,[3] one of the dependencies of *Chainpur* is a zinc mine. In *Chainpur* and other dependencies of *Māndal* are copper mines, which are extremely profitable.

The chief of the state was formerly called *Rāwal*, but for a long time past has been known as *Rānā*.[4] He is of the Ghelot clan and pretends a descent from Noshirwān the Just.[5] An ancestor of this family through the vicissitudes of fortune came to Berār and was distinguished as the chief of *Narnālah*. About eight hundred years previous to the present time, *Narnālah* was taken by an enemy and many were slain. One *Bāpā*, a child, was carried by his mother

[1] Harowtee or Hārāoti, a tract formed of the territory of Kotah and Bundi, and named after a dominant tribe of Rājputs.

[2] Komulmir is a pass that runs through a series of rugged ravines in the Aravalli ranges and is defended by a fortress. In art. Udaipur, it is spelt Kumalmer.

[3] *Jawar*, 24 miles S. of Udaipur, is said to have possessed zinc mines now unworked.

[4] The foundation of the Ghelot dynasty in Rājputāna was effected by Bappa Rawal who is said to have established himself in Chitor and Mewār in 728 A.D. *I. G.*

[5] It is asserted that a daughter of Noshirwān, whose queen was a daughter of Maurice of Constantinople married into the Udaipur royal family.

from this scene of desolation to *Mewār*, and found refuge with *Rājah Mandalik*,[1] a *Bhil*. When he grew up to man's estate he followed the pursuit of a shepherd and was devoted to hunting in which his daring was so conspicuous that he became in favour with the Rājā and a trusted minister of state. On the death of the Rājā, his four nephews disputed the succession, but they eventually decided to resign their pretensions in favour of *Bāpā* and to acknowledge his authority. *Bāpā*, however, declined their offer. It happened one day that the finger of one of these four brothers began to bleed, and he drew with the blood the ceremonial mark of installation on the forehead of Bāpā, and the others concurred in accepting his elevation. He then assumed the sovereignty. To this day the custom continues of making with human blood this sign of investiture on any *Rāna* who succeeds to the throne. The ungrateful monarch put the four brothers to death.. On a former occasion while passing through the wilds, mistaking one *Marich* [Rishi], a hermit, for a wild animal, he fitted an arrow to his bow. The hermit intuitively prescient of this action through his purity of heart, made himself known, and the Rājā repentantly excused himself and humbly visited him with assiduity. The hermit one day predicted his elevation, and marvellous tales are told regarding him. Having made his head quarters at *Sisodā*, the tribe is called *Sisodiah* and as a Brāhman, at the beginning of their history nurtured their house, they are accounted as belonging to this caste.

When *Rāwal Rattan Si* died, a relative named *Arsi* was raised to the throne and entitled Rānā, from whom the present *Rāna Umrā* is tenth in descent, thus; *Hamir, Kaitā, Lākha, Mokul, Kombhā, Rāemal, Sangā, Udai Singh, Partāb, Umrā*.

Ancient chronicles record that Sultān Alā ud din Khilji king of Delhi had heard that *Rāwal Rattan Si* prince of *Mewār* possessed a most beautiful wife. He sent to demand her and was refused, upon which he led an army to enforce compliance and laid siege to *Chitor*. After a long persistence in beleaguering the place in vain, he had recourse to artifice and proposed terms of peace and friendship. The Rājā readily acquiesced and invited him to an entertainment. The Sultān entered the fort with his chosen followers and the meeting took place amid festivity and mirth, and finding

[1] Rao Mandalik says Bayley (*Hist. of Gujarāt*) is the title assumed by all the chiefs of Girnār.

his opportunity he seized the Rājā and carried him off. It is said that the Sultān's retinue consisted of a hundred men and 300 picked soldiers dressed as attendants. Before the Rājā's troops could assemble he was hurried away to the camp amidst the wailing of his people. The king kept the Rājā in close confinement with a view to extort compliance with his desire. The faithful ministers of the Rājā implored the king not to injure him and promised to deliver up to him not only the object of his love but other suitable partners of his harem. They also sent a forged letter purporting to come from the virtuous queen and lulled his suspicions to sleep. The king was delighted and not only refrained from personal violence but treated the Rājā with cordiality. It is related that 700 of the choicest troops dressed as women were placed in litters and set out for the king's camp and it was given out that the Rāni with a large number of her attendants was on the way to the royal pavilion. When they approached the camp, word was sent that the Rāni wished to have an interview with the Rājā previous to entering the king's quarters. Lapped in his illusive dream of security the king granted the interview, during which the soldiers seizing the opportunity, threw off their disguise and bore off their prince. Time after time the Rājputs stood to face their pursuers fighting manfully and many were slain before the Rājā had gone far. At length the Chauhāns, *Gaurā* and *Bādal* made a stand fighting to the death enabling the Rāwal to reach Chitor in safety amidst universal acclamation. The king having endured great hardships during the siege and finding it to no purpose, returned to Delhi. After an interval, he set his heart again on the same project but returned discomfited. The Rāwal wearied with these assaults, conceived that an interview with the king might result in an alliance and that he would thus escape this state of continual strife. Guided by a traitor he met the king at a place 7 *kos* from *Chitor* where he was basely slain. His relative *Arsi*, after this fatal event, was raised to the throne. The Sultān returned to the siege of *Chitor* and captured it. The Rājā was slain fighting and all the women voluntarily perished by fire.

Hamir his son betook himself to the adjacent mountains. *Sultān Muhammad Khuni*[1] made over the govern-

[1] "The murderer," the special title to fame of Muhammad Tuglak, but this monopoly of the epithet is scarcely fair to many other members of the royal houses of Delhi.

ment of Chitor to Māldeva Chauhān ruler of Jālor. As this prince was unable to bring the province into order, he summoned *Hamir*, made him his son-in-law, and through his means restored its prosperity. At his death, Hamir made away with his sons and raised the standard of independence.

The present local militia consists of 16,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry, but Mewār formerly controlled much more extensive territories, so much so that Rājah Sanka (Sanga) possessed a force of 180,000 cavalry and a numerous infantry.

Mārwār is 100 *kos* in length by 60 in breadth, and it comprises the *Sarkārs* of *Ajmer, Jodhpur, Sirohi, Nāgor,* and *Bikaner*. It has long been the head quarters of the Rāthor tribe. When Muizz ud din Sām had terminated his campaign against *Pithurā* (Prithwi Rājā, A.D. 1191-93), he resolved to turn his arms against *Jaichand* king of *Kanauj*. The Rājah in his flight was drowned in the Ganges.[1]. His brother's son Siha, who resided in *Shamsābād* was slain with a large number of troops. His three sons *Sutik, Ashwatthama* and *Aj* set out for Gujarāt, and on their way rested at *Pāli* near *Sojhat*. In this city dwelt a number of Brāhmans who were much molested by the *Minah* tribe, some of whom at this period made a raid on the town. The exiles came out, attacked them valorously, and put them to flight. The Brāhmans gave them great honour and treated them with every consideration and thus alleviated in some degree their distress of heart. As they acquired the means of worldly success they grew bolder and seized *Kher* [Kumbher] from the *Gohel* tribe and thus advanced their condition. *Sutik* independently wrested *Edar* from the *Minahs*, and *Aj* setting out for *Baglānah*, took that district by force from the *Kolis*. From that time their descendants have inhabited the country. The descendants of *Ashwatthamā* who remained in *Mārwār*, gradually gained credit till eventually *Maldeva* his sixteenth descendant waxed so powerful, that Sher Khān nearly lost his life in his campaign against him.[2]

[1] Other accounts assert that he was slain by an arrow from the bow of Qutb-uddin the favorite general of the Muhammad Ghori, and the founder of the Dynasty of the Slave Kings. It is historical that his body was found and recognised by his false teeth, "a circumstance," says Elphinstone in the solitary instance of humour in his solemn history, "which throws grave light on the state of manners." One result of this defeat was the retreat of the greater part of the Rahtor clan from Kanauj to Mārwār.

[2] Sher invaded Mārwār in A.D. 1544 and his camp was surprised by attack of 12,000 Rājputs who so nearly put an end to his campaigning he declared he had nearly lost the empire of India for a handful of mili alluding to the poverty of the country and the low quality of its produce.

This territory contains many forts, but the most important are *Ajmer, Jodhpur, Bikāner, Jaisalmir, Amarkot, Abugarh* and *Jālor.*

Hādāoti is called also the *Sarkār* of Nāgor. It is inhabited by the *Hādā* (Hara) tribe.

This *Subah* comprises 7 *Sarkārs* and 197 *parganahs.* The measured land is 2 *Krors,* 14 *lakhs,* 35,941 *bighas,* 7 *Biswas.* The revenue in money is 28 *krors* 84 *lakhs,* 1,557 *dāms,* (Rs. 7,210,308-14-9) of which 23 *lakhs,* 26,336 *dāms* (Rs. 51,158-6-5) are Suyurghal. The local force is 86,500 cavalry, 347,000 infantry.

Sarkār of Ajmer.

Containing 28 *Parganahs*, 5,605,487 *Bighas*. Revenue in money, 62,183,390 Dāms. *Suyurghāl* 1,475,714 *Dāms*. Tribes, *Kachhwāhah, Afghān, Chauhān*.

	Bighas	Revenue D	Suyurghāl D.
Ajmer with dist. its fort on a hill, one of the most important in India	795,335 1,135,095	6,214,731 12,256,297	D. 802,440
Amber, has stone fort on a hill ...	179,573	1,755,960	...
Arāin	279-295	2,200,000	...
Parbat [-sar]	90,488	486,161	...
Phāgi	349,774	1,400,000	...
Bhināi	68,712	271,256	...
Bharāna [Baghera]	168,712	749,733	...
Bawāl [? Borach]	81,914-11	600,000	...
Bāhal [Bari]	15,522	435,664	15,674
Bāndar Sindri	24,220	270,000	...
Bharondā	351,779-12	3,300,090	...
Tusinā [? Tilonia]	138,718	241,442	...
Jobner	27,092-18	501,844	...
Jhāk	49,065	1,200,000	...
Deogāon [Baghera]	76,548	692,512	...
Kishanpur [? Kishanpur]	194,064	9,649,947	277,537
Sāmbhar, has a stone fort	245,136	1,616,825	...
Sarwār, has a brick fort	72,096	1,270,000	16,027
Sithlā [Setholao]	147,923	1,860,016	...
Kekri	50,640	1,808,000	...
Kherwah	71,356	7,020,347	...
Mārot	252,871	5,756,402	...
Muzābād	251,973	1,459,577	...
Masaudābād [Masuda]	14,361	1,587,990	...
Narāina	266,614	2,660,159	260,100
Harsuli, has a brisk fort	163,273	1,200,926	926

Sarkār of Chitor.

Containing 26 *Parganahs*, 1,678,800 *Bighas*, 17 *Biswas*. Revenue, 30,047,649 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 360,737 *Dāms*. Tribes, Rājput Sesodia, Cavalry, 22,000. Infantry, 82,000.

	Bighas	Revenue D	Suyurghāl D.
Islāmpur, known as Rāmpura ...	101,526	7,000,000	...
Udaipur, here a large lake about 16 *Kos* in circumference; by its means wheat crops are grown	...	1,120,000 in money	...

Sarkār of Chitor—contd.

	Bighas	Revenue	Suyurghāl D.
Uparmāl	27,805	280,000	...
Arnod	44,720	200,000	...
Islāmpur, known as Mohan	...	126,600 in money	...
Badnor, has a stone fort	113,265	4,311,551	59,815
Phulā do.	257,481	2,843,470	43,470
Banerā	58,038	3,296,200	244,000
Pur	199,209	2,601,041	13,452
Bhainsror, has a stone fort	...	1,200,000	...
Bāgor (Bāgol)	1,744-17	39,550	...
Begun	234,804	1,175,729	...
Barsi [? Patti] Hājipur, has a stone fort	35,098	1,375,000	...
Chitor, with sub. dist. 2 mahals, has a stone fort, and is a frontier of Hindustān proper	451,118	800,000	...
Jiran	39,218	1,985,250	...
Sānwārghāti	...	470,294	...
Sādri, has a stone fort	5,991	400,020	...
Sembal [?Sanwad] with the cultivated tracts	...	100,000 in money	...
Kosiānah [? Gosunda]	52,713	263,812	...
Māndalgarh, has a stone fort on a hill ...	...	3,384,750 in money	...
Māndal has a brick fort	18,848	447,090	...
Mandāriyā [Madri]	...	160,000 in money	...
Nimach &c. 3 mahals	21,416	719,202	...

Sarkār of Rantambhor.

Containing 73 Mahals. 6,024,196 *Bighas*, 11 *Biswas*. Revenue, 89,824,576 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 181,184 *Dāms*. Rājput Hādā (Hara). Cavalry, 9,000. Infantry, 25,000.

	Bighas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.
Alanpur	18,481	1,562,220	20,200
Unārā	57,308	1,237,160	...
Atārā [?Etawa]	45,340	770,525	...
Ātoh	14,584	600,000	...

Sarkār of Rantambhor—contd.

	Bighas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.
Islampur [=Aligarh]	5,191	77,500	...
Amkhorah	...	160,000	...
Antardah	166,173	in money	...
Awān Bosamir	25,747	1,500,000	...
Bundi, has a stone fort on a hill ...	33,161	1,200,000	...
Baonli, has a stone fort	151,430	2,622,747	22,747
Baroda, ...	267,326	4,571,000	...
Jarwāra	163,226	1,969,776	...
Pātan [Kesorai]	139,280	2,800,000	...
Bhadlāon	96,895	2,686,389	...
Baklānt	149,087	1,200,000	...
Palāita	29,302	1,400,000	...
Bhosor	40,677	600,000	...
Banahta	21,257	524,356	...
Bilona	31,615	456,479	...
Bijari	15,594	334,800	...
Bālākhatri	33,930	300,000	...
Bhori Bhāri (Bari Pahar) ...	16,845	110,000	...
Bārān	242,107	880,000	...
Tonk	502,402	7,500,000	...
Toda	443,028	5,859,006	...
Todri	400,768	5,456,840	...
Talād	32,509	423,288	...
Jetpur	23,014	928,500	...
Chātsu	516,525	7,536,829	...
Jhalāwa (Jhalāi)	13,180	500,000	...
Jhāin	37,753	475,000	...
Khilchipur	30,813	1,209,886	...
Dhari (? Darah)	97,861	1,800,000	...
	54,668	409,260	
Dablāna	...	733,400	9,260
Rantambhor with sub. dist	371-19	in money 156,795	
Rawanjna (Dungar)	49,745	430,354	1,505
Sheopur	494,070	5,041,306	6,292
Sārsop	36,636	1,058,876	...
Sahansāri	28,575	300,000	...
Kotā, has a stone fort on a hill, near which the Chambal flows	360,378	3,000,000	...
Khāndar, has a stone fort on a hill ...	90,246	400,000	...
Khankra	220,350	1,511,994	...
Kheri	35,443	528,178	11,994
Khātoli	2,389	200,000	26,744
Gendawar	6,930-12	188,095	...
Karor, has a stone fort on a hill ...	6,377	200,000	...
Lākheri do. ...	3,523	800,000	...
Londa	17,400	250,000	...
Loharwāra	20,334	250,000	...
Lunāwad	3,678	125,000	...
Mau-maidana, 16 *Mahals*		4,100,000	...
Malārna	172,693	3,299,241	...
Mangrol	140,799	1,004,348	
Nawai	33,927	930,000	
Nāgar (Nāgor)	33,900	1,000,000	

Sarkār of Jodhpur.

Containing 22 *Mahals.* Revenue 14,528,750 *Dāms.* Tribe, Rāthor, Cavalry 15,000. Infantry, 50,000.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D
Āsop has a brick fort ...	8,000,000	Jetāran, has a small fort on a hill	3,000,000
Indrāoti	8,000	Dunārā, has a stone fort	100,000
Phalodi, has a stone fort	640,000	Sojat, has a stone fort on a hill	2,812,750
Palpārah [Pipar] ...	1,463,000	Sāalmer do. ...	560,000
Bilara	314,000	Siwānā do. one of the most important strongholds in India ...	1,200,000
Pāli &c., 3 *Mahals,* has a small stone fort ...	250,000	Kherwā	220,000
Bahila	180,000	Khimwasar, has a stone fotr	172,000
Podhah has a stone fort	46,003	Gundoj do. ...	80,000
Bhadrārjun, has a stone fort on a plain ...	800,000	Mahewah	960,000
Jodhpur with sub, dist. has a stone fort on a hill	280,000		

Sarkār of Sirohi.

Containing 6 *Mahals.* Revenue 4,2,077,437 *Dāms.* Tribes, Rājput, Ghelot, Afghān. Cavalry, 8000. Infantry, 3,800.

	Revenue D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Tribe
Abugarh and Sirohi, 2 *Mahals;* the latter has a strong stone fort ...	12,000,000	3,000	15,000	Rājput.
Bānswārah, a delightful country; has a stone fort	8,000,000	1,500	20,000	Do.
Jālor, Sānchor, 2 *Mahals;* has a very strong stone fort ...	14,077,437	2,000	5,000	Afghān.
Dungarpur	8,000,000	1,000	2,000	Rājput Ghelot.

Sarkār of Nāgor.

Containing 31 *Mahals.* 8,037,450 *Bighas,* 14 *Biswas.* Revenue, 40,389,830 *Dāms. Suyurghāl,* 30,805 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry, 4,500. Infantry, 22,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Amarsar	849,809	7,029,370	...	4000	20,000	Kachhwāhah.
Indāna	262,302	1,313,006	479	...	...	

Sarkār of Nāgor—contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Bhadāna	544,340	2,271,960	70460	...	...	...
Baldu	87,947	570,000	...	...	...	...
Patoda	141,870	322,816	...	...	...	...
Baroda	2,620	220.363	...	...	...	...
Bārah Kāin	230,379	58,000	...	...	...	...
Jāel	293,069	955,273	3200	...	...	...
Jārodah	141,892	874,284	2147	...	...	...
Jakhara, surrounded by a waste of sand ..	...	137,757	...	...	...	...
Khārij Khattu, has a stone fort, and a quarry of white marble* ..	77,577	348,814	...	...	...	...
Didwāna, has a brick fort	36,581	4,586,828	15215	...	...	...
Dronpur	219,696	780,066	...	...	...	...
Rewāsā	801,117	1,995,824	...	...	...	...
Run	615,212	913,251	...	...	...	...
Rasulpur	114,995	704,906	...	...	...	...
Rahot	45,269	188,137	...	...	...	...
Sādela	153,092	1,262,930	...	...	...	...
Fatehpur Jhunjhunu, has a stone fort ..	152,200	1,233,222	...	500	2000	Qiyām Khāni.
Kāsli . ..	28,740	1,587,157	...	...	...	...
Khāela	114,955	558,560	..	...	...	...
Kuchera	270,490	466,890	...	...	...	...
Kolewa [Kolia]	12,748	352,905	...	...	..	...
Kumāri	469,881	435,604	3220	...	...	...
Kheran	26,033	57,160	...	...	...	...
Lādnu	149,760	780,842	4837	...	...	...
Merta, has a stone fort ..	2,114,773	7,701,522	45,433	...	...	...
Manoharnagar	129,895	2,903,386	...	...	...	...
Nokhā	83,096	380,756	...	...	...	...
Nāgor with sub. dist. has a brick fort	57,755-14	813,581	114,440	...	...	...

* *Khatu* is 38 miles s.e. of Nāgor.

Sarkār of Bikaner.

Containing 11 *Mahals*. Revenue 4,750,000 *Dāms*. Tribe, Bhāti. Cavalry, 12,000. Infantry, 50, 000.

	Tribe		Tribe
Bikampur	...	Bikaner	Rāthor.
Barsalpur	...	Jaisalmir	Bhāti.
Bāharmel (Barmer) ...	...	Chhotan	...
Pungal	...	Kotrā	...
Barkal	...	Dewādawar	...
Pokharan	...		

SUBAH OF DELHI.

It is in the third climate. Its length from *Palwal*[1] to *Ludhianah* on the bank of the *Satlej* is 165 *kos*. Its breadth from the *Sarkār* of *Rewāri* to the *Kumāon* hills is 140 *kos*, and again from *Hisār* to *Khizrābād* is 130 *kos*. On the east lies[2] the capital, Agra; on the north-east it marches with *Khairābād* in the *Subah* of *Oudh;* to the north are mountains; on the south the *Subahs* of *Agra* and *Ajmer;* on the west is Ludhiānah. The chief rivers are the *Ganges* and the *Jumna*, and both these take their rise in this *Subah*. There are besides numerous other streams, amongst them the *Ghaghar*. The mountains principally to the north. The climate is nearly temperate. Much of the land is subject to inundation and in some places there are three harvests. The fruits of Irān, Turān and Hindustān are here grown and abundant flowers of various kinds. Lofty buildings of stone and brick delight the eye and gladden the heart, and it is scarce equalled for the choice productions of every clime.

Delhi is one of the greatest cities of antiquity. It was first called *Indrapat* and is situated in long. 114° 38′, lat. 28° 15′. Although some consider it as the second climate, making the southern mountainous system begin from this region they are certainly mistaken as the latitude shows. Sultāns *Qutbuddin* (1206-10), and *Shamsuddin* (Altmish, 1210-35) resided in the citadel of Rajah *Pithura* (Prithwi). Sultān *Ghiyāsuddin Balban* erected another fort, intending it as a (royal) cemetery. He also built a handsome edifice in which if any criminal took sanctuary, he was absolved from retribution. *Muizz ud din Kai Kubād* (1286-9) founded another city on the banks of the *Jumna* called *Kelukhari*. *Amir Khusrau* in his poem the *'Qirānu's Sadain'*[3] eulogises this city and its palace. It is now the last resting-place of

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[1] A town of undoubted antiquity, supposed to figure in the earliest Aryan traditions under the name of *Apelava*, part of the Pāndava kingdom of Indraprāstha.

[2] The word *'Khāwar'* like *'Bākhtar'* is often misapplied as the two are interchangeably and incorrectly used for E. and W. alike. Abul Fazl, however, invariably uses *"Bakhtar"* for W. and *Khāwar* for E. though with a southing tendency, as may be seen from his delimitations of other provinces. Hence Agra is certainly E. of Delhi in longitude, but it is almost south of it. See Cunningham's explanation of the anomalous use of *'Khāwar'* and *'Dakhkhin'* in his *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 94.

[3] See *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1860, p. 225, and Elliot, iii, 524.

Humāyun where a new and splendid monument has been erected. Sultān *Alā ud din* (1295-1316) founded another city and fort called *Siri*. *Tughlaqābād* is a memorial of *Tughlaq Shāh* (1321-24). His son *Muhammad* (1324-51) founded another city and raised a lofty pile with a thousand columns of marble and constructed other noble edifices. *Sultān Firoz* (1351-88) gave his own name to a large town[1] which he founded and by a cutting from the *Jumna* brought its waters to flow by. He likewise built another palace at a distance of 3 *kos* from *Firozābād*, named *Jahānumā* (*the world-view*). Three subterranean passages were made wide enough to admit of his passing along in mounted procession with the ladies of his harem; that towards the river, 5 *jaribs* in length; the second towards the *Jahānumā*, 2 *kos*, and the third to old Delhi, 3 *kos*. Humāyun restored the citadel of *Indrapat* and named it *Dinpanāh* (*asylum of the faith*). Sher Khān destroyed the Delhi of *Alā ud din* and built a separate town. Although the monuments of these cities are themselves eloquent and teach us the highest moral lessons, yet even is this latest Delhi now for the most part in ruins. The cemeteries are, however, populous. *Khwājah Qutb ud din Ushi* lies here and *Shaikh Nizām ud din Aulia*, and *Shaikh Nasir ud din Mahmud*, the Lamp of Delhi, and *Malik Yār-i-Pirān*, and *Shaikh Salāh*, and *Mālik Kabir-i-Aulia*, and *Maulanā Muhammad*, and *Hāji Abdul Wahhāb* and *Shaikh Abdullah Quraishi*, and *Shaikh Shams Turk-i-Biyābāni*, and *Shaikh Shams-i-Autād* and *Amir Khusrau*[2] with many other servants of God instructed in Divine knowledge who in this spot repose in their last sleep. Here too lie Sultān *Shahāb ud din Ghori*, and *Sultān Shams ud din*, and *Nāsir ud din Ghāzi*, and *Ghiyās ud din*, and *Alā ud din* and *Qutb ud din*, and *Tughluq*, and *Muhammad Ādil*, and *Firoz* and *Bahlol*, and *Sikandar Lodi*. Many now living, likewise, have laid out pleasant spots and groves for their final resting-place—to the introspective a source of blissful ecstasy, to the wise an incentive to watchfulness.

In the hill of *Islāmābād* is a very deep spring called *Prabhās Kund* from which warm water continually bubbles up, and which is a great place of worship.

[1] It is supposed to have occupied the ground between Humāyun's tomb and the Ridge. *I. G.*

[2] Of these personages the last is sufficiently famous. The second and third and last on the list will be found in Ferishta's lives of the saints at the close of his History. Also *Ency. Isl.*

Biswamitra Rikhesar [Rishishwar] made a deep excavation of three *bighas* of this hill and devoted it to purposes of worship, and to this day it testifies to the antiquity of this construction.

Badāon is conspicuous amongst ancient cities and a great many holy religious are there buried.

A part of the northern mountains of this *Subah* is called *Kumāon*. Here are mines of gold, silver, lead, iron, copper, orpiment and borax. Here also are found the musk-deer and the *Qutās* cow,[1] as well as silk-worms, hawks, falcons and game of various kinds, and honey in abundance and the species of horse called *Gut* (Gunt).

There is game in plenty in the *Sarkār* of Sambal (Sambhal), where the rhinoceros is found.[1] It is an animal like a small elephant, without a trunk, and having a horn on its snout with which it attacks animals. From its skin shields are made, and from the horn, finger-guards for bow-strings and the like. In the city of Sambal is a temple called *Hari Mandal* (the temple of Vishnu) belonging to a Brāhman, from among whose descendants the tenth avatār will appear in this spot. *Hānsi* is an ancient city, the resting-place of *Jamal* the successor of Shaikh Farid-i-Shakar-ganj.

Near the town of *Sahnah** is a hot spring on the summit of a hill, the peculiarity of which is undoubtedly due to a sulphur mine.

Hisār (Hissār) was founded by Sultan *Firoz* who brought the waters of the *Jumna* to it by means of a cutting. A holy devotee predicted his accession to the throne and at his request the canal was made. Strange to say, it enters a pool named *Bhadrā* near the town of *Sirsā*, and there loses itself. Wonderful stories are related regarding it. There are few rivers in this district, and wells have to be dug to a considerable depth.

[1] Visvamitra is the name of a celebrated Kshatriya deriving his lineage from an ancestor Kusik of the lunar race: he was king of Kanyā-Kubjā or Kanauj. His famous quarrel with the rival sage Vasishtha to perform the great tribal sacrifice, runs through the Rig Veda and he succeeded in raising himself to the rank of a Brāhman by long and painful austerities. According to the Rāmāyan he became the companion and counsellor of the young Ramachandra. He was the father of Sakuntalā by the nymph Menakā whom the gods, jealous of his increasing power, sent to seduce him from his passionless life.

* *Sohna*, 18 miles S. of Gurgaon City.

Sahrind (Sirhind) is a city of note. [illegible] are the gardens of *Hāfiz Rakhnah*, the delight of all beholders.

Thanesar is accounted one of the most sacred places of pilgrimage. The *Saraswati* flows near it for which the Hindus have great veneration. Near it is a lake called *Kurukshetra*,[2] which pilgrims from distant parts come to visit and where they bathe, and bestow charitable offerings. This was the scene of the war of the *Mahābhārat* which took place in the latter end of the *Dwāpar Yug*.

In the city of *Hastinapur* reigned *Rājā Bharat* who by his justice and consideration for his people gathered a fitting reward of happiness, and his virtues and good deeds confirmed for a long period the succession in his family, and fortune favoured son after son. The eighth in lineal descent from him was *Rājā Kuru* from whom *Kuru-Kshetra* received its appellation. After six intermediate progenitors, an heir was born named *Vichitravirya*,[3] who had two sons, one of whom was *Dhritarāshtra*. He was the father of 101 children, the eldest of whom was *Rājā Duryodhana*, and they are called the *Kauravas*. The other was *Pandu*. Although the first mentioned was the elder son yet on account of his blindness, the succession fell to his brother who obtained the sovereignty. His sons are called the *Pāndavas*. They were five, namely, *Yudishtir, Bhimsen, Arjuna, Nakul and Sahadev*. On *Pāndu's* death the kingdom reverted to Dhritarashtra, but although the nominal sovereignty was his, the real power was possessed by *Duryodhana*. Since to crush their enemies is the way of the princes of the earth, *Duryodhana* was ever in fear of the *Pāndavas* and sought their destruction. When *Dhritarāshtra* observed the growing feud, he resolved to establish his nephews in the city of Vāranāvatra, and sent skilled artisans with instructions to build their residences. The

[1] Genl. Cunningham says (p. 145) that the name of Sarhind or 'frontier of Hind' was popularly given to the city at an early period when it was the boundary town between the Hindus and the later Muhammadan kingdom of Ghazni and Lahore, but the name is probably much older as the astronomer Varāha Mihira mentions the *Sairindhas* immediately after the Kulutas or people of Kullu and just before Brahmapura which was the capital of the hill country N. of Hardwār.

[2] It is an oblong sheet of water, 3,546 feet in length by 1,900. During eclipses of the moon, the waters of all other tanks are believed to visit this, so that the bather is blessed by the concentrated virtues of all other ablutions. The right ankle of Durga is said to have fallen here on her being cut to pieces and her limbs scattered over the earth by Vishnu.

[3] He died childless, but at the request of his mother Satya-vati, the *Rishi* Dwaipāyana raised up three children to him, viz., Dhritarāshtra, Pāndu and Vidura. *Vishnu Purāna*.

workmen at the instigation of *Duryodhana* constructed a secret chamber of lac and pitch, in order that at a fitting opportunity the *Pāndavas* might be destroyed in a flaming conflagration. But whom the Lord defends by his protection, what avails against him the striving of the impotent? When the *Pāndavas* accepting their exile, settled in this spot, they became aware of the design. By chance a woman with five sons dwelt hard by. The *Pāndavas* set the house on fire and set out for the wilds with their mother, while their neighbours were consumed in the flames.

Duryodhana, believing that the *Pāndavas* were destroyed, held a festival of rejoicing. The *Pāndavas* after many adventures came forth from the wilds to the inhabited country and settled in the city of *Kampilā* [Panchāl]. In a short time, the fame of their valour, skill and open-handed munificence filled the world, but none knew their name or lineage, till *Duryodhana* himself awaking from his dream of security suspected that the burning of the *Pāndavas* was a fable. After prosecuting inquiries, his suspicions were confirmed, upon which he had recourse to entreaty, and recalled them with protestations of friendship, hoping thus to secure his aim. He bestowed *Delhi* (Indraprastha) upon them with half his kingdom and retained *Hastinapur* with the other half. *Yudhishthira* by his prudence and good fortune aided by the divine favour rose to greatness and his administration advanced his power. The *Kauravas* flocked to his service, and in a short space he acquired universal sway. The other brothers likewise reduced many princes to their obedience. *Duryodhana* was beside himself at the sight of their sovereign splendour, and the pangs of envy drove him more distraught. With deceptive intent, he held a restival and invited the *Pāndavas* and proposed a game of *chaupar*, playing himself, with cogged dice. By this means he won all they possessed. The last stake was made on the condition that if the *Pāndavas* won, they should recover all that they had lost, but if otherwise, they were to quit the royal dominions and wander in the wilds for twelve years in the garb of mendicants after which they might return to civilised life for a year, and so conduct themselves that none should know them. If this last particular were infringed, they would have to pass a similar period of twelve years in the forests. Unsuspecting foul play, their uprightness brought them to ruin. Elated by the success of his device, *Duryodhana* was lulled into the slumber of a false

security while the *Pāndavas* under the divine direction accomplished their part of the agreement. *Duryodhan* now began to treat them with severity. Much altercation followed till the *Pāndavas* consented to accept five villages if peacefully surrendered to them. *Duryodhana* in his pride refused and rose in arms. The scene of the conflict was in the vicinity of *Kuru-kshetra*. But as the end of the fraudful is disaster, *Duryodhana*, and his companions were totally destroyed and *Yudhishthira* was victorious after eighteen days of successive engagements.

Towards the close of the *Dwāpar Yug*, 135 years before the beginning of the *Kali Yug*, and 4,831 years anterior to this the 40th of the Divine Era,* this event rose into fame and was left to posterity as a record of portentous warning.

It is said that in this mighty war, the army of the *Kauravas* consisted of 11 *achhauhini*, and that of the *Pandavas* of 7. An *achhauhini* consists of 21,870 men mounted on elephants, the same number in chariots, and 65,610 cavalry; and 109,350 infantry. Marvellous to relate but 12 individuals of both armies survived this war. Four of the army of *Duryodhana*, escaping with their lives took refuge with *Yudhishthira*, *viz.*, *Kripāchārya* Brahman who had been preceptor to both families and was renowned for wisdom and valour; *Ashwatthāmān* who was celebrated for the same qualities; *Kritvarmān* Yadu, a brave champion; and *Sanjaya* who, together with his reputation for wisdom, acquired renown as the charioteer of *Dhritarāshtra*. On the side of the Pandavas, eight survived,[1] *viz.*, the 5 brothers; *Satyaki Yadu* famous for his bravery and sagacity; *Yuyutsa* brother of *Duryodhana* by another mother, and *Krishna*. After this *Yudhishthira* reigned supreme for 36 years, and his happy destiny and virtuous disposition discovering to him the vanity of mundane things, he sought retirement and resolutely forsook a world that oppresses the weak. Together with his brethren he chose the path of renunciation and played the last stake of his life.

This great war has been related in the *Mahābhārata* with numerous episodes in a hundred thousand couplets, and has been translated into Persian by command of His Majesty under the title of *Razmnāma* (History of the War).

* See p. 15 where it is stated that from the era of Rāja Yudhishthira to the 40th of Akbar's reign (A.H. 1003, commencing 5th Dec. 1594 and ending 25th November, 1595 A.D.) there had elapsed 4,696 years, making the commencement of the Kali Yuga 3,101 B.C. To this period an addition of 135 brings the figure to 4,831.

It is set forth in eighteen *Parba* or books. The *first* part is an account of the *Kauravas* and *Pandavas* and a list of contents. The *second; Yudhishthira* sends his brethren to conquest—his supreme monarchy—the gambling feast held by the *Kauravas*, &c. *Third*, the departure of the *Pandavas* into the solitude of their exile and other events. *Fourth*, the coming of the *Pandavas* from the wilds to the city of *Virāta* and remaining unknown. *Fifth*, the *Pandavas* discover themselves; the mediation of *Krishna* and his rejection; the gathering at *Kura-kshetra* and disposition of the armies. *Sixth*, the opening of the combat, the wounding of *Bhishma*, the slaughter of many of the sons of Dhritarāshtra, and the events of the ten days' engagement. *Seventh*, the council of war held by *Duryodhana;* the appointment of *Drona* to the general command, his death and other events during five days. *Eighth*, description of the two days' battle; *Duryodhana* names *Karna* to the command, his exploits—the flight of *Yudhisthira* before him—the death of *Karna* at the hand of *Arjuna* on the second day. *Ninth, Shalya* is appointed general on account of his heroism—his death—*Duryodhana* conceals himself in a tank—his end and that of many champions. *Tenth*, the conclusion of the war, the coming of *Kritvarmān, Ashwatthāmān*, and *Kripāchārya* to *Duryodhana* on the field of battle while still breathing and his advice of a night attack &c. *Eleventh*, the lamentations of the women on both sides—Gāndhāri mother of *Duryodhana* curses *Krishna*. *Twelfth*, account of *Yudhishthira* after the victory—his desire to resign his kingdom. *Byās* and *Krishna* comfort him by their counsel. *Bhishma* delivers many admirable and instructive maxims setting forth the duties of sovereign administration. *Thirteenth*, the advice tendered by *Bhishna*. In my judgment, the 12th and 13th books should be comprised in one as they both contain the counsels of *Bhishma*, and the 9th divided into two, the one dealing with the episode of *Shalya* and the other with the death of *Duryodhana*. *Fourteenth*, the great horse-sacrifice (ashwa-medh). *Fifteenth*, the retirement to a hermitage of *Dhritarāstra, Gāndhāri*, and *Kunti* mother of *Yudhishtira*. *Sixteenth*, the destruction of the *Yadu* tribe. *Seventeenth, Rāja Yudhishtira* retires with his brethren who all perish in a snow-drift. *Eighteenth, Yudhishtira* in his own body mounts to the upper world; the dissolution of the mortal remains of his brethren. The conclusion called *Haribans*, contains the history of the *Yadus*.

In this work, although there are numerous extravagant tales and fictions of the imagination, yet it affords many instructive moral observations, and is an ample record of felicitous experience.

This *Subah* contains 8 *Sarkārs* subdivided into 232 *parganahs**—the measured land consists of 2 *krors*, 5 *lakhs* and 46,816 *Bighas* 16 *Biswas*. The revenue is 60 *krors*, 16 *lakhs* 15,555 *Dāms* (Rs. 15,040,388-14) of which 3 *krors*, 30 *lakhs*, 75,7 9 are *Suyurghāl* (Rs. 8,26,893-7-7). The local force is 31,490 Cavalry, 242,310 Infantry.

* The eight Sarkārs comprise 232 *mahals*, if we omit the five unsettled *mahals* of Kumaon. The Suyurghāl total is incorrect, because by adding together the *Suyurghāl* for 7 Sarkārs only (that of Kumaon not being given), we get a totalof 3,31,75,437 *dāms*. [J. S.]

Sarkār of Delhi.

Contains 48 *Mahals*, 7,126,107 *Bighas*, 17 *Biswas*. Revenue 123,012,590 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 10,990,260 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry, 4,000. Infantry 23,980.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes.
Islāmābād Pākal, has a stone fort on a hill ..	970,87-19	1,778,407	31,402	50	1000	Rājput Sāndl
Adhah [?Odhan] ..	14,912-8	513,061	45,420	20	200	Ahir
Pānipat, has a brick fort	568, 444	10,756,647	3,540,692	100	2000	Afghān, Gujar, Rangher
Pālam	245,240	5,726,787	1,231,880	70	1000	Jat
Baran, has a brick fort on the *Kālī Nadī* ..	171,160	3,907,928	153,190	20	200	...
Rāghpat, on the Jumna, between two streams	200,515	3,582,868	180,159	20	200	[Brāhman Chauhān
Palwal,[1] has a brick fort and it stands on a mound	234,783	1,769,493	218,225	25	500	Rājput, Gujar
Barnāwah	145,000	1,879,125	50,759	25	200	Shaikhzādah
Pāth, has a brick fort	48,191	621,749	7,243	60	600	Tonwar (Tuar)
Beri Dobaldhan ..	119,002-19	1,404,225	...	40	800	Jat
Tilpat, has a brick fort	119,578	3,077,913	92,583	40	400	Brāhman, Rājput, Gujar
Tāndah Phugānah on the Jumna	51,669	1,269,206	11,366	25	200	Afghān Jat
Tilbegampur	14,237-7	370,374	15,754	10	100	
Jhajhar	128,417	1,422,451	306,461	60	1000	
Harsia, has a stone fort in the village of Dhānah (*cor. Dhaulrī*) built by Sultān Firoz on the banks of the Hindan	87,923	3,605,228	376,079	60	600	Badgujar
Jewar	133,746	1,878,378	85,430	40	400	Rājput, Chhokar
Jhinjhānah	57,923-16	1,760,250	109,250	20	300	Jat
Chaprauli, stands between two streams ..	32,701-12	1,138,759	5,719	20	200	Do
Jalālābād, stands between two streasm amid much forest ..	96,189	1,333,711	9,099	50	600	Do.
Jalālpur Barawat, much forest	42,061-17	1,001,875	1,775	20	400	Do,

[1] *Palwal*.—This mound stands to this day considerably above the surrounding level and consists entirely of ancient remains crumbling to decay. It is a town of undoubted antiquity and supposed to figure in the earliest Aryan traditions under the name of Apelava, part of the Pandava Kingdom of Indraprastha. *Baran* is the mod. Bulandshahar.

Sarkār of Delhi—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
The old suburban district	128,417	1,422,451	306,460	10	40	Jat, Chauhān.
The new do. do. ..	36,447	3,635,315	595,984	25	300	Gujar, Jat, Ahir.
The metropolis of Delhi	971	736,406	18,783	135	1,500	...
Dasna between Ganges and Jumna	282,777	4,933,310	162,536	60	300	Ghelot (here some illegible words).
Dādri Tāhā	179,789	4,326,059	118,577	20	400	Afghān, Jat.
Dankaur, on the Jumna	128,523	1,016,682	4,840	20	200	Gujar.
Rohtak, has a brick fort	636,835	8,599,270	428,000	100	2,000	Jat.
Sonipat (Sonpat) has a brick fort	283,299	7,727,323	775,105	70	1,000	Afghān, Jat.
Safidun, has a brick fort	81,730	1,975,596	99,347	60	600	Rājput Ranghar, Jat.
Sikandarābād ..	66,907-15	1,259,190	17,844	50	400	Bhāti, Gujar etc.
Sarāwa, has a brick fort	42,387-12	1,583,899	31,914	40	300	
Santha	39,147-9	854,191	48,207	30	300	Chauhān.
Siyāna, between two streams	166,407-17	849,090	4,959	50	400	Taga.*
Shikarpur	52,139	2,111,996	780,305	70	200	Chauhān.
Karnāl, the stream Sānjauli flows below the town	540,444	5,678,242	207,999	50	800	Ranghar Chauhān.
Ganaur, has a brick fort	40,990-16	1,718,792	33,390	20	400	Tagā.
Garh Muktesar, has a brick fort on the Jumna, a Hindu place of pilgrimage ..	101,340-10	1,591,492	41,490	40	400	Rājput, Musalmān, Hindu.
Kutāna	91,706-13	1,423,779	892	20	150	Jat.
Kāndhla	68,934-5	1,374,430	37,930	20	30	Gujar.
Kāsna, on the Jumna	104,021-19	1,522,315	149,250	40	400	Do.
Kharkhanda ..	51,895-15	1,105,856	4,958	50	600	Afghān, Jat.
Gangeru Kherah, has a brick fort between two streams ..	11,062-15	316,405	13,830	40	300	Sayyid.
Loni, has a brick fort between two streams	75,363	3,278,878	148,445	20	200	

* Sir H. Elliot has an interesting discussion on the Gaur *Tagas*, an important tribe of Brahmanical descent in the N.-W. of India extending over a great part of upper Rohilkhand, the upper Doāb and the Delhi territory. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes* should be consulted in elucidation of the doubtful readings of the text.

Sarkār of Delhi—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyur-Suyur-D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Mirath (Meerut) has a brick fort between two streams	610,422	4,291,266	281,096	100	300	Tagā, Ranghar, Chandrāl.
Māndāuthi, the autumn harvest abundant: near the town a tank which is never dry throughout the year	90,494	2,259,223	2,264	20	500	Jat.
Masaudābād, has an old brick fort ..	89,478	2,209,156	269,215	20	99	Do.
Hastināpur, on the Ganges: an ancient Hindu settlement ..	176,340	4,406,904	36,291	20	300	Tagā.
Hāpur, on the Kāli Nadi between two streams	229,845	2,103,589	5,229	4	300	Do.

Sarkār of Badāon.

Containing 13 *Mahals*. 8,093,850 *Bighas*, 10 *Biswas*. Revenue 34,817,063 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 457,181 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry, 2,850. Infantry, 26,700.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyur-ghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Ajāon [Rajwan] ..	82,467-17	1,362,867	...	500	3000	Chauhān.
Aonla	14,701	690,620	...	50	400	Kānwar [?Tuar]
Badāon with suburban district	668,320-5	7,857,571	287,986	50	5000	Shaikhzādah, Kāyath.
Bareli	991,227	12,507,434	91 389	1000	10,000	Rājput.
Barsar [? Paraur] ..	196,700	2,147,824	6,754	50	500	Kāyath.
Paund [Riliot Panar] ..	5,749	280,840	...	50	300	Kahor
Talhi (Balhati)	25,982	1,077,811	1,595	50	1000	Tagā, Brāhman.
Sahiswan	253,120	2,493,898	15,444	100	2000	
Sanās Mandah (R. Satāsi Mundiyā)	58,119	795,815	3,471	50	500	Tagā, Brāhman.

Sarkār of Badāon—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Suneyā	29,753	1,915,725	...	80	800	Ulus ?
Kānit [=Kānt]	55,884	2,420,269	48,444	200	2000	Bāchhal.
Kot Sālbāhan has a fort	227,500-8	1,219,165	...	30	500	Kanwār.
Golah	24,540	1,126,931	4,287	100	1000	Dewak, Bāchhal.

Sarkār of Kumāon.

Containing 21 *Mahals*. The revenue of 5 *Mahals* undetermined. 16 *Mahals*, in money. 40,437,700 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry, 3,000. Infantry, 50,000.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Āudan [?Adon] ...	400,000	Jakrām	5,000,000
Bhuksi and Bhākasā, 2 Mahals	400,000	Jariyah	3,000,000
Bastwah	200,000	Jāwan	2,500,000
Pachotar	400,000	Chauli, Sahajgar, Gūzarpur, Dwārakhot [Kot Dwara]*	
Bhikan Diwār	200,000	Malwārah	
Bhakti	11,000,000	Malāchor, Sitachor, Kemus, 3 Mahals ...	
Bhuri, undetermined ...	...		
Ratilā [? Balila] ...	10,025,000		
Chanki [Chauki-ghalā ...	400,000		

* Sahajgar is now *Jaspar*, Guzarpur is *Gadarpura;* Malwara may be *Talwara*.

Sarkār of Sambhal.

Containing 47 *Mahals*. 4,047,193 *Bighas*, 2 *Biswas*. Revenue 66,941,431 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 2,892,394 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry, 4,375. Infantry, 31,550. Elephants, 50.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Amrohah	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1000	5000	30	Sayyid.
Asaunpur	38,467	2,000,476	137,544	20	200	...	Tagā.
Islāmpur Bharu ..	[illegible]	1,370,000	12,139	100	200	...	Bakhtiāvi.

Sarkār of Sambhal—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Ujhāri	125,221	697,609	2,788	20	300	...	Jat.
Akbarābād	53,790-14	640,264	27,860	50	200	...	
Islāmpur Dargu ..	11,217-10	429,675	675	20	200	...	
Islāmābād	25,261-10	346,848	6,394	50	500	...	Jat.
Bijnaur	60.362	3,855,465	18,154	60	500	...	Tagā, Brāhman.
Bachharāon	115,226-12	828,822	8,632	50	200	...	Tagā.
Biroi	15,027-12	150,000	...	25	100	...	Kohi
Bisārā	8,008-7	200,000	...	25	100	...	Khasia.
Chāndpur	87,278	431,071	259,959	50	200	...	Tagā, Jat, &c.
Jalālābād	49,398	1,470,072	12,263	25	100	..	Jat.
Chaupalah	1,016,199	1,840,812	...	100	500	...	Gaur.
Jhālā	26,795	237,809	84,916	50	400	...	Jat.
Jadwār	76,757-19	828,846	...	50	200	...	Badgujar.
Suburban district of Sambhal	206,450	3,822,448	148,739	100	500	...	Tagā, Brāhman &c.
Deorah	96,965	1,924,887	...	25	200	...	
Dhaka	130,158-16	670,364	6,487	25	200	...	Rahes.
Dabhārsi	82,692-11	280.306	...	25	200	...	
Dudilah	80,150-15	210,000	...	20	100	...	Kohi
Rājpur	189,390	700,000	...	50	400	...	Rājput.
Rājabpur	40,346-9	612,977	2.288	25	100	...	Kokar, Shaikhzādah
Sambhal, has a brick fort	42,400	850,958	63,404	50	400	...	Khokhar.
Seohārah	27,945	1,833,782	1,418	50	800	...	Tagā.
Sirsi	52,400-11	958,769	152,814	20	200	...	Sayyid, &c.
Sahanspur	54,844-10	944,804	1,088	50	400	...	Tagā.
Sursāwah	37,502	806,065	...	15	400	...	Kaurawah.
Sherkot	19,870	4,921,051	218,157	100	1000	...	
Shāhi	80.417	500,496	478	20	200	..	Gaur.
Kundarki	86,164	674.936	74,936	50	400	...	Kāyath.
Kiratpur	80,978	2,410,609	166.218	100	500	...	Tagā, Jat.
Kachh	99,868	1,248,995	5,765	20	200	...	
Gandāur	18,576-17	751,620	34,270	30	200	...	Tagā.
Kāber	83,292-7	566,839	16,019	50	400	...	Chauhān.
Ganaur	51,005-1	267,919	17,719	10	100	...	Musalmān.
Khānkari	31,546-7	200,000	...	10	100	...	
Lakhnor	246,440	2,499,208	82,963	1000	5000	...	Gaur.
Liswah	1,871	100,000	...	10	100	...	
Mughalpur	168,874	3,580,800	80.800	100	500	...	Tagā.
Majhaulah	142,461	1,737,556	6,970	400	2000	...	Badgujar.
Mandāwar	66,710	1,256,995	20,455	25	300	...	Bais.
Nagina	99,238	2,647,242	284,906	50	500	...	Ahir.

Sarkār of Sambhal—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Nahtaur, in this *pargānah*, the mulberry grows in great perfection of size and sweetness—a span in length*	85,974-12	1,786,160	- 4,675	50	300	...	Tagā.
Neodhanah	209,620-10	904,675	...	100	500	...	Gaur.
Naroli	181,621	1,406,093	48,212	50	400	...	Badgujar.
Hatamnah	5,706-14	250,000	...	50	400	...	Kodar.

* Probably, according to Dr. King, the *Morus laevigata*, a long thin berry with a mawkish, sweet taste.

Sarkār of Sahāranpur.

Containing 36 *Mahals*. 3,530,370 *Bighas*, 3 *Biswas*. Revenue, 87,839,659 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 4,991,485 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 3,955. Infantry, 22,270.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Indri, has a brick fort near the Jumna ..	143,900-28	7,078,326	691,903	50	1000	...	Ranghar, Tagā.
Ambihta	17,764	324,560	...	20	300	...	Gujar, Aawān?
Budhāna	155,633	3,696,041	131,760	40	300	...	Tagā, Jat.
Bidauli	111,226	3,115,125	1,400,255	...	...	...	Sayyid
Bhatkanjāwar ..	173,471	2,676,407	146,749	50	500	...	Tagā, Bārhah.
Bhogpur, has a brick fort on the Ganges, a Hindu place of worship	94,428	3,336,120	6,941	100	1000	...	Rājput Sarir.
Purchapār	86,949	2,191,460	126,438	20	200	...	Sayyid.
Bhumah	67,451	2,135,496	26,453	2000	7000	...	Jat.
Baghrā	50,360	1,918,196	74,840	20	200	...	Tagā.
Bhanāth	49,288	1,321,440	8,650	20	200	...	Rājput, Sadbār.
Thānah Bhim ..	281,377	3,578,540	317,260	20	500	...	

Sarkār of Sahāranpur—Contd.

	Bighas Biswās	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Tughlaqpur	81,866	222,277	128,853	20	30	...	Jat.
Jaurāsi	211,751	2,471,277	71,297	20	200	...	Bidar.
Jauli	45,653	1,310,057	152,396	...	...	...	Sayyid (Cavalry entered under Sarot).
Charthāwal	35,916	1,668,882	68,872	20	200	...	Tagā.
Suburban district of Sahāranpur, has a brick fort, cloths of the kinds *Khasa* and *Chautār* (Vol. I, p. 94) are here made in perfection	212,335-16	6,951,545	706,448	100	800	...	Afghān. Kulāl Tagā.
Deoband, has a brick fort	336,861	6,477,977	641,946	60	800	...	Gujar, Tagā.
Rāmpur	79,419	1,777,908	78,597	50	400	...	Sadbār, Tagā.
Rurki	2,768	1,628,860	8,361	25	200	...	Rājput, Sadbār, Tagā, Brāhman.
Rāepur Tātār ..	4,688-8	369,080	...	10	200	...	Tagā.
Sikri Bhukarheri ..	188,211	3,003,611	110,611	40	200	...	Jat.
Sarsāwah, has a brick fort	106,800	2,516,125	16,165	80	200	...	Tagā.
Sarot	90,617	2,207,779	51,571	50	1000	...	Do.
Sardhana	113,780	1,590,606	43,842	30	800	...	Tagā, Ahir
Sambalherā	31,963	1,011,078	11,078	...	...	...	Sayyid (Cav. entered under Bhona).
Soranpalri	10,648	574,320	22,628	40	250	...	Jat.
Khatauli	104,747	8,624,588	190,919	40	800	...	Tagā, Kulāl
Khodi	85,618	2,514,673	58,906	50	400	...	Jat, Tagā.
Kairāna	71,245	2,025,238	223,579	20	200	...	Gujar.
Gango	52,137	2,029,032	322,515	800	2000	...	Turkomān.
Lakhnauti	79,694	1,796,058	76,602	300	2000	...	Do.
Muzaffarābād ..	81,305-15	4,074,064	71,899	20	200	...	Ranghar, Sander (?Pundir).
Manglaur, has a brick fort	60,987	2,850,311	197,216	40	800	...	Brāhman, Badgujar.
Malhaipur	81,010	2,244,070	23,077	100	500	...	Afghān, Tagā, Brāhman.
Nakor	65,612-10	1,887,070	28,104	40	800	...	Afghān, Brāhman.
Nānauta	29,224	724,150	18,684	40	800		Afghān.

Sarkār of Rewāri.

Containing 12 *Mahals*. 1,155,011 *Bighas*, 10 *Biswas*. *Suyurghāl*, 739,268 *Dāms*. Revenue† * * *. Cavalry, 2,175. Infantry, 14,600.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Bāwal	110,375	4,114,753	16,374	100	2001	Rājput, Ahir, Jat.
Pātaudhi	61,970	2,270,080	5,260	50	500	Do. Do.
Bhoharah (R. Bhorah) ..	38,547	755,543	345	100	1000	Ahir.
Tāoru, has a brick fort ..	85,858	996,228	11,578	50	500	Musalmān, Khaildār(?)
Rewāri with sub. dist., has a brick fort	405,108	11,906,847	404,100	400	2000	Thathar, Ahir, Jat.
Ratāi Jatāi	52,120	289,603	523	...	400	
Kot Qāsim Ali	80,410	3,357,930	110,330	25	400	Rājput, Ahir.
Ghelot	27,270-10	656,668	...	700	2000	Rājput, Thatar.
Kohāna	15,264	421,440	...	50	500	Do. Do.
Suhna, has a stone fort on a hill; here a hot spring and Hindu shrine	251,738	3,928,264	150,568	200	2000	Do. Do.
Nimrāna, has a stone fort on a hill	35,047	682,250	...	500	4000	Various.

† By deducting the revenues of the other 7 Sarkārs from the total revenue of the Subah (given on p. 290), we get 35,222,658 *dāms* as the revenue of Rewāri. [J. S.]

*Sarkār of Hisār Firozah.**

Containing 27 *Mahals*. 3,114,497 *Bighas*. Revenue, 52,554,905 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 1,406,519 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 6,875 Infantry, 60,800.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Agrowa (var. Agrohah). Game of all kinds abounds. Sport chiefly hawking	45,717	1,748,970	6,664	200	2000	Jātu, Jat.
Ahroni	19,537	887,257	180,038	100	1000	Gujar, Jat.

* Called after the Emperor Firoz Shāh Tughlaq who founded the town of that name about 1354 A.D.

Sarkār of Hisār Firozah—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Atkhera, has a brick fort, and a Hindu temple called Govardhan	82,991	1,576,200	...	200	2000	Jat, Tonwār.
Bhangiwāl	...	1,800,000	...	200	2000	Rājput, Rāthor, Jat, Punya (Jat).
Puniyān	...	1,200,000	...	150	3000	Jat, Punyan
Bhārangi	...	800,862	...	200	2000	Rāthor, Jat.
Barwāla	138,799	1,097,807	109,082	100	1500	Sayyid, Malikzādah, Bakkāl.
Bhatu	...	440,280	...	50	1000	Jat.
Barwā	6,254	64,680	...	25	300	Jātu, Jat.
Bhatner, has a brick fort	15,888	933,042	...	500	10,000	Rāthor, Rājput.
Tohānah, Do. ..	180,744	4,694,354	150,680	400	3000	Afghān, Lohāni.
Toshām	511,075	1,068,548	2,686	200	1000	Rāthor, Rājput, Jat.
Jind, 3 miles from the town in the village of Pandārah, is a Hindu temple	281,584	5,401,749	128,080	500	4000	Sālār, Rājput, Jātu.
Jamālpur, the Ghaggar flows through several villages here	142,455	4,277,261	81,461	700	400	Tonwar, Jat
Hisār (Hissār) with sub. dist. has 2 forts, one of brick, one of stone ..	176,512-18	4,039,895	183,879	500	2000	Jātu, Ranghar, Sowārān (Sheoram), Sāngwān.
Dhātarat, has a brick fort	29,207-18	978,027	45,556	100	2000	Jāt, Afghān.
Sirsā, Do. ..	256,255	4,261,268	163,104	500	5000	Junah (note Johiya).
Seorān	...	400,000	...	100	1000	Jat, Seorān (Sheoram).
Sidhmukh, soil mostly sand	..	171,872	...	50	100	Rājput, Rāthor, Jat.
Sewāni	48,512	76,750	...	100	1000	Rājput, Jātu
Shāmsdah Dihāt (sixteen villages)	29,749	960,111	12,586	200	00	Rājput, Tonwar.

Sarkār of Hisār Firozah—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Fathābād, has a brick fort	33,651	1,184,392	81,857	200	3000	Rājput, Rāthor, Gujar, Jat.
Gohāna	66,951	2,876,115	16,146	300	8000	Jat, Dād-balāsa Duhna?
Khānda, here a large tank in which the Hindus think it auspicious and holy to bathe	19,436	1,119,364	47,978	100	2000	Jat, Gadi (var. Kari)
Muhim, has a brick fort ..	188,060	4,958,613	84,202	700	2000	Rājput, Tonwar, Jat.
Hānsi, has a brick fort ..	836,115	5,434,436	180,056	500	7000	Rājput, Multāni, Jātu, Jat.

Sarkār of Sirhind.

Containing 33 *Mahals*. 7,729,466 *Bighas*, 7 *Biswas*. Revenue, 160,790,549 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 11,698,330. Castes, various. Cavalry, 9,225. Infantry, 55,700.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	ghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Ambāla	154,769	4,198,094	321,488	100	1000	...
Banor	420,337	12,549,953	1,087,209	700	8000	Ranghar, Afghān.
Pāel, has a brick fort ..	525,932	7,322,260	162,267	200	2000	Ranghar, Jat.
Bhader	86,877	3,106,269	1,406,106	50	700	Jat, *Dāh-surati?*
Bhatinda	...	3,125,000	...	400	2000	Bhatti.
Pāndri	34,190	696,870	47,152	20	500	Ranghar.
Thāra, has a brick fort on the Sutlej	273,966	7,860,809	2,869,841	1500	1,000	Munj (or Shaikh). Jat.

Sarkār of Sirhind—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Thānesar, has a brick fort	228,968-17	7,850,808	2,069,841	50	1500	Ranghar, Jat.
Chahat on the Ghaggar ..	158,739	750,994	49,880	650	1100	Afghān, Rājput.
Chark	68,688	1,588,090	21,619	20	800	Jat.
Khizrābād, has a brick fort	332,489	12,059,918	528,170	200	3000	Bhatti, Jat.
Dorāla	65,768	2,188,443	86,710	50	300	Ranghar.
Dhota	71,357	1,601,846	1,346	800	1500	Rājput.
Deorāna	12,389	580,985	17,385	20	200	Jat.
Rupar, has a brick fort ..	66,144	5,005,549	26,064	200	1000	Rājput &c.
Sirhind with sub. dist. has a brick fort	828,458	12,062,680	606,536	1700	2000	Rājput, Barāh, Khauri, Dādah (Dādu ?), Jat.
Samāna	904,261	12,822,270	782,000	700	2000	Barāh, Jat.
Sunām, has a brick fort ..	968,562	7,007,696	7,696	500	2000	Ranghar.
Sadhuna, has a brick fort	34,861	4,296,064	278,265	400	5000	Chauhān, Ranghar.
Sultānpur Bārha	13,736	427,085	82,759	20	100	Do. Rājput.
Shāhābād	184,146	6,751,468	761,587	200	1500	Chauhān, Rājput, Brāhman.
Fathpur	50,931	684,370	15,440	25	400	Rājput, Pundir.
Karyāt Rāe Samu ..	28.099	1,220,090	5,874	40	900	Ranghar, Jat, Barāh, (var. Bārah).
Kaithal, has a brick fort : here Hindu shrines ..	918,025	10.688,630	309,146	200	8000	Rājput.
Guhrām, Do. ..	188,574	6,188,690	1,058,982	50	100	Ranghar, Jat, Khauri.
Ludhiāna, has a brick fort on the Sutlej	43,469	2,294,688	44,683	100	700	Awān,* Khauri, Ranghar.
Mustafābād	271,899	7,496,691	570,976	200	1000	Chauhān, Ranghar.
Masengan	204,877	7,058,259	626,690	200	1000	Jat.
Manaurpur	116,242	1,830,025	326,690	200	1000	Ranghar.
Māler	103,444	260,583	26,176	100	500	Munj.
Māchhiwāra, has a brick fort	17,272	250,556	250,552	100	500	Khauri, Wāh (var. Wārah)
Hāpari	93,756	1,145,118	...	80	300	Ranghar, Jat.

* See—Elliot, I, 113. Extract from Cunningham who gives the possession of Taxila to this people before Alexander's invasion.

Sovereigns of Delhi.

I.

Twenty princes reigned 437 years 1 month 28 days.*

	Ys.	M.	D.
Anangpāl, Tonwar	18	0	0
Bāsdeva	19	1	18
Pirthīmal (var. Pirthipāl)	19	6	19
Jaideva	20	7	28
Nirpāl (var. Hirpāl)	14	4	9
Adrah (var. Andiraj and 26-8-15) ...	26	7	11
Bichhrāj	21	2	13
Bik, (Anangpāl, Anakpāl)	22	3	16
Raghupāl	21	6	5
Nekpāl (Rekhpāl)	20	4	4
Gopāl	18	3	15
Sulakhan	25	2	2
Jaipāl	16	4	13
Kanwarpāl	29	9	11
Agnipāl	29	6	18
Bijaipāl. (var. Tajpāl)	24	1	6
Mahipāl	25	2	13
Aknepāl [Anangpāl]	21	2	15
Prithiraj	22	3	16

II.

Seven princes reigned 94 years and 7 months.

	Ys.	M.	D.
Bildeva Chauhān	6	1	4
Amr Gangu	5	2	5
Khirpāl	20	1	5
Sumer	7	4	2
Jāhir	4	4	8
Nāgdeva	3	1	5
Pithaura (Prithwi Rāe)	49	5	1

* This number does not accord with the totals. It would be as unprofitable as it is hopeless to attempt to digest or reconcile the order, number and length of these reigns among various authorities, when dates are unknown or conjectural, the names of the princes disputed and their existence mythical. After this, the minute exactness of their duration of reigns would be ridiculous.

III.

Eleven princes of the Ghori dynasty reigned 96 years 6 months and 20 days.

A.H.	A.D.					
588	1192	Sultān Muizzu'ddin Muhammad Sām Ghori ...	14	0	0
602	1206	,, Qutbuddin Eibak ...	4	0	0
607	1210	,, Ārām Sāh, his son ...	1	0	0
607	1210	,, Shamsuddin Altmish ...	26	0	0
633	1235	,, Ruknu'ddin Firoz Shāh, his son	0	6	28
634	1236	,, Raziah, his sister ...	3	6	6
637	1239	,, Muizzu'ddin Bahrām Shāh, his brother ...	2	1	15
640	1242	,, Alāu'ddin Masaud Shāh, his nephew ...	4	1	1
643	1245	,, Nāsīru'ddin Mahmud Shāh, his uncle ...	19	3	0
664	1265	,, Ghiyāsu'ddin Balban ...	20 and some months		
685	1286	,, Muizzu'ddin Kaikubād, his grandson ...	3	Do.	

IV.

Thirteen princes of the Khilji dynasty reigned 128 years 10 months and 10 days.

A.H.	A.D.		Ys.	Md.	D.
688	1289	Sultan Jalālu'ddin Khilji ...	7	some months	
695	1295	.. Alāu'ddin Khilji, his nephew ...	20	some months	
716	1316	,, Shahabu'ddin Omar, his son	0	3	some days
717	1317	,, Qutbu'ddin Mubārak Shāh his elder brother	14	4	0*

* All the MSS. concur in this glaring error, an evident slip of a copyist of 14 for 4. He was raised to the throne on the 7th Muharram A.H. 717 (22nd March 1317) and was killed 5th Rabii I. A.H. 721 (8th April 1321).

721	1321	,,	Nāsiru'ddin Khusrau Khān	0	6	0
721	1321	,,	Ghiyāsu'ddin Tughlaq Shāh	4	some months	
725	1324	,,	Muhammad, his son ...	27	0	0
752	1351	,,	Firoz Shāh, son of his paternal uncle ...	38	some months	
790	1388	,,	Tughlaq Shāh, his grandson	0	5	3
791	1389	,,	Abu Bakr Shāh, son of his paternal uncle ...	1	6	0
793	1391	,,	Muhammad Shāh, his paternal uncle ...	6	7	0†
796	1393	,,	Ala'uddin Sikandar, his son	0	1	11
796	1393	,,	Mahmud, his brother ...	20	2	0

V.

817	1414	Khizr Khān of the Sayyid Dynasty ...		7	2	2
824	1421	Mubārak Shāh		13	3	16
837	1433	Muhammad Shāh		10	some months	
850	1446	Sultān Alā'uddin Aālam Shāh		7	do.	
854	1450	,,	Behlol Lodi ...	38	8	8
894	1488	,,	Sikandar, his son ...	28	5	0
923	1517	,,	Ibrahim, his son ...	7	some months	
		,,	Bābar	5	0	0
		,,	Humayun	9	8	1
947	1540	,,	Sher Khān Sur ...	5	0	0
952	1545	,,	Salim Khān, his son ...	8	and odd	
960	1552	,,	Mubāriz Khān Adali.			
961	1553	,,	Ibrahim	some months		
962	1554	,,	Sikandar		do.	
		,,	Humāyun	1	3	0

† Thus in all MSS., but Feriahta discovers the method of computation by dating this reign from the abdication of his father Firoz Shāh in his favour on the 6th Shabān 789 A.H. (21st August 1387) to his death on the 17th Rabii I 796 (20th January 1393) disregarding the two intermediate reigns.

In the year 429 of the era of Bikramājīt (A.D. 372) Anangpāl[1] of the Tonwar tribe reigned with justice and founded Delhi. In the year 848 of the same luni-solar era (A.D. 791) in the vicinity of that renowned city, a hotly contested battle was fought between Prithirāj Tonwar and Bildeva Chauhān, and the sovereignty was transferred to this latter tribe. During the reign of Rājā Pithaura (Prithwi Rājā) Sultān Muizzu'ddin Sām made several incursions into Hindustān without any material success. The Hindu chronicles narrate that the Rājā engaged and defeated the Sultān in seven pitched battles. In the year 588 A.H. (A.D. 1192), an eighth engagement took place near Thānesar and the Rājā was taken prisoner. One hundred renowned champions (it is related) were among his special retainers. They were severally called *Sāmant*[2] and their extraordinary exploits cannot be expressed in language nor reconciled to experience or reason. It is said that at this battle none of these champions was present, and that the Rājā kept to his palace in selfish indulgence, passing his time in unseemly pleasure, heedless of the administration of the state and of the welfare of his troops.

The story runs that Rājā Jaichand Rathor, who held the supremacy of Hindustān was at this time ruling at Kanauj, and the other Rājās to some extent acknowledged his authority and he himself was so liberal-minded that many natives of Irān and Turān were engaged in his service. He announced his intention of celebrating the great sacrifice symbolic of paramount supremacy and set about its preparations. One of its conditions is that all menial service should be performed by princes alone, and that even the duties of the royal scullery and the kindling of fires are directly a part of their office. He likewise promised to bestow his beautiful daughter on the bravest of the assembled chivalry. Rājā Pithaura had resolved to attend the festival, but a chance speech of some courtier that while the Chauhān sovereignty existed, the great sacrifice could

[1] Another name for Raya-Sena. Wilford says that he was called Anangpāla or befriended by love probably for his success in his amours, which he displayed by carrying off his brother's wife. Tieffenthaler calls him Rasena and credits him with the building of Delhi, which is confirmed by the *Agnipurāna*.

[2] I learn from Professor Cowell that the primary meaning attached to this term in the St. Petersburg Dict. is 'neighbour', and the second signification, 'vassal', in which sense it often occurs in Sanskrit poetry. Monier Williams defines it as "a neighbouring king—a feudatory or tributary prince" and adds a third meaning 'a leader, general, champion' which applies to the text.

not legitimately be performed by the Rathor chief, inflamed his ancestral pride and he held back. Rājā Jaichand proposed to lead an army against him, but his counsellors representing the duration of the war and the approach of the appointed assembly, dissuaded him from the enterprise. To carry out the integrity of the festival, a statue of Rājā Pithaura was made in gold and placed in the office of porter at the royal gates. Roused to indignation at this news, Rājā Pithaura set out in disguise accompanied by 500 picked warriors and suddenly appeared at the gathering and carrying off the image, he put a great number to the sword and hastily returned. The daughter of Jaichand, who was betrothed to another prince, hearing of this adventurous deed, fell in love with Pithaura and refused her suitor. Her father, wroth at her conduct, expelled her from her chamber in the palace and assigned her a separate dwelling. Pithaura, distracted at the news, returned with a determination to espouse her, and it was arranged that Chāndā a bard, a rival in skill of Babylonian* minstrelsy, should proceed to the court of Jaichand on the pretence of chanting his praises, while the Rājā himself with a body of chosen followers should accompany him as attendants. Love transformed the intention into act, and by this ingenious device and the spell of valour, he carried off his heart's desire, and after prodigies of bravery and heroism reached his own kingdom. The hundred *Sāmants* (above mentioned) accompanied him under various disguises. One after the other they covered his retreat and defeated their pursuers. Gobind Rāe Gehlot made the first stand and bravely fighting, fell. Seven thousand of the enemy sank engulfed in death before him. Next Narsingh Deva, Chāndā, Pundir, and Sārdul Solanki, and Pālhan Deva Kachhwāha with his two brothers, during the first day's action, after performing feats of astonishing heroism sold their lives dearly, and all these heroes perished in the retreat.

The Rājā, with the bard Chāndā and two of his brothers, brought his bride to Delhi amid the admiration of a wondering world.

Unfortunately the prince was all engrossed by his affection for his beautiful wife and neglected all other affairs.

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* The text here is corrupt, and the variants printed give no help. Jarrett made the above translation with the warning that he was not satisfied with it. I suggest the emendation—"Chand the bard, who was a clever confidant [of Prithvi Rāj]," *az dāmsāzān-i-māhir-ash ast.* [J. Sarkar.]

After a year had thus passed, Sultān Shahābu'ddin by reason of the above events, formed an alliance with Rājā Jaichand, and assembling an army, invaded the country and captured many places. But no one dared even to represent, not to say, remedy this state of affairs. At last, the principal nobles meeting together, introduced Chāndā through the seven gates of the palace, who entering the women's apartments, by his representations somewhat disturbed the Rājā's mind. But in the pride of his former victories, he marched to battle with but a small army. As his brave champions were now no more, his kingdom fallen from its ancient renown, and Jaichand his former ally, reversing his past policy, in league with the enemy, the Rājā in this contest was taken prisoner and carried by the Sultān to Ghazni, Chāndā in his fidelity and loyalty hastened to Ghazni, entered the Sultān's service and gained his favour. By his address, he discovered the Rājā and comforted him in his prison. He proposed that he should praise his dexterity with the bow to the Sultān who would desire to witness it, and that then he might use his opportunity. The proposal was carried out and the Rājā pierced the Sultān with an arrow. His retainers fell upon the Rājā and Chāndā and cut them to pieces.

The Persian historians give a different account and state that the Rājā was killed in battle.

Fate discloses many such events from its treasure-house of wonders. But where—and blessed is he—who will take warning thereby and act on the lesson?

When the Chauhān dynasty fell, the choicest portion of Hindustān passed into the hands of Sultān Muizzu'ddin Ghori. Leaving Malik Qutbu'ddin (Eibak) who was one of his slaves, at the village Guhrām, [Ghuram in Patiala] he himself returned to Ghazni, laying waste the hilly country on his northern march. Qutbuddin in the same year possessed himself of Delhi and many other places and followed up his successes with remarkable ability. On the death of Muizzu'ddin, Ghiyāsu'ddin Mahmud son of Ghiyasu'ddin Muhammad sent from Firozkoh (his capital) the umbrella and insignia of royalty to Malik Qutbu'ddin. Qutbu'ddin was enthroned at Lahore and exalted his reputation by his justice, munificence and valour. He lost his life while playing at *chaugan* [polo.]

The nobles raised his son Arām Shāh to the throne, but a strong faction set up Malik Altmish, who had been a

purchased slave, and was the son-in-law and adopted heir of Qutbu'ddin. Arām Shāh was defeated and retired into obscurity, and Altmish assumed the title of Shamsu'ddin. It is said that his father was chief of some of the Turkish tribes. His brethren and cousins distracted by envy, sold, like Joseph, this nursling of intelligence, into slavery. Through the vicissitudes of fortune, he had various changes of masters until a merchant brought him to Ghazni. Sultān Muizzu'ddin Sām proposed to purchase him, but his owner chaffered for his value and placed an exorbitant price on him. The Sultān enraged, forbade any one to purchase him. Qutbu'ddin on his return to Ghazni after the conquest of Gujrāt, having obtained permission, bought him for a large sum and adopted him as a son. Khwājah Qutbu'ddin Ushi* was his contemporary and edified the world by his outward demeanour and the sanctity of his interior life. When Altmish died, his son (Ruknu'ddin Firoz Shāh) succeeded him who regarded wealth as a means of self-indulgence and thought little of winning the affections of his people. He made over the control of affairs to his mother Shāh Turkān. The nobles withdrawing their allegiance raised Raziah the daughter of Sultān Shamsu'ddin to the throne. The Sultān himself had previously made her his heir. Some of his courtiers asked him the reason of his doing so while he had sons still living. He replied that his sons, addicted to drinking were unfitted for the dignity. During the reign of Muizzu'ddin Bahrām Shāh, the Mughal troops devastated Lahore A disloyal faction imprisoned the king and put him to death. In the reign of Sultān Alāu'ddin Masud Shāh occurred an irruption of the Mughals into Bengal, entering by way of China or Tibet, but his troops defeated them. Another body advanced from Turkistān to Uch. The Sultān set out to engage them, but on reaching the banks of the Biāh, intelligence reached him that the enemy had retreated. He returned to Delhi and there affected the company of low and base flatterers and ended his days in prison.

Nāsiru'ddin Mahmud ruled with capacity and munificence. In his time also, the Mughals entered the Panjāb but retreated on hearing of his approach.

* Ush is in Transoxiana and his birthplace He is also known as Kāki from the miraculous production of bread cakes of the kind called in the vernacular *kāk* applied by the prophet Khizr for the needs of his family whose sustenance his meditations gave him no leisure or occasion to provide.

The *Tabaqāt i Nāsiri* takes its name from him. He had many excellent qualities. Ghiyasu'ddin Balban who had been the slave and son-in-law of his father, he raised to the rank of chief minister and gave him the title of Ulugh[1] Khān. This minister filled his high office worthily and sought the divine favour in watchfulness over his people.

Nāsiru'ddin dying without children, the faithful minister was raised to the sovereignty. Clemency and solid gravity of character added fresh lustre to his dignity, and far from spending his precious hours in unworthy pursuits, he gladdened his kingdom by his appreciation of merit, his knowledge of men and his devotion to God. Those of ill repute and the wicked were banished into obscurity, and the good happily prospered under his encouragement. He conferred the government of the Panjāb on his eldest son Muhammad, commonly known as *Khān i Shahid*[2] through whose valour and vigilance the province rested in security. Mir Khusrau and Mir Hasan were in his suite. He was returning from a visit to his father unprepared for hostilities, when he encountered some Mughal troops between Dipālpur and Lahor and lost his life in the action. Mir Khusrau was taken prisoner but contrived to escape. The province of Bengal had been bestowed by Ghiyāsu'ddin on his youngest son Bughra Khān.

On the death of Ghiyāsu'ddin, the nobles despatched Kai Khusrau the son of Khān i Shahid, who had been nominated heir, to (his father's government of) Multān, and bestowed the title of Sultān Muizzu'ddin Kaikubād on the son of Bughra Khān who thus acquired the sovereignty of Delhi. His father in Bengal, assuming the title of Nāsiruddin marched to Delhi whence Kaikubād advanced with a force to encounter him. The armies met on the banks of the Sarju (Gogra) near the town of Ajodhya, and through the conspiracy of disloyal and evil counsellors, the father after the interview returned to Bengal and the supreme sovereignty rested with the son. It is strange that Amir Khusrau should have chosen such a subject as this interview for encomium in his poem the *Qirān us Sa'dain*.

[1] *Ulugh* is a Tartar word and signifies 'great', and used often as a proper name as in the case of Ulugh Beg grandson of Timur.

[2] Or the martyred prince. Abul Fazl's assertion of the prince's unpreparedness is not confirmed. It was in the pursuit of the flying Mughals that he was surprised by an ambush while he halted by the banks of a stream to drink and to return thanks to God for his victory. Amir Khusrau alludes to his escape in his well-known poem, the *Khizr Khāni*.

The fortunes of this thankless unfilial son through his insobriety fell into decay. A faction set up his son, under the title of Shamsu'ddin to remedy the disorder, and the body of the wretched Kaikubād was flung into the waters of the Jumna. Shamsuddin was set aside and the sovereignty, by assent of the ministers, conferred on the Khiljis.

Jalālu'ddin who was paymaster of the Imperial forces, ascended the throne and by his simplicity of character lent no favour to the designs of the factious. His nephew Malik Alāu'ddin who had been brought up under his care, went from Karrah to the Deccan and having amassed great booty was inflated by its possession and proved rebellious. The Sultān by the persuasion of intriguers advanced from Delhi to Karrah, where the traitor slew him and assumed the title of Sultān Alāu'ddin. Thus by a marvel of Fate did the empire devolve on this miscreant, yet he accomplished some excellent reforms. On several occasions he encountered and defeated the Mughals. Mir Khusrau dedicated to him his *Khamsah*[1] and the story of Dewal[2] Rāni to his son Khizr Khān. Unfortunately he abandoned his usual prudence and fell under the influence of a eunuch (Kāfur) on whom he conferred the conduct of the administration. Through the suggestions of that wretch, his three sons Khizr Khān, Shādi Khān and Mubārak Khān were imprisoned, and on his own death, by the same instrumentality the youngest son was raised to the throne under the title of Shahābuddin. He destroyed the sight of two of his brothers, but Mubārak Khān providentially escaped. A few days later the wretch (Kāfur) was himself assassinated and Mubārak Khān who was in prison became chief minister.

[1] Or *five* poems, *viz.*, the Hasht Bihisht, Sikandar Nāmah, Panj Ganj, Laila wa Majnum, and Shirin wa Khusrau.

[2] The story will be found in Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 327-366. Kaunla Devi her mother, the wife of Karan Rāe of Nahrwāla had been taken captive in the wars against that prince (1297) and placed in the royal harem. In 1306 an expedition proceeding to the Deccan under Kāfur, Kaunla Devi represented to the king that she had borne two daughters to her former husband, that one had died, but the other Dewal Devi was still alive and she desired to recover her. Passing through Mālwah, Kāfur demanded her of Karan Rae without success. Shankar Deva Rāe, prince of Deogarh had long sought to obtain her hand, but the proud Rajput had hitherto refused his daughter to the upstart Mahratta. The desire to gain his aid in the war against the king's troops secured his consent and he despatched her under an escort which fell in accidentally with a body of Muhammadan troops near the caves of Ellora. An engagement resulted in the capture of the princess and her despatch to her mother at Delhi. Her beauty won the heart of Khizr Khān the king's son and the rough course of their love with its hapless termination is celebrated in the Khizr Khāni. When they first met these precocious lovers were respectively ten and eight years of age.

Subsequently he deposed his younger brother, and assumed the title of Sultān Qutbuddin. He reduced Gujarāt and the Deccan. Through his incapacity and licentious disposition he chose a favourite of the lower orders named Hasan for the comeliness of his person, and bestowed on him the title of Khusrau Khān. Although the faithful ministers of the Crown represented the man's unworthiness and infamy, the king regarded their honest advice as the suggestions of envy, till Khusrau Khān, plotting secretly, dared to assassinate his master and assumed the sovereignty under the title of Nāsiru'ddin. He put to death the surviving members of the family of Alāu'ddin and perpetrated the greatest cruelties. Malik Ghāzi who was one of Alāu'ddin's chief nobles, defeated and slew him and with the concurrence of the nobles, ascended the throne with the title of Sultān Ghiyāsu'ddin Tughlaq Shāh. After settling the affairs of Bengal, he returned to Delhi. His son Muhammad Khān erected a pavilion at the distance of 3 *kos* from Delhi, in the space of three days and with much entreaty invited the king to enter it. The roof of the building fell in and the king perished in the ruins. Although (Ziāuddin) *Barni*[1] endeavours to substantiate the innocence of Muhammad Khān, the haste with which the pavilion was erected, and the eagerness to entertain the king therein, have all the appearance of guilty design.

When Sultān Muhammad died, Firoz the son of (Sālār) Rajab his paternal uncle was, according to the will of Muhammad, raised to the throne. He ruled with capacity and prudence and left many useful works as memorials of his reign. At his death anarchy to some extent prevailed in the empire. A faction set up his grandson (Ghiyāsuddin) Tughlaq Shāh (II) but in a short space he was sent to his last sleep by the hands of traitors and Abu Bakr[2] another grandson succeeded him.

In the reign of Sultān Mahmud, the direction of affairs devolved on Mallu Khān who received the title of Iqbāl Khān, but his incapacity and ill-fortune were unequal to the burden of state guidance. Internal disorders arose. A grandson of Firoz Shāh was acknowledged by some, under the title of Nasrat Shāh and increased the anarchy. Constant struggles took place in the vicinity of Delhi till in the

[1] The well-known author of the *Tarikh i Firoz Shāhi*.
[2] Son of Zafar Khān, son of Firuz Shāh.

year 801 A.H. (A.D. 1398) Timur invaded the country. Sultān Mahmud fled to Gujarāt and every competitor for power was crushed.

When Timur was on his return march, he left Khizr Khān, whom he had met during his invasion, in the government of Multān and Dipālpur. For two months Delhi was a waste. Nasrat Shāh who had fled into the Doāb, took possession of the throne. Iqbāl Khān then marched on Delhi and seized it and the other fled to Mewāt. Mahmud Khān now came from Gujarāt and Iqbāl Khān feigned acceptance of his service. One night the Sultān, in desperation of his affairs departed alone to the court of Sultān Ibrahim of the Sharqi dynasty (of Jaunpur) but met with no encouragement nor assistance. He was compelled therefore to return and Iqbāl Khān now opposed him but without success, and subsequently was taken prisoner in an action against Khizr Khān and was slain. Sultān Mahmud now took possession of Delhi, and was for some time occupied in hostilities, till he was carried off by an illness, and the Khilji dynasty terminated with him.

For a short period allegiance was paid to Daulat Khān (Lodi) *Khāsah Khail,* till Khizr Khān marched from Multān and took possession of Delhi. Malik Mardān Khān, one of the nobles of the Court of Sultān Firoz, had adopted Sulaimān the father of Khizr Khān as his son who subsequently, in default of recognised heirs, succeeded to his government.[1] Khizr Khān in gratitude (to Timur) did not[2] assume the regal title but styled his Court "The Sublime Standards," and adorned the *Khutbah* with the name of that illustrious monarch and afterwards with that of Mirzā Shāh Rukh, but it concluded with a prayer for himself. His son Mubārak Shāh succeeded him in accordance with his will. Sultān Ibrahim Sharqi and Hoshang (of Mālwah) being engaged in hostilities, Mubārak intended an attack

[1] The obscurity of this sentence in the original lies in the eliptical style of Abul Fazl. The sense I have given is in accordance with the facts of Ferishta who says that Malik *Marwān* Daulāt had adopted Sulaimān, and being himself appointed to the government of Multān, was succeeded at his death by his own son Malik Shaikh. The latter dying, made way for Sulaimān who was in turn succeeded by his son Khizr Khān. Ferishta makes the name Marwān and not Mardān.

[2] The MSS. omit the negative, but the text supplies it. Ferishta is clear on the point. "He did *not* take the name of king nor assume any regal epithet." The title in the text is not mentioned by him, which, however, is somewhat analogous to the Ottoman style of the 'Bābi Aālī' or Sublime Porte, though in the latter it is absolute, and in the former vicarious.

on Kālpi and the adjacent territories, but he was perfidiously set upon by a band of traitors and slain.[1] Muhammad Shāh, who according to some was the son of Farid the son of Khizr Khān, while another account makes him the son of Mubārak, was raised to the throne. Sultān Alāu'ddin (his son and successor) possessed no share of rectitude and abandoned himself to licentious gratifications.

Bahlol (Lodi) now aspired to greatness. He was the nephew of Sultān Shāh Lodi of the Shāhu Khel tribe (of Afghāns). His father Bahrām in the time of Sultān Mahmud, came with five sons from the borders of Balot to Multān and subsisted with some difficulty by traffic. Sultān Shāh[2] obtained service under Khizr Khān. He received the title of Islām Khān, and the revenues of Sirhind were assigned to him. Bahlol, the son of his nephew on his brother's side was prospering ill in Sirhind, but was received into favour by him and adopted as a son. Bahlol was born in Multān and during the month in which his birth was expected, a beam of the house fell and killed his mother. He was extracted by the Caesarean operation and his destiny proved fortunate. Although he allowed his sovereign (Alāu'ddin) who lived in retirement (at Badāon) to retain nominal power, he boldly assumed the supreme authority.[3] His reign showed some capacity and his conduct was marked by intelligence and recognition of merit. He was carried off by an illness in his 80th year. It is said that he once happened to meet with a darvesh, having at the time with him but a trifling sum of money. The spiritually enlightened recluse called out, "Who will buy the kingdom of Delhi for such a sum of money?" His companions laughed in mockery at the man, but Bahlol frankly gave him all he had, and paid him reverence and eventually fulfilled the prediction. He carried on wars with the Sharqi kings which continued with varying successes, until he took Jaunpur and this dynasty was overthrown. He left his son, Bārbak at Jaunpur and returned to Delhi. As he was returning to Delhi from an

[1] He had laid the foundations of the city of Mubārakābād on the Jumna and was in the habit of visiting it to inspect the progress of the buildings. It was in one of these that he was assassinated at the instigation of the Wazir Sarwar ul Mulk on the 9th Rajab 837 (A.D. 1433). Ferisht.

[2] His eldest son, the others were Malik Kālā, Malik Firoz, Malik Muhammad and Malik Khwājah. Ferishta.

[3] Removing the name of Alāu'ddin from the *Khutbah*, and assuming the insignia of royalty. Ferishta.

expedition against Gwalior he died near the town of Saketh. His son Nizām Khān with the concurrence of the nobles, assumed the sovereignty and was styled Sultān Sikandar. He ruled with sagacity and appreciation of character and transferred the capital to Agra. In the year A.H. 911 (A.D. 1505), a great earthquake occurred and many lofty buildings were levelled. Sikandar was of comely person and mild disposition and popular from his liberality and open-handedness.

On his death, his son Sultān Ibrahim ascended the throne of Delhi and his authority was recognised as far as the confines of Jaunpur, the nobles conferring upon Jalāl Khān, another son of Sikandar's, the sovereignty of Jaunpur. Dissensions followed between the brothers, and Jalāl Khān abandoned his government and took refuge with the governor of Gwalior, but meeting with no success, fled to the court of Sultān Mahmud of Mālwa and succeeding as little there, he set out for Gondwāna. There the royal partisans seized him and carried him to the king by whom he was put to death. During his reign various chiefs revolted, such as Daryā Khān Lohāni viceroy of Behār, and his son Bahādur Khān had the *Khutba* read and the coin minted in his own name. Daulat Khān Lodi fled at Kabul and sought protection at the court of Babar, whom he led to the conquest of Hindustān while affairs resulted in a prosperous issue.

[1] Saketa or Saketa according to the *I. G.* is one of the classical names borne by Ajodhya, the ancient capital of Oudh. Abul Fazl places *Saketh* in the Sarkār of Kanauj.

SUBAH OF LAHOR

It is situated in the third climate. Its length from the river *Satlaj* (Sutlej) to the *Sind* river is 180 *kos*. Its breadth from *Bhimbar* to *Chaukhandi* one of the dependencies of *Satgarah*,[1] 86 *kos*. It is bounded on the east by *Sirhind;* on the north by *Kashmir;* on the south by *Bikaner* and *Ajmer;* on the west by *Multān*. It has six principal rivers which all flow from the northern mountains.

(1.) The *Sutlej* the ancient name of which is *Shattudar*[2] and whose source is in the *Kāhlor* hills. *Rupar, Māchhiwārah* and *Ludhiānah* are situated on its banks, and it receives the Biāh at the *Bauh*[3] ferry.

(2.) The *Biāh* (Beās) was anciently called *Bipāsha,* (Sansk. Vipasa Gr. Hyphasis). Its source is named *Biahkund* in the *Kullu* mountains in the vicinity of which the town of *Sultānpur*[4] stands above the river.

(3.) The *Ravi,* the ancient *Irawati,*[5] rises in the *Bhadrāl*[6] hills. Lahor the capital, is situated on its banks.

(4). The *Chenāb,* anciently *Chandarbhāgā*. From the summit of the *Kishtawār*[7] range issue two sweet water streams, the one called *Chandar,* the other *Bhāgā* which unite near *Khatwār* and are known by the above name whence they flow by *Bahlolpur, Sudharah* and *Hazārah*.

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[1] Satgarha is situated 13 miles east of Gugaira on one of the projecting points of the high bank which marks the limits of the windings of the Ravi on the east. The name means 'seven castles' but these no longer exist. There is an old brick fort and several isolated mounds which mark the site of an ancient city. Cunningham, p. 212.

[2] The Sydrus or better reading, Hesidrus of Pliny. "It rises like the Indus on the slopes of the Kailās mountains, the Siva's paradise of ancient Sanskrit literature, with peaks 22,000 feet high. The twin lakes of Mānasarowar and Rakas-tal, united with each other, are its direct source. See *I. G.*

[3] In the maps, according to the text note, *Baupur.* The junction is at the south boundary of the Kaparthala state.

[4] It is in Kullu proper on the right bank of the Beas in lat. 30° 58′ N., and long. 77° 7′ E., at an elevation of 4,092 feet above sea level. It is perched on a natural eminence, once surrounded by a wall. Only two gateways remain of the ancient fortifications. *I. G.*

[5] Hydraotes of Arrian.

[6] Var. Bhadrā. It rises in the northern half of the Bangāhal valley in Kangra dist.

[7] The *I. G.* places *Kistawār* in the Kashmir state, lat. 33° 18′ 30″ N., long. 75° 48′ E. near the left bank of the Chenab which here forces its way through a gorge with precipitous cliffs 1,000 feet high. The Chenāb is called Sandabad by Ptolemy but the Greek historians of Alexander named it *Akesines* because its proper name was of ill omen, from its similitary thinks Bishop Thirlwall to *Alexandron-phagos* 'devourer of Alexander.' *Ladak,* pp. 118, 382.

(5.) The *Bihat* (Jhelum), anciently called *Bidasta*,[1] has its rise in a lake in the *parganah* of *Ver* in *Kashmir*, flows through *Srinagar* and enters Hindustān. *Bherah* lies on its (left) bank.

(6.) The source of the *Sindh* (Indus) is placed by some between *Kashmir* and *Kāshghar*, while others locate it in China. It flows along the borders of the *Sawād* territory by *Atak Benares*[2] and *Chaupārah* into *Baluchistān*.

His Majesty has given the name of *Beth Jālandhar* to the valley between the *Biāh* and the *Satlaj*; of *Bāri*, to that between the *Biāh* and the *Rāvi*; of *Rechna* to that between between the *Rāvi* and the *Chenāb*; of *Jenhat*[3] to the valley of the *Chenāb* and the *Bihat*, and *Sindh Sāgar* to that of the *Bihat* and *Sindh*. The distance

between	the	Satlaj	and	the	Biāh	is	50 *kos*.
,,	,,	Biāh	,,		Rāvi	,,	17 ,,
,,	,,	Rāvi	,,		Chenāb	,,	30 ,,
,,	,,	Chenāb	,,		Bihat	,,	20 ,,
,,	,,	Bihat	,,		Sindh	,,	68 ,,

This province is populous, its climate healthy and its agricultural fertility rarely equalled. The irrigation is chiefly from wells. The winter though not as rigorous as in Persia and Turkestān, is more severe than in any other part of India. Through the encouragement given by His Majesty, the choicest productions of Turkestān, Persia and Hindustān are to be found here. Musk-melons are to be

[1] Bidasta and Bihat are corruptions of Sansk. *Vitasta*, the Hydaspes of Horace, and the more correct Bidaspes of Ptolemy. The pool of Vira Nāg was walled round by Jahangir, but the true source of the river is more to the S.-W. in N. lat. 33° 30′ and E. long. 75° 25′. Bherah is in the Shāhpur dist. lat. 32° 29′ N., long. 72° 57′ E. The ruins of the original city known as Jobnāthnagar are identified by Genl. Cunningham with the capital of Sopheites, contemporary of Alexander the Great.

[2] It is so called by the Muhammadan historians in contradistinction to Katak Benares in Orissa at the opposite extremity of the empire. *I. G.* On his return from Kābul, on the 14th Safar 989 A.H. (20th March 1581), Akbar crossed the Indus at Attock and ordered the building of the fort, of morter and stone in order to control that part of the country and called it Atak which signifies in the vernacular 'hindrance' or 'prohibition', it being forbidden to the Hindus to cross the Indus. Ferishta. The Swāt territory is here meant, the river of that name, the *Swastos* of the Greeks (Sansk. *Suvastu*) rising on the east slopes of the mountains which divide Panjakora from the Swāt country, receives the drainage of the Swāt valley and entering the Peshawar dist. north of Michni, joins the Kābul river at Nisatha. The course of the Indus has there a somewhat parallel direction.

[3] Under list of *Sarkārs* Chenhat, more commonly known as the *Jech* or Jechnā Doāb.

[4] Tieffenthaler quotes other measurements besides these, giving the reason for the variations in the differences of route, the incapacity of travellers and the universal ignorance of geometry.

had throughout the whole year. They come first in season when the sun is in Taurus and Gemini, (April, May, June), and a later crop when he is in Cancer and Leo (June, July, August). When the season is over, they are imported from Kashmir and from Kābul, Badakhshān and Turkestān. Snow is brought down every year from the northern mountains. The horses resemble the Irāq breed and are of excellent mettle. In some parts of the country, they employ themselves in washing the soil whence gold, silver, copper, *rui*,[1] zinc, brass and lead are obtained. There are skilful handicraftsmen of various kinds.

Lāhor is a large city in the *Bari Doāb*. In size and population it is among the first. In ancient astronomical tables it is recorded as *Lohāwar*. Its longitude is 109° 22′, lat. 31° 50′. During the present reign the fortifications and citadel have been strengthened with brick masonry and as it was on several occasions the seat of government, many splendid buildings have been erected and delightful gardens have lent it additional beauty. It is the resort of people of all countries whose manufactures present an astonishing display and it is beyond measure remarkable in populousness and extent.

Nagarkot is a city situated on a hill: its fort is called *Kāngrah*. Near the town is the shrine of *Mahāmāyā*[2] which is considered as a manifestation of the divinity. Pilgrims from distant parts visit it and obtain their desires. Strange it is that in order that their prayers may be favourably heard, they cut out their tongues: with some it grows again on the spot, with others after one or two days. Although the medical faculty allow the possibility of growth in the tongue, yet in so short a space of time it is sufficiently amazing. In the Hindu mythology, *Mahāmāyā* is said to be the wife of Mahādeva, and the learned of this creed represent by this name the energizing power of the deity. It is said that on beholding the disrespect (shown to her husband, Siva) she cut herself in pieces and her body fell in

[1] This metal is defined at p. 41 Vol. I. as being composed of 4 *sers* of copper to ½ of lead, and in India called *Bhangār*.

[2] The Great Illusion, or the illusory nature of worldly objects divinely personified, an epithet of the goddess Durgā. The earlier name Hardwār, *Māyāpur*, represents the ancient worship of this supreme energy and "by her, whose name is Maya", says the *Bhagavata* "the Lord made the universe." His temple still exists in Hardwar, and is described in Cunningham's *Anct. Geog.*

tour places; her head and some of her limbs in the northern mountains of Kashmir near *Kāmrāj*, and these relics are called Shāradā; other parts fell near *Bijāpur* in the Deccan and are known as *Tuljā Bhawāni*. Such portions as reached the eastern quarter near *Kāmrup* are called *Kāmākhyā*, and the remnant that kept its place is celebrated as *Jālandhari* which is this particular spot.[1]

In the vicinity torch-like flames issue from the ground in some places, and others resemble the blaze of lamps.[2]

[1] Read with variation of detail the preface to the *Gopatha Brāhmana* published in Nos. 215-252 of the Bibl. Ind., pp. 30-35. It occurs in the 2nd Book in the germ which afterwards developed into the Puranic tale of *Daksha's great sacrifice*. This mind-born son of Brahmā and father of Uma or Durga assisted at a Visrasrig sacrifice celebrated by his father in which discourtesy was shown to Siva. A quarrel broke out between Daksha and Siva, resulting in the exclusion of the latter from the great sacrifice to which the whole Hindu pantheon was bid. Uma seated in her blissful mānsion on the crest of the Kailāsa mountain, saw the crowds proceeding to her father's court to which she repaired and learning the exclusion of her husband, upbraided her father for his injustice and refused to retain the body she had inherited from him. Covering herself up with her robe, she gave up her life in a trance of meditation. The wrath of Siva incarnate in a giant form pursued the feasters and created stupendous havoc. *Vishnu* unable to pacify Siva and knowing that his fury was kindled by the sight of his dead wife, cut the body to pieces bit by bit with his discus and threw it about the earth and thus calmed the irate and oblivious deity who thereupon restored the killed and wounded to life and soundness. Daksha's head having been burnt in the melee, it was replaced by that of a goat which happened to be at hand, apparently without remonstrance from the reanimated demigod or even his consciousness of the substitution. The *Tantra Chudāmani* is able fortunately to detail the portions of the body and to identify the places where they fell. As these are said to be still held in high veneration, I record them for the instruction of the curious or the devout.

1. The crown of the head at Hingulā (Hinglaj). 2. The three eyes at Sarkarāra. 3. The nose at Sugandhā. 4. The top of the neck at Kāsmira. 5. The tongue at Jwālamukhi. 6. Right breast at Jālandhara. 7. Heart at Vaidyanātha. 8. Knees at Nepāla. 9. Right hand at Mānasa. 10 Navel at Ukala. 11. Right cheek at Gondaki. 12. Left arm at Vahulā. 13. Elbow at Ujjayani. 14 Right arm at Chāttola, Chandrasekhara. 15. Right foot at Tripurā. 16. Left foot at Trisrota. 17. *Yoni* at Kāmagiri (Kāmākhyā). 18. Right great toe at Yugādyā. 19. Other right toes at Kālipitha (Kalighāt). 20. Fingers at Prayāga. 21. Thighs at Jayanti. 22. Earrings at Vārānasi. 23. Back of the trunk at Kamyāsrama. 24. Right ankle at Kurukshetra. 25. Wrists at Manivedaka. 26. Back of the neck at Srisaila. 27. Backbone at Kānchi. 28. One hip at Kālamādhara. 29. Other hip at Narmadā. 30. Left breast at Rāmagiri. 31. Hairs of the head at Vrindāvana. 32. Upper row of teeth at Suchi. 33. Lower ditto at Panchasāgara. 34. Left *talpa* (shoulder-blade) at Karatoyā. 35. Right ditto at Sripārvatta. 36. Left ankle at Vibhāsha. 37. Belly at Prabāsha. 38. Upper lip at Bhairavaparvata. 39. Chin at Jalasthala. 40. Left cheek at Godavari. 41. Right shoulder at Ratnāvali. 42. Left shoulder at Mithila. 43. Legbone at Nalāpāti. 44. Ears at Karmāta. 45. Mind(?) at Vakresvara. 46. Palm at Jasora. 47. Lower lip at Attahasa. 48. Necklace at Nandipura. 49. Anklets at Lankā. 50. Toes of left foot at Virāta. 51. Right leg at Magadha.

[2] See Hugel's *Travels in Kashmir*, p. 42, for this phenomenon. The text has *pilsuj*, which is a lamp in the shape of a platter, three feet in height from the base, and about 6 inches diameter at the top; having in the middle a small tube with two holes through which the wick is fed by oil or grease kept in liquefaction by the flame. This shrine is the famous *Jwālāmukhi* (mouth of Flame) distant two days' journey from Kāngra.

There is a concourse of pilgrims and various things are cast into the flames with the expectation of obtaining temporal blessings. Over them a domed temple has been erected and an astonishing crowd assembles therein. The vulgar impute to miraculous agency what is simply the effect of a mine of brimstone.

In the middle of *Sindh Sāgar* near *Shamsābād* is the cell of Bālnāth Jogi which they call *Tilah Bālnāth.*[1] Devotees of Hindustān regard it with veneration and Jogis especially make pilgrimage to it. Rock-salt is found in this neighhood. There is a mountain 20 *kos* in length from which they excavate it, and some of the workmen carry it out. Of what is obtained, three-fourths is the share of those that excavate and one-fourth is allotted to the carriers. Merchants purchase it at from half to two *dāms* a *man* and transport it to distant countries. The landowner takes 10 *dāms* for every carrier and the merchant pays a duty of one rupee for every 17 *mān* to the state. From this salt artificers make dishes, dish-covers, plates and lamp-stands.

The five *Doābs* of this province are subdivided into 234 *parganahs*. The measured land is one *kror*, 61 *lakhs*, 55,643 *Bighas*, and 3 *Biswas*. The gross revenue is 55 *krors*, 94 *lakhs*, 58,423 *dāms*. (Rs. 1,39,86,460-9-2). Of this 98 *lakhs*, 65,594 *dāms* (Rs. 246,639-13-7) are *Suyurghāl*. The local force consists of 54,480 Cavalry and 426,086 Infantry.

For traditions regarding the four *pithas* and the number of the *pithas*, vide the *Sakta Pithas* by Dr. D. C. Sarkar in the *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 11-15, 17-31. According to Dr. Sarkar, the *Hevajra Tantra* of the Buddhists contains the earliest tradition about the *Four Pithas* which are :— (1) Jalandhara, (2) Odiyāna (Uddiyan in the Swat valley), (3) Purnagiri and (4) Kāmrupa. The same is echoed in the Kālikā Purāna which mentions Odrā in the place of Uddiyāna. This corresponds, barring Uddiyana, to Abul Fazl's enumeration of the *pithas*.

[1] General Cunningham (*Ancient Geog. of India*, p. 164) says that the Tila range, 30 miles in length, occupies the west bank of the Jhelum from the east bend of the river below Mangala to the bed of the Bunhar river, 12 miles north of Jalālpur. The full name is *Goraknāth ka Tila*, the more ancient, *Bālnath ka Tila*, both derived from the temple on the summit dedicated to the sun as Bālnath, but now devoted to the worship of Goraknath, a form of Siva.

Sarkār of the Bet Jālandhar Doāb.

Containing 60 *Mahals*, 3,279,302 *Bighas*, 17 *Biswas*. Revenue 124,365,212 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 2,651,788 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 4,155. Infantry 79,436.

	Bighas Biswas.	Revenue D	Suyurghāl	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes.
Islimābād	2,735	458,122	...	15	200	Afghān.
Pati Dhuniat ...	57,866	3,601,678	80,607	30	400	Nāru.
Bhungā	51,089-13	2,760,530	10,232	20	300	Do. (var. Barar).
Bajwāra	12,363	2,425,813	689	30	200	Khori Wāhah.
Bhalon, has a stone fort	32,761	1,305,006	...	70	1000	Dhāhwāl.
Barwa	13,611	668,000	...	...	...	
Pālakwā	4,532	200,000	...	...	...	
Bachheru	4.215	160,000	...	...	...	
Besāli and Khattah, 2 *Mahals*	11,405	566,366	...	...	...	
Talwan	201,450	6,780,337	804,889	70	700	Main.
Tatārpur, has a stone fort	3.458	170,388	...	...	...	
Jālandhar, has a brick fort	474,308	14,751,626	773,167	100	1000	Afghān. Lodhi, and Lohāni, and Ranghar. tribes.
Chaurāsi	96,330	5,463,913	255,516	50	1000	Afghān.
Jeora	48,124	2,474,854	23,527	50	300	Bhatti.
Jason Bālākoti, has a stone fort	15,054	600,000	...	500	3000	Jaswāl, called also Bikaner.
Chanor	...	313,000	...	100	2000	Sombansi.
Hājipur Sāriyāna ...	59,255	2,693,874	...	...	...	
Dādrak [Dārdak] ...	497,202-11	9,707,993	92,153	150	4000	Khori Wāhah.
Dasuya, has a brick fort	157,962	4,474,950	67,249	...	...	Khokhar.
Dadial, has a stone fort	34,150	1,650,000	...	300	4005	Sasahwāl.
Dādah, Do. ...	30,218	1,200,000	...	...	...	
Darparah	26,444	900,000	...	...	...	
Dārdhi	15,054	600,000	...	100	1000	Sombansi.
Dunnāgor	11,490	455,870	...	...	...	
Dhankali	1,880	72,000	...	...	...	
Rahimābād	8,790	2,480,689	13,613	80	200	Khori Wāha.

Sarkār of Bet Jālandhar Doāb—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Rājpurpatan, has a stone fort	...	1,800,000	...	...	...	...
Sultānpur, has a brick fort	101,865	4,020,232	405,830	200	1000	Bhatti.
Sānkarbanot	59,952	2,533,225	16,485	50	500	Khori Wāhah.
Suket Mandi, has copper and iron mines ...	42,150	1,680,000	...	100	8000	Sombansi.
Sopar	24,583	1,000,000	...	...	2000	Sasahwāl.
Siba, has a stone fort ...	8,114-18	800,000	...	200	2000	Do.
Sorān	213,333	...	...	...	...	...
Shaikhpur	97,173	4,722,604	52,639	150	2000	Bhatti.
Shergarh	3,640	194,294	...	...	...	...
Isāpur	...	346,667	...	...	...	...
Kothi	116,266	5,546,661	30,670	30	400	Jat.
Garh Diwāla	58,083	2,670,087	4,530	20	200	Jat.
Kotla	42,152	1,680,000	...	300	4000	Jasrotiah.
Kotlehar, has a stone fort	32,932-16	1,310,847	...	200	3000	Kotlahariah.
Kharakdhār	42,043-12	48,000	...	...	...	...
Kheunkherā, has a stone fort	6,021-16	240,000	...	under Nakroh		Jaswāl.
Gangot, has a stone fort ...	6,021-16	240,000	...	...	...	Do.
Khera	6,021-16	240,000	...	20	4000	Surajbansi.
Ghawāsan (var. and G. Ghawās)	14,742-14	586,906	...	...	...	...
Loidheri	15,959-8	536,414	17,810	...	...	...
Lālsingi	5,937	236,850	...	...	...	...
Miāni Nuria	68,229	21,061,565	6,156	20	400	Bhatti.
Melsi	54,653-17	1,823,559	1,217	20	3000	Ranghar, Jat.
Muhammadpur	38,231	1,802,558	10,553	100	1000	Ranghar, Main.
Mānsawāl	6,666	286,667	..	...	...	...
Malot	6,412	4,603,620	...	...	...	...
Mandhota [Mamdot] ...	13,280	426,367	...	...	...	...
Nakodar	78,731	3,710,756	9,757	20	1000	Main.
Nangal	4,806	267,270	...	...	...	...
Nakrota	32,642	1,300,061	...	500	5000	Jaswāl.
Nonangal	46,180	2,315,368	...	30	300	Baloch, Jat.
Nandon	133,439	5,300,000	...	100	1500	Nagarkotiah.
Harhana [Hariana] with Akbarābād, 2 *Mahals* ...	626,689	6,032,032	49,650	40	406	Nāru.
Hadiābād	17,126	519,467	2,067	...	...	...

Sarkār of the Bāri Doāb.

Containing 52 *Mahals*. 4,580,002 *Bighas*, 18 *Biswas*. Revenue 142,808,183 *Dāms* revenue in cash from crops charged at special rates and from land paying the general *bigah* rate. *Suyurghāl*, 3,923,922 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 31,055. Infantry, 129,300.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Anchhara	...	500,000	...	50	500	Khokhar.
Andora	20,781	1,193,739	7,624	...	...	...
Abhipur	...	168,000	...	...	...	...
Udar [Utar]	...	9,600	...	...	...	...
Lahore city Balda ...	...	2,912,600	...	5000	4000	...
Phulwāri	4,727-10	452,694	143,955	20	100	...
Phulrā	106,463	2,413,268	13,268	20	100	Sadhāl, Bhalar
Panchgrāmi [Panjgiran] ...	65,557	1,461,630	73,177	15	1000	Khokhar
Bharli	17,967	4,060,507	209,789	...	...	
Bhilwāl	62,875	3,181,699	225,408	20	400	Jat.
Pati Haibatpur	1,576,633	28,395,380	284,647	700	10,000	Jat.
Batāla	515,479	16,820,998	256,853	200	5000	Bhatti, Jat.
Pathān [-kot], has a brick fort	199,872	7,297,015	97,015	250	2000	Brāhman.
Paniāl	65,789	4,266,000	276,091	150	400	Jat Khatiān.
Biāh	60,523	3,822,255	8,976	200	2000	Bhatti.
Bahādurpur	11,489	447,750	...	...	...	...
Talwāra	6,334	514,666	10,364	20	200	Bakkāl.
Thandot	25,222	610,064	3,234	20	500	Afghān.
Chandrāu	7,194-10	263,568	...	20	100	Jat, Sindhu.
Chārbāgh Barhi	213	58,502	...	...	...	...
Chamiāri	250,614	8,813,140	309,090	200	2000	Khokhar.
Jalālābād	152,058	5,163,119	20,456	300	4000	Afghān, Jat, Bhatti.
Chhat and Ambālah, 2 *Mahals*	...	2,300,000	...	50	500	Rājput, Sombansi.
Jatgarh	...	45,600	...	...	...	...
Khānpur	...	280,038	...	30	600	Khokhar.
Dābhawāla	121,495	6,282,139	57,674	100	3000	Jat.
Dhameri (now Nurpur) ...	...	1,600,000	...	60	1300	...
Darwa	...	240,000	...	50	500	Rājput, Sombansi.
Darwa, Digar	...	24,000	...	...	...	...
Sankhā Arwal	10,874	544,145	91,413	10	100	Arwal.
Sindhuwān	263,402	5,854,649	12,700	200	400	Jat Sindhu.
Lahore suburbs ...	11,401	674,053	202,300	...	...	...
Shāhpur	42,399	2,382,235	126,720	...	...	...
Sherpur	...	480,000	...	...	...	...
Ghurbatrāwan ...	7,391-13	411,985	63,103	20	100	Jat Sindhu.
Kasur	259,456	3,915,506	23,124	300	4000	Bhatti.
Kulānur	286,052	8,329,111	447,639	150	1500	Jat, Bakkāl.
Kunhewan	63,608	3,511,499	127,665	50	500	Khokhar, Bakhās
Khokhowāl	75,194	3,475,519	3,510	20	500	Jat.
Goler	66,239	2,643,000	3,000	100	3000	Rājput Sombansi.

Sarkār of Bāri Doāb—Cont'd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Kāngra, has a stone fort	...	2,400,000	...	2400	28,000	Sombansi.
Kotla	...	182,518	...	...	...	...
Karkārāon	...	16,000	...	...	...	...
Malik Shāh	28,684-9	1,475,562	52,283	10	100	Bhandāl, (var. Bhadāl).
Mau and Nabā [=Omba], 2 *Mahals*	...	2,400,000	...	300	....	Rājput.
Mahror	...	24,000	...	...	...	...
Hoshiār Karnāla ...	22,225	489,372	...	20	400	Jat.
Pālam, Patiyār, Bhatti, Jarjiya } These four *parganahs*, are now abandoned.	... ...	9,600	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...

Sarkār of the Rechnāu Doāb.

Containing 57 *Mahals*. 4,253,148 *Bighas*, 3 *Biswa*. Revenue, 172,047,391 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 2,684,134 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 6,795. Infantry, 99,652.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Amrāki Bhatti	70,752-8	1,942,606	8,673	50	1000	Bhatti.
Lands of Bāgh Rae Bocha	2,683	52,837	...	...	...	...
Eminābād, has a brick fort	515,675-4	24,853,006	498,480	500	5000	Khokhar, Chimah &c.
Panchnagar	31,741	1,181,266	27,879	50	500	Jat.
Parsaror	509,858-4	27,978,583	486,551	200	4000	Jat, Bājoh Telah &c.
Badubhandāl	23,752-18	1,611,882	46,979	...	...	...
Pati Zafarwāl, has a fort	6,108,148	3,697,338	150,865	50	2000	Jat, Bholron.
Pati Tarmali	29,056	525,953	...	20	400	Kolrā.
Bhalot	20,312-10	818,182	...	100	2000	Manhās.
Bhadrān, situate on a hill	...	240,000	...	50	4000	Do.
Balāwarah	6,021-6	240,000	...	50	3000	Balāwariāh.
Bhutiyāl	2,407,18	96,000	...	30	1000	Bhutiyālah.
Ban	1,346-19	48,000	...	100	4000	Manhās.
Tāral	38,669-8	2,144,945	8,400	150	2000	Jat, Tāral.
Talwandi	95,698-17	1,578,207	3,792	30	300	Jat.
Chima Chata	95,698	5,878,601	26,439	100 50	1000	Chimah Chatah.
Chandanwarak, (var. darak)	81,426-6	4,128,313	30,671		150	Jat, Warak.
Chhotādhar	22,853-5	1,391,692	...	...	...	...
Jabudhadi	12,474	815,587	31,135	....	...	...
Chiniwot, has a brick fort	154,154	2,806,369	190,052	500	5000	Jat Jabuher.

Sarkār of Rechnāu Dāab—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Jammu, situate at the foot of a hill, and a stone fort above it*	19,329-11	3,956,000	...	1000	20,000	Manhās.
Jasrotā (in one MS.)	150,430	...	...	400	5000	Malanhās.
in another	430-19	1,150,000	...	...	...	...
Chari Champā [Chamba]	6,021-6	240,000	...	100	1000	Gwāleri.
Hāfizābād	169,499	4,548,000	48,000	150	150	Jat Balhan (Bhalar).
The lands of Khānpur ...	402	27,028	...	...	...	...
Daulatpur	4,779-10	115,050	...	...	...	...
Dāud Bhandāl Barhi ...	23,142	1,725,089	237,082	...	...	...
Daulatābād	14,368	241,740	..	10	100	Jat Salah, (var. Sad).
Rupnagar	6,705	410,513	...	...	...	...
Rinhā	58,850-8	275,550	5,461	...	...	Brāhman, Bāghbān.
Rechnā	130,207	8,680,742	442,082	700	7000	...
Sāhumali	152,391	5,574,764	18,358	40	1200	...
Sidhpur	108,923	3,127,212	78,972	100	2000	Jat, Marāli.
Siālkot, is situate on the edge of a ridge on the banks of the Aik torrent, has a brick fort ...	102,035	22,090,792	184,305	500	7000	Jat, Ghaman and Chimah.
Sahajrāo	5,627-7	362,326	4,803	100	1000	Chimah.
Sohdra, on the Chenāb, has a high brick minaret	121,721-1	7,096,710	99,731	100	1000	Do.
Shānzdah Hinjrāo ...	64,140	1,536,480	...	50	1000	Jat, Hinjrāo.
Shou [-kot?]	107,347	2,278,940	5,061	1000	5000	Jat, Langāh, Sanāwal (Sahāwal).
Fattu Bhandāl Barhi ...	7,826-7	613,917	5,842	...	...	
Fazlābād	2,115-7	136,528	...	...	...	
Gobindwāl	55,069	1,253,957	194,622	50	300	Orak and Jat.
Kātholā	126,598-12	5,888,254	...	20	10,000	Kāmwāl (var. Kāhwāl).
Gujrān Barhi	2,631-14	670,936	11,787	...	...	
Kālāpind	2,801-19	203,964	21.702	...	...	
Kārnari, commonly called Sāniā	27,665-4	1,500,000	...	100	300	
Kharli Tarli	...	768,000	...	...	...	
Lakhnor	17,169-1	681,816	...	...	...	
Mangtanwāla	131,583	3,819,690	57,788	50	300	Jat.
Muhammad Bari Dukhāo	16,561-6	1,127,903	3,367	...	...	Jat.
Mahror	102,586-4	3,005,602	6,602	5	500	Brāhman.
Mengri	62,293	1,475,225	5,748	20	1000	Silhariyā and Gujar.
Mankot, includes 4 towns each with a stone fort	1,312	86,119	...	30	1200	Manhās.
Wan	140,234	271,553	20,278	50	1000	Jārak Silhar.
Haminagar	141,063	8,291,662	59,541	30	1000	Jat.
Hatiyāl (var. Hatiyāl) ...	6,201-6	246,000	...	30	200	Hatiyālah.

* The town and palace stand on the south bank of the river Tāvi a tributary of the Chenab; the fort overhangs the left or east shore at an elevation of 150 feet above the stream, *I. G.*

Chenhat (Jech) Doāb.

Containing 21 *Mahals*, 2,633,210 *Bighas*, 5 *Biswas*. Revenue 64,502, 394 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 511,070 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 3,730. Infantry, 44,200.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Andarhal	31,070	485,418	...	—	...	Gakkhar (see Vol. I. 546).
Akhandor Ambāran ...	9,866-5	392,000	...	300	3000	Manhās.
Bhera, on the banks of the Bhimbar[1]	912,107-7	19,910,000	53,560	700	10,000	
Bahlolpur, on the banks of the river Chenab ...	170,607	3,830,575	10,583	100	500	Jat.
Bolet	8,748	400,060	...	50	300	
Bhimbar, situated on the banks of the stream ...	28,668	1,200,000	...	...	...	
Bhadu	4,717	192,000	...	30	1200	Jat, Bhandwāl.
Buhati	2,874	57,222	...	10	100	Mangharwāl.
Sāilā and Dudiyāl, 2 *Mahals*	27,421	735,741	...	200	800	Khokhar.
Shorpur	169,874	3,121,546	8,497	100	1000	Jat, Khokar, Jander.
Shakarpur	7,684	1,050,819	...	...	...	
Gujrāt	285,094	8,266,150	...	120	1000	
Kariyāli	57,818	2,643,270	6,633	100	2000	
Khokhar, has a brick fort	92,826	2,320,594	58,410	100	1000	Khokar.
Ghari, on the river Bihat	20,176	1,505,241	...	20	2000	Do.
Lolor, separated from Khushāb	192,253	3,746,166	11,290	200	2000	Khokhar and Mikan.
Mangli	2,839	432,000	...	400	2000	Manhās.
Malot Rāe Kedāri, situate on a hill	17,007	370,549	...	40	400	Mangharwāl.
Hareo	247,878	9,150,828	76,321	300	3000	Tat, Barwānji ?
Hazāra, has a brick fort	270,392	4,689,136	219,536	700	3000	Jat, Khokar Bāranij ?

[1] Bherah is on the left bank of the Jhelum. The Bhimbar torrent rising in the second Himalayan range, flows within 4 miles N. W. of Gujrāt and eventually joins the Jalālia *nālā* a branch of the Chenab. *I. G.*

Sindh Sāgar Doāb.

Containing 42 *Mahals*, 1,409,929 *Bighas*. Revenue, 51,912,201 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 4,680 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 8,553. Infantry, 69,700.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Akbarābād Tarkheri ...	204,381	5,491,736	...	2000	15,000	Gakkhar.
Atak Benares (Attock) ...	5,418	3,202,216	...	1000	5000	Khatar, called also Salāsah.
Awān, here are horses of good breed	10,096	415,970	...	50	500	Awān. (See Vol. I, 456, n. and I.G. under Hazāra).
Paharhāla, has a stone fort, below the fort runs the river Sowāri (=Sohān) ...	192,247	5,158,109	...	...	...	
Bel Ghāzi Khān ...	17,426	320,000	...	100	1500	Jānohah (Janjuah).
Bālā Khattar	5,825	1,000,040	...	20	100	Khattar.
Paru Khattar	1,195	48,000	...	...	...	
Balokidhan	7,679	1,316,801	...	100	500	Gakkhar.
Tharchak Dāmi	6,082	250,575	...	100	1000	Do.
Suburban dist. of Rohtas,* has a stone fort, beneath which flows the Kuhān stream	120,884	60,403,140	67,052	500	3000	Gakkhar. Bagiyāl.
Khushāb, situate near the river Bihat (Jhelum) the greater part is jungle ...	73,086	2,702,509	...	500	7000	Afghān Niyazi and Isā Khel.
Dān Gari [D. Gali] ...	147,647	3,301,201	...	1500	10,000	Gakkhar,
Dhānkot [Dinkot], on the banks of the river Mihran, *viz.*, Indus, has a salt mine	8,927	480,000	...	150	4000	Awān.

* The fort built by Sher Shāh as a check on the Gakkhar tribes, now in picturesque ruin. It is situated in the Salt Range on a gorge overlooking the Kuhān Nadi 11 miles north-west of Jhelum town. The walls extend for three miles and encircle the rocks which command the entrance of the pass. Some parts have a thickness of from 30 to 40 feet. One gateway still remains in excellent preservation. *I. G.*

Sindh Sāgar Doāb—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Darband, (here two unintelligible words) ...	...	3,100,000 in money	...	20	500	Janohāh (Janjuah).
Dhrāb	2,330	96,000	...	20	150	Do.
Dudwat	2,330	96,000	...	20	300	Do.
Reshāu	1,196	92,496	...	10	200	Awān.
Shamsābād	24,664	7,034,503	...	50	500	Gakkhar (var. Khokhar).
Patālā	11,146	624,000	...	100	1500	Jānohah.
Fatehpur Kālauri (var. Kanauri and T.)	157,042	4,261,881	...	500	10,000	Gakkhar.
Kalbhalak	40,913	2,883,253	18,176	30	200	Baloch.
Gheb (var. Khet, Khes, Khep)	16,961	934,161	...	300	1200	Khattar (sic).
Khār Darwāzah ...	4,316	24,541	...	50	300	Jānohah.
Girjhāk[1]	21,491	961,755	...	100	1500	Do.
Kachākot, one *kos* distant from this *parganah* is the spring of Hasan Abdāl[2]	5,825	340,000	...	50	2000	Rāwalah, Tarin, Afghān.
Kāhwān, has a stone fort	4,660	192,000	...	10	200	Jānohah
Kambat	2,330	96,000	...	...		
Langahtiyār (var. G. Siyār)	2,330	96,000	...	10	100	
Mākhiāl, has a stone fort on a hill—there is scarcity of water—has a salt mine and a shrine ...	9,320	834,000	...	100	1500	Jānohah.

[1] Said by Cunningham, (*Anct. Geog.*, p. 163 and pronounced *Girjhak*) to be the Hindu name for Jalālpur, the probable site of the famous city of Bukephala built in memory of Alexander's horse.

[2] This well-known village lies on the road between Rawal Pindi and Peshawar which with its ruins, says the I. G., forms part of a group of ancient cities lying round the site of the ancient Taxila. Hwen Thsang the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim of the 7th Century A.D. visited the tank of the Serpent King, Elapatra, identified with the spring of Bābā Wali (Kandahāri) or Panja Sāhib. The fountain is hallowed by legends of Buddhist, Brahman, Moslem and Sikh. The shrine of Panja Sāhib crowns a precipitous hill about one mile east of the town, and at its foot is the holy tank, a small square reservoir, full of fish. Delapidated brick temples surround the edge and on the west side the water gushes out from beneath a rock made with the representation of a hand, ascribed by the Sikhs to their founder Bābā Nānak. The scenery is extremely picturesque; the river Haroh hard by affords excellent fishing, and on its near shore two ancient cypresses are the only epitaph above the tomb of one of Akbar's wives. For *Kachakot* see Cunningham, *Anct. Geog.*, p. 116.

Sindh Sāgar Doāb—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Marāli, at the foot of a mountain	5,825	240,000	..	15	500	
Malot, has a stone fort on a hill	3,236	133,233	...	10	200	Janohah.
Nandanpur, has a brick fort on a hill	40,997	24,110	4,110	20	150	Do.
Nilāb, (Indus) land included under (Attock) Benares	8,787	481,305	...	...	...	
				under Akbarābād		
Nārwi, on the Sind ...	997	38,091	...			Gakkhar.
Nokosiral Khattar ...	926	38,096	...	10	50	Khattar.
Hazāra Qarlug	214,992	1,805,342	5,342	100	500	Dālāzāk Afghān.
Haliyār Lang	7,281	300,000	...	...	...	Bhakar barkhatri (with illegible variants).
Hazāra Gujrān	6,575	280,896	...	under Akbarābād		
Himmat Khān Karmun ...	165	48,000	...	Do.		Gakkhar.

*Beyond the Five rivers (Birun i Panjnad).**

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Belot	...	322,740	...	100	10,000	Baloch.
Sahlor	...	1,700,000	...	40	700	Chandel and others.
Kahlor, (Punjāb Hill State)	...	1,800,000	...	50	1000	Do.

* The valley of the Jhelum takes the name of *Trimāb* (Three rivers) after its junction with the Chenāb and the Rāvi and that of *Panjnad* (Five rivers) after receiving the united waters of the Beās and Sutlej. *I. G.* This restricted signification cannot here apply. Certain outlying portions beyond the limits of the Punjāb Proper were evidently attached to the *Subahs* of Lahor and Multān and to the *sarkar* of Dipalpur and were denominated—*Birun i Panjnad*.

It is situated in the first, second and third climates simultaneously. Before *Tattah* was comprised in this province, its length from *Firozpur* and *Sewistān*, was 403 *kos* and its breadth from *Khatpur*[1] to *Jaisalmir*, 108 *kos*, but since its inclusion, it measures to *Kach* (Gandāvā) and *Mekrān*, 660 *kos*. On the east, it marches with the *Sarkār* of Sirhind; on the north with *Shor;* on the south, with the *Subah* of *Ajmer*, and on the west, with *Khach* and *Mekrān*. 660 *kos*. On the east, it marches with the *Sarkār* of Sirhind; on the north with *Shor;* on the south, with the *Subah* of *Ajmer*, and on the west, with *Khach* and *Mekrān*. For facility of reference, the two territories are separately described. Its principal rivers are the six already mentioned. The *Bihat* (Jhelum) joins the *Chenāb* near the *parganah* of *Shor* and after a course of 27 *kos*, they unite with the Ravi at *Zafarpur* and the three flowing collectively in one stream for 60 *kos*, enter the *Indus* near *U'ch*. Within 12 *kos* of *Firozpur*, the *Biāh* joins the Sutlej which then bears several names, *viz., Har, Hāri, Dand, Nurni,*[2] and in the neigh-

[1] Khatpur is placed by Abul Fazl in the Rachna Doāb and by Tieffenthaler as the first stage in a journey from Lahor to Multān.

[2] The text diffidently forms two names of these four, viz.. Harhāri, Dandnurni, but the authority of the two best MSS. (relegated to the notes) divides them. One at least of these names, Dand, still lives in the local designation of a former bank of the Sutlej, whose shifting course has modified the aspect of the country. One ancient bed, forming the base of the segment where the Sutlej after its junction with the Beās curves round to the south-west is called the Sukhar Nai (*I. G.*) which crosses the district east to west and joins the modern channel near the borders of Sirsa. The Danda bank points to a still more ancient course crossing the south-west corner 35 miles east of the present stream, traceable as far as Moodkee and thence at intervals to the Sutlej 15 miles farther north. The old beds of the Rāvi and Beās which formerly united their waters much lower down, at present may be traced through a great part of the Bāri Doāb. (*I. G.*) See the ancient courses of these rivers in Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 220, *et seq.* General Cunningham bases his discussion on Gladwin's translation, *viz.*, 'For the distance of 17 *kos* from Feerozpoor, the rivers Beyah and Setelnj unite: and then again as they pass along, *divide* into 4 streams, *viz.*, the Hur, Haray, Dund and the Noorny: and near the city of Multān these 4 branches join again," and says that these beds still exist but their names are lost. Now Abul Fazl does not say that the Sutlej divides into 4 streams, but that it bears several names. Abul Fazl is describing the rivers watering the Multān Subah. He says they are the six previously mentioned, *viz.*, under Lahor. He first speaks of the Jhelum and the Chenāb and follows them to their junction with the Rāvi and then to their meeting with the Indus. Here are four. He now turns to the Beās and Sutlej which join near Firozpur and the stream after bearing several names becomes confluent with "those four" near Multān, not, I consider, with the four local

bourhood of *Multān*, confluent with the former four, their accumulated waters unite. Every river that discharges itself into the Indus takes its name of *Sindh*. In *Tattah*, they call it *Mihrān*.[1]

To the north are the mountains. Its climate is similar to that of Lahor which it resembles in many aspects, but in Multān, the rainfall is less and the heat excessive.

Multān is one of the oldest cities of India: Long. 107° 35′; Lat. 29° 52. It has a brick fort and a lofty minaret adds to its beauty. *Shaikh Bahā-u'ddin Zakariyā* and many other saints here repose.

Bhakkar (Bhukkur) is a notable fortress; in ancient chronicles it is called *Mansura*.[2] The six rivers united roll beneath it, one channel passing the southern face of the fort, the other the northern. The rainfall is inconsiderable, the fruits excellent.

Between *Siwi*[3] and *Bhakkar* is a vast desert, over which for three months of the hot season the simoom blows.

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names, even were they separate beds, but with the four that complete the six. The doubt arises why he should place the junction near Multān instead of Uch, but this is not surprising to any one accustomed to his obscure and vague style of narrative. Moreover the passage in the text resembles a notice of these six rivers in Baber's *Memoirs* to which Abul Fazl was much indebted in the preparation of this third book of the Ain. The passage is as follows: I use the translation of Erskine. "To the north of Sehrend, six rivers, the Sind, the Behat, the Chenāb, the Rāvi, the Biāh, and the Setlej, take their rise in these mountains, and all uniting with the Sind *in the territory of Multān*, take the common name of Sind, which flowing down to the west, passes through the country of Tatta, and disembogues into the sea of Oman." Further the division of the Sutlej into the four local streams does not alter its point of junction with the Chenāb for at p. 222, Cunningham says that Abul Fazl's measurements of distances from the confluence of the Chenāb and Jhelum to that of the Chenāb and Rāvi and the Chenāb and Indus agree with the *later* state of these rivers.

[1] The main stream of the Indus. See its course and the names of its channels in Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 252, 272, 286, 298, &c.

[2] After the decline of the Arab power in Sind about A.D. 871, two native kingdoms raised themselves at Multān and Mansura. The former comprised the upper valley of the Indus as far as Alor; the latter extended from that town to the sea and nearly coincided with the modern province of Sind. Alor, or Aror, the capital, almost rivalled Multān and had an extensive commerce. *I. G.* Genl. Cunningham (*Ancient Geog.*) gives the name of Mansura to the town founded, according to Masaudi, by Jamhur, the Moslem governor of Sindh, and named after his own father Mansur, so close to Brahmanābād as to be regarded as the same place. His learned discussion depends too much on analogies of sound in names, to be quite convincing. See, also Mansura in Elliot's *Arabs in Sind*, p. 50, *et seq.*

[3] Siwi, Sewistān, and Sehwān are constantly confounded or mistaken as Elliot remarks without, however, himself determining the position of the first which is a town or the geographical limits of the second which is a province. Siwi is somewhat south of the direct line between Dera Ghazi Khān and Quetta, now well known as Sibi: Vol. I, p. 362, *Sewe*.

The river *Sind* (Indus) inclines every few years alternately to its southern and northern banks and the village cultivation follows its course. For this reason the houses are constructed of wood and grass.

This *Subah* comprises three *Sarkārs* of 88 *parganahs*, all under assessment for crops paying special rates. The measured land is 3,273,932 *bighas*, 4 *biswas*. The gross revenue is 15 *krors*, 14 *lakhs*, 3,619 *dāms*. (Rs. 37,85,090-8-0), of which 30 *lakhs*, 59,948 *dāms* (Rs. 76,498-11-2), are *Suyurghāl*. The local militia consists of 18,785 Cavalry and 165,650 Infantry.

Sarkār of Multān. Four Doābs.

Containing 47 *Mahals*, 558,649 *Bighas*, 4 *Biswas*. Revenue, 53,916,318 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 5,494,236 *Dāms*. Cavalry, 8,965. Infantry, 90,650.

Bet Jālandhar Doāb.

Containing 9 *Mahals*, 52,090 *Bighas*. Revenue, 17,240,147 *Dāms*. Cavalry, 1,410. Infantry, 17,100.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Ādamwāhan	5,386	369,445	...	20	700	Hasar.
Jalālābād	5,000	299,798	...	10	200	Bhim.
Dunyapur	27,889	1,676,862	11,998	50	400	Uki, Rānu.
Rājpur	1,368	90,397	...	20	300	Junah.
Shergarh	75,000	5,741,209	...	400	4000	Kachhi, Junah, Jilānah, Malāh.
Fathpur	61,797	4,008,661	24,896	500	5000	Junah.
Kahror	47,696	396,856	40,961	100	2000	Junah.
Khāibuldi	80,411	594,238	...	200		Jat and another name illegible.
Ghalu Khārah	19,890	1,201,086	...	160	2000	Kalu, Jat.

Bāri Doāb.

Containing 11 *Mahals*, 137,629 *Bighas*, 13 *Biswas*. Revenue, 9,863,341 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 207,382 *Dāms*. Cavalry 775. Infantry, 14,550.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Islāmpur, has a brick fort	23,085	1,550,896	60,294	1000	3000	Bhim, Maral.
Ismailpur	900	49,932	...	5	50	Maral.
Multān town, has a brick fort	2,324	1,719,168	68,980	50	1000	Bhim, Shaikh zādah.
Tulamba	19,310	1,200,778	15,766	300	5000	Sohu.
Villages of the *parganah* of Chaukhandi ...	2,927	191,054	...	...	...	
Suburban dist. of Multān	35,925	2,288,354	37,463	...	...	Bhim.
Villages of *parganah* of Khatpur	2,487	149,578	...	...	...	
Do. Do. Deg.* Rāvi	897-14	50,146	...	...	...	
Shāh Aālampur	24,121	1,555,563	1,180	200	4000	
Villages of *parganah* of Khāibuldi	7,584-19	460,654	...	...	...	
Matila	2,068	608,418	3,596	20	500	Jat.

* The Degh (*I. G.*) is the chief tributary of the Rāvi, which it receives after entering Montgomery District on its north-west bank and then passes into Multān District.

Rechnāu Doāb.

Containing 6 *Mahals*, 83,229 *Bighas*, 18 *Biswas*. Revenue, 5,113,883 *Dāms*. Cavalry, 770. Infantry, 9,500.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Irajpur and Deg Rāvi ...	37,220	2,227,000	...	100	2000	Kharal.
Chaukhandi	7,680	215,000	...	100	2000	Do.
Khatpur	8,287	596,366	...	500	3000	Jat, Sindh.
Dalibhati	3,792-18	256,500	...	20	500	Kharal.
Kalbah	16,248	958,766	...	50	2000	Jat, Sohu.

Sind Sāgar Doāb.

Containing 4 *Mahals*, 34,812 *Bighas*. Revenue, 2,178,192 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 13,399 *Dāms*. Cavalry, 220. Infantry, 2,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Villages of Islāmpur ...	5,775	378,357	...	...	...	
Rangpur	22,907	1,410,737	10,737	200	2000	Jat.
Raepur Kanki	5,550	308,068	2,662	20	500	Bhim.
Miscellaneous villages, 1 *Mahal*	600	33,030	...	...	...	

Beyond the Five, Rivers. (*Birun i Panjnad.*)

Containing 17 *Mahals*,[1] 205,893 *Bighās*, 13 Biswas. Revenue, 18,820,255 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 38,688 *Dāms*. Cavalry, 5,800. Infantry, 57,600.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Ubaura	11,320	915,256	4,664	20	500	Dhar.
Uch	29,056	1,910,140	...	100	400	Shahibzadah, Bukhari, Sayyid.
Bhurtiwāhan, (var. and G. Dāman)	16,666	1,336,020	13,564	200	2000	Rājput, Lodhi.
Jamsher	4,334	348,037	...	150	2000	Baloch, Bholdi and Nardi.
Dudāi, has a brick fort ...	40,520-11	2,400,000	...	4000	30,000	Dudāi.
Diwār i Awwal, (Cunningham. Dirāwal) ...	2,718	140,000	...	50	500	Rājput, Kotwāl.
Dud Khān	17,000	1,440,000	...	...	...	
Villages of Rājpur ...	482	28,884	...	...	...	
Rupari	12,075	1,000,000	...	...	...	
Sitpur	44,538-5	4,000,000	...	1000	20,000	Afghān.
Seorāhi	5,124	28,880	...	20	100	Dhar.
Villages of Fatehpur ...	5,224	300,770	...	...	...	
,, ,, Kaharor ...	1,364	97,220	...		...	
Majlol Ghāzipur ...	40,521	2,400,000	...	...	..	
Mauh, has a brick fort. (Cunningham Moj.) ...	9,008	707,000	20,440	50	1000	Kuraishi.
Marot, do. ...	5,456	294,000	...	200	1000	Bhatti.
Mahand	9,236-12	8,014,000	...	200	1000	

[1] Of these Cunningham can identify but Uch, Dīrāwal, Moj and Marot, which he places, east of the Sutlej. The limits of the province of Multān in the time of Hwan Thsang included the north half of the Bhawalpur territory in addition to the tract lying between the rivers, the north frontier extending from Derah Din Panāh on the Indus to Pāk Pattan, a distance of 150 miles; on the west, the frontier line of the Indus to Khānpur, 160 miles; on the east from Pāk Pattan to the old bed of the Ghagar, 90 miles: on the south from Khānpur to the Ghagar, 220 miles, p. 220.

Sarkār of Dipālpur.

Containing 29 *Mahals*, 1,433,767 *Bighas*, 8 *Biswas*. Revenue, 129,334,153 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 2,079,170 *Dāms*. Cavalry, 5,210. Infantry, 53,300.

Bet Jālandhar Doāb.

Containing 10 *Mahals*, 710,946 *Bighas*, 10 *Biswas*. Revenue, 88,808,855 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 1,481,564 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 2,400. Infantry, 20,400.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Pattan, (Pāk Pattan) has a brick fort	49,014	2,628,928	599,969	100	2000	Bhil, Dhokar.
Dipālpur Lakhi, has a brick fort	242,344-11	13,514,059	499,535	502	7000	Jat, Khokhar, Kasu, Bhatti.
Dhanakshāh, has a brick fort	60,676-1	3,484,375	87,152	...	400	
Deotir	40,730	2,489,850	28,400	50	1000	Jat
Rahmatābād	38,285	1,825.009	...	100	2000	Baloch, Khokhar.
Qabula, has a brick fort	86,615-12	4,808,817	...	1000	2000	Jusah Rumi.
Qiyāmpur Lakhi, has a brick fort	54,678-19	2,008,274	88,855	300	2000	Bhatti, Jat.
Kalnāki Lakhi	55,243-3	2,385,969	93,809	50	1000	Do. do.
Khokarāin Lakhi ...	21,130	1,011,715	35,383	150	1000	Khokhar.
Lakhi Loeqāni	61,519-16	3,156,759	5,940	100	2000	Bhatti, Khilji.

Bāri Doāb.

Containing 6 *Mahals*, 193,495 *Bighas*, 9 *Biswas*. Revenue, 1,175,393 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 1,100. Infantry, 14,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Bahrapāl	18,717-9	1,175,393	...	50	500	Bhatti.
Bābā Bhoj, has a fort ...	39,386	2,020,258	20,256	150	2000	Sayyid, Jat.
Chahni	25,986	1,200,680	600	50	2000	Sayyid, &c.
Rahimābād	24,329	1,182,714	...	50	500	Kharal, Baloch.
Sadkharah [?Satgarh] ...	59,447	3,551,680	20,976	300	4000	Do.
Mandhāli	25,624	2,706,429	...	500	5000	Bhim.

Rechnāu Doab.

Containing 7 *Mahals*, 142,856 *Bighas*, 2 *Biswas*. Revenue, 8,534,915 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 5,808 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 710. Infantry, 6,300.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Khānpur	19,599-18	1,285,740	80,380	30	500	Kharal.
Dalchi Chandhar ...	9,153-12	605,557	1,620	50	1000	Chandhar.
Shahzādah Baloch ...	12,749-12	789,741	...	100	1000	Baloch.
Ābidi Ābād	5,975	343,932	...	10	300	Jat.
Faryādābād	18,708	1,098,694	...	20	1000	Jat.
Kharal	38,782	1,907,069	2,800	300	2000	Khari.
Mahes	42,944	2,509,182	...	200	500	

Beyond the Five Rivers (Birun i Panjnad).

Containing 6 *Mahals*, 386,470 *Bighas*, 7 *Biswas*. Revenue, 20,580,771 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 549,972 *Dāms*. Cavalry, 1,000. Infantry, 12,300.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Jalālābād	34,475-7	1,789,289	...	50	1000	Ranghar, Bhatti (or Latti), Jat.
Jangal	18,012	653,516	...	300	4000	Bhatti.
Ālampur	31,008-10	1,579,558	...	50	1000	Ranghar, Jat.
Firozpur	217,710-17	11,479,404	199,404	500	3000	Afghān, Ranghar.
Villages of Lakhi Qabula Muhammadwat	29,185	1,636,560	...	...	...	
	56,614-13	3,492,454	350,568	100	3600	Bhatti, Khokhar.

Sarkar of Bhakkar (Bukkur).

Containing 12 *Mahals*, 282,013 *Bighas*. Revenue, 18,424,947 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 600,419 *Dāms*. Cavalry, 4,600. Infantry, 11,100.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Alor, has a fort	143,700	1,132,150	20,550	200	500	Dharejah.
Bhakkar, has a strong fort	...	74,962	...	200	1000	Mehar and Rahār.
Jāndola	57,847	8,102,709	85,064	400	800	Jahna.
Jatoi	179,821-14	2,346,878	156,841	400	800	
Darbela	121,146	1,262,761	66,872	200	500	Bhatti.
Sankar	100,818	1,806,628	32,332	500	1000	Sahejah.
Siwi	...	1,381,930	...	500	1500	
Fathpur	8,050-10	477,859	...	200	1000	Saheja, Dhārejah.
Khajāna	10,063	645,205	...	200	1000	Jāman.
Khāra Kākan	154,151	2,732,331	138,608	500	1000	Dhārejah.
Kākhari, (var. Kāḳri) ...	178,338-16	2,106,431	63,208	500	1000	Mankrerah
Mānhalah	128,078	1,353,718	28,944	500	1000	Dhārejah (var. Hārejah).

*Kings of Multān.**

	Years.
Shaikh Yusuf, reigned	2
Sultān Mahmud† (var. Muhammad Shāh) ...	17
,, Qutbu'ddin, his son	16
,, Husain, his son	30

* This province, says the *U. T.*, was first conquered by Mahomed Kāsim at the end of the first century Hejira. It was recovered by the Hindus on the decline of the Ghazni power. After Mahomed Ghori's subjugation it remained tributary to Delhi until

A.H.	A.D.	
847.	1443.	Shaikh Yusuf established an independent monarchy.
849	1445.	Rav Sehra, or Kutbu'ddin Hosen Langa I expelled the Shaikh.
908.	1502.	Mahmud Khān Langa; his minister Jam Bayezid.
931.	1524.	Hosen Langa II, overcome by Shāh Hosen Arghun. Under Humayun, becomes a province of the empire.

† This name is altogether omitted by Ferishta who describes Qutbu'ddin's intrigue and succession, in his history of Multān. The name of Qutbu'ddin was Rāe Sahra and he was governor of Sewi and the adjacent territory and the head of the Afghān clan of Langāh. He died in A.H. 874 (A.D. 1469). Husain Shāh in 904 or 908 (1498 or 1502) and Mahmud in 931 (1524).

Sultān Firoz, his son 1
,, Husain, a second time.
,, Mahmud, son of Sultān Firoz ... 27
,, Husain II, son of Sultān Mahmud ... 1
Shāh Husain, (Arghun), ruler of Sind.
Mirzā Kāmrān.
Sher Khan.
Salim Khān.
Sikandar Khān.

At one period the province was subject to the sovereigns of Delhi: at another it was under the control of the rulers of Sind, and for a time was held by the princes of Ghazni. After its conquest by Muizzu'ddin Sām (Ghori), it continued to pay tribute to Delhi. In the year A. H. 847 (A. D. 1443) when Sultān Alāu'ddin reigned at Delhi, and constituted authority fell into contempt, every chief in possession of power, set up a pretension to independence. A noisy faction raised Shaikh Yusuf Quraishi, a disciple of Shaikh Bahāu'ddin Zakariya, to supremacy. He was subsequently deposed and proceeded with haste to the court of Sultān Bahlol at Delhi. The sovereignty now devolved upon one of the Langāh family, who assumed the title of Sultān Mahmud Shāh. It is related that this chief had given his daughter in marriage to Shaik Yusuf, and on the strength of this connection, used frequently to visit her alone, till one night by a successful intrigue he accomplished his design on the throne. During the reign of Sultān Qutbuddin, Sultān Mahmud Khilji advanced from Mālwah against Multān but returned without effecting anything. Some maintain that the first of the Langāh family who was raised to the throne was Qutbu'ddin. In the reign of Sultān Husain, Bahlol sent (his son) Barbak Shāh with a force to reinstate Shaikh Yusuf, but they returned unsuccessful. Sultān Husain becoming old and doting, placed his eldest son upon the throne under the title of Firoz Shāh, and withdrew into retirement. His Wazir Imadu'l Mulk, poisoned him in revenge for the murder of his own son and Sultān Husain a second time resumed the sceptre and appointed Mahmud Khān, son of Sultān Firoz, his heir. On the death of Sultān Husain, after a reign of 30 or 34 years [908 A.H.], Sultān Mahmud ascended the throne. During his reign several incursions were made by the Mughals who, however, retired discomfited. Some malicious intriguers through jealousy created a misunderstand-

ing between the Sultān and Jām Bayazid who had long held the office of prime minister, and misrepresentations cunningly made in a roundabout way, brought them into open conflict. The minister withdrew from Multān to Shor and read the *khutbah* in the name of Sultān Sikandar Lodi. On the death of Sultān Mahmud, his infant son was raised to the throne as Sultān Husain' (II). Mirzā Shāh Husain (Arghun) marched from Tattah and took Multān and entrusted its charge to Langar Khān. Mirzā Kāmrān dispossessed him of it and after him Sher Khān, Salim Khān and Sikandar successively held it till the splendour of Humayun's equal administration filled Hindustān with its brightness and secured its peace. At the present day under the just sway of His Majesty his subjects find there an undisturbed repose.

Sarkār of Tattah.

During a long period this was an independent territory but now forms part of the imperial dominions. Its length from Bhakkar to *Kach* and *Mekrān* is 257 *kos*, its breadth from the town of *Budin* to *Bandar Lāhari*,[1] 100 *kos*, and again from the town of *Chāndo* one of the dependencies of *Bhakkar*, to *Bikaner* is 60 *kos*. On the east lies *Gujarāt*: to the north *Bhakkar* and *Sewi*:[2] to the south, the ocean, and to the west *Kach* and *Mekrān*. It is situated in the second climate and lies in Longitude 102° 30′ Lat. 24° 10′.

The ancient capital was *Brāhmanābād*,[2] a large city. Its citadel had 1,400 towers, at an interval of a *tanāb*, and to this day there are many traces of its fortifications. *Alor*[3] next became the metropolis and at the present day it is *Tattah*, also called *Debal*. The mountains to the north

[1] "Lahari Bandar" in Cunningham's account of Sindh. (*Ancient Geography*).

[2] Identified by Cunningham with Harmatelia, (a softer pronunciation of Brāhmathala, or Brahmanasthala) of Diodorus and placed on the east branch of the Mihrān or Indus, 47 miles north-east of Haidarābad 28 miles east of Hāla and 20 miles west of the eastern channel of the Indus known as Nāra. He gives the number of bastions as 140 on the authority of the MSS. but both Gladwin and Blochmann concur in 1,400, and there is no variant reading. His conclusion is, that the place known now as *Bambhra ka thul* represents the ruined city of Mansura and the neighbouring mound now called Dilura, Brahmanabād.

[3] The ruins of *Alor*, or more correctly Aror, are situated to the south of a gap in the low range of limestone hills stretching from Bhakar to the south for about 20 miles until it is lost in the broad belt of sand hills bounding the Nāra or old bed of the Indus. On the west, Cunningham regards it as the capital of the Musicani of Curtius. He disputes the assertion of Abul Fazl that Debal and Tattah are the same. Sir H. Elliot places Debal at Karāchi. General Cunningham prefers a site between Karāchi and Tattah.

form several branches. One of them trends towards *Qandahār,* and another rising from the sea coast extends to the town of *Kobhār,* called *Rāmgar,* and terminates in Sewistān and is there known as *Lakkhi.*[1] This tract is inhabited by an important Baloch tribe called *Kalmāni,* [? Kirmāni] consisting of twenty thousand cavalry. A fine breed of camels is here indigenous. A third range runs from *Sehwān* to *Sewi* and is called *Khattar* [Kirthar], where dwells a tribe named *Nonmardi* that can raise a force of 300 horse and 7,000 foot. Below this tribe, there is another clan of the *Baloch* known as *Nazhari* with a force of a thousand men. A good breed of horses comes from this tract. A fourth mountain chain touches Kach (Gandāvā) on one side, and on the other the *Kalmāni* territory, and is called *Kārah* inhabited by 4,000 *Balochis.*

In the winter season there is no need of *poshtins* (fur-lined coats) and the summer heats are moderate except in Sewistān. Fruits are of various kinds and mangoes are especially fine. In the desert tracts, a small kind of melon grows wild. Flowers are plentiful and camels are numerous and of a good breed. The means of locomotion is by boats of which there are many kinds, large and small, to the number of 40,000. The wild ass is hunted, and game, such as, hares, the *kotah pāchah*[2] and wild boars; fishing likewise is much pursued.

The assessment of the country is made on the system of division of crops, a third being taken from the husbandman. Here are salt-pits and iron mines. *Shāli* rice is abundant and of good quality. Six *kos* from *Tattah* is a mine of yellow stone, large and small slabs of which are quarried and used for building. The staple food consists of rice and fish. The latter is smoked and loaded in boats, and exported to the ports and other cities, affording a considerable profit. Fish-oil is also extracted and used in boat building. There is a kind of fish called *palwah* which comes up into the *Indus* from the sea, unrivalled for its fine and exquisite flavour. Milk-curds of excellent quality are made and keep for four months. [*Palo,* Bengali *hilsā.*]

[1] The Lakhi range is an offshoot from the Kirthar which separates Sind from Beluchistān. *I. G.*

[2] Literally 'short legged'. It is thus described in Babar's *Memoirs,* "Its size may be equal to that of the white deer. Its two fore-legs as well as its thighs are short, whence its name. Its horns are branching like those of the gawezin but less. Every year too it casts its horns like the stag. It is a bad runner and therefore never leaves the jungle." These characteristics seem to point to the hog-deer, (*Cervus porcinus*).

Near *Sehwān* is a large lake, two days' journey in length called *Manchur*, in which artificial islands have been made by fishermen who dwell on them.

But the greatest of all wonders is the *Liver-eater* (*Jigar Khwār*), an individual who by glances and incantations can abstract a man's liver. Some aver that under certain conditions and at certain times, he renders the person senseless upon whom he looks, and then takes from him what resembles the seed of a pomegranate, which he conceals for a time in the calf of his leg. During this interval the person whose liver is stolen remains unconscious, and when thus helpless, the other throws the seed on the fire which spreads out like a plate. Of this he partakes with his fellows and the unconscious victim dies. He can convey a knowledge of his art to whomsoever he wills, by giving him a portion of this food to eat and teaching him the incantation. If he is caught in the act and his calf be cut open and the seed extracted and given to his victim, the latter will recover. The followers of this art are mostly women.

They can convey intelligence from long distances in a brief space of time and if they be thrown into the river with a stone tied to them, they will not sink. When it is desired to deprive one of these of this power, they brand both sides of his head and his joints, fill his eyes with salt, suspend him for forty days in a subterraneous chamber, and give him food without salt, and some of them recite incantations over him. During this period he is called *Dhachrah*. Although his power then no longer exists, he is still able to recognize a Liver-eater, and these pests are captured through his detection. He can also restore people to health by incantation or administering a certain drug. Extraordinary tales are told of these people that are beyond measure astonishing.

This country is the fourth *Sarkār* of the *Subah* of Multān. From the confines of *Uch to Tattah* towards the north are rocky mountain ranges inhabited by various Baloch tribes, and on the south from *Uch* to *Gujarāt* are sandhills in which region are the *Ahshām Bhatti*[1] and other

[1] According to Cunningham, the early Arab geographers place a strong fort called Bhātia between Multān and Alor, which, from its position has a claim to be identified with the city built by Alexander among the Sogdi, but he mentions no tribe of the name, neither have any of the Bhatti Rajputs mentioned by Elliot any such prefix as *Ahshām* [=warriors]. The Sodahs have been identifiedd by Tod with the Sogdoi. *Ancient Geography*, pp. 253-254.

numerous clans. From *Bhakkar* to *Nasirpur* and *Umarkot* are the *Sodah, Jārejah* and other tribes. This *Subah* contains 5 *Sarkārs* subdivided into 53 *parganahs*. The revenue is 6,615,393 *dāms*.* (Rs. 165,384-13-2.)

Sarkār of Tattah.

Containing 18 *Mahals*. Revenue, 25,999,891 *Dāms*.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Lāhari Bandar	5,521,419	Sankurah[3]	2,108,097
Batorā [1]	4,932,286	Sirsi Jām	142,641
Bahrāmpur	1,311,612	Karhar, (var. and K. Karkar)	3,328,476
Bori	434,305	Lekin Kherah	535,795
Jakār [Jarak][3]	348,462	Maljah	1,105,606
Jārā	82,390	Mānjar	1,221,752
Darak, (var. Durg) ...	2,970 441	Nizāmpur	352 724
Dankari, (var. Dekri) ...	315,921		
Ratnah	842,144		

* This is incorrect. Adding together the revenues of the five sarkārs, we get a total revenue of 6 62,51,393 dāms (Rs. 16,56,284-13-2).

[1] Var. Patora, Batwār, Banwār.

[3] *Jarak*, midway between Haidarābad and Tatta.

[4] See Elliot, *Arabs in Sind*, p. 230.

Sarkār Hājkān.

Containing 11 *Mahals*. Revenue 11,784,586 *Dāms*.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Bāgh Fath	340,173	Karori	529,937
Belah	656,317	Laundā	1 119,973
Hajkān	555,699	Mandni, (var. and G. Mandri)	694,269
Jaun	3,165,418	Madui	2,352,605
Rahbān	742,973	Nubiyar, (var. and G. Napiyār)	1,280,439
Detached villages[1] ...	436,783		

[1] *Qariyāt-i-mazkuri*, the term *mazkuri*, being applied in old revenue accounts to small and scattered estates not included in the accounts of the districts in which they were situated and of which the assessments were paid direct to Government.

Sarkār of Sewistān.

9 *Mahals.* Revenue, 15,546,808 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Bātar, (var Pātar G. Palar)	2,020,884	Khat	1,329,923
Baghbānān	1,948,152	Sub. dist. of Sewistān, has a strong fort	1,669,732
Batan (var. and T. Patan)	1,902,033	Kāhān	1,640,764
Busikān (var. and G. Bustkān, T. Lusigān) ...	1,825,190	Lakhāwat (var. Lakiāwat)	1,231,776
Janjah	1 978,953		

Sarkār of Nasirpur.

7 *Mahals.* Revenue, 7,834,600 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Umarkot	1,057,802	Kāsār	401,738
Talsarah	326,104	Mārkandan	623 936
Samāwāni, (var. and G. Samādāni)	3,031,530	Nasirpur	1,878,126
Kidāl, (var. Kandāl) ...	515,904		

Sarkār of Chakarhālah.

8 *Mahals.* Revenue, 5,085,408 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Arpur	731,190	Tewāri (var. Lewāri) ...	571,073
Chakarhālah	747,175	Khari Junah	508,152
Siyār	719,207	Burkah Manāwali ...	490,368
Ghāzipur	983,655	Barhi	333,588

Princes of Tattah.[1]

1. The family of Tamim Ansāri during the ascendancy of the House of Umayyah.

2. The Sumra (Rājput) line of 36 princes, reigned 500 years, (according to Ferishta—100—their names unrecorded).

3. Of the Samma dynasty,

	Years	Months	D.
Jām Unar, reigned ...	3	6	0
,, Junā, his brother ...	4	0	0
,, Banhatiyah ...	15	0	0
,, Tamāchi, his brother	13 and some months.		
,, Salāhuddin ...	11 and do.		
,, Nizāmuddin, his son	2 and a fraction.		
,, Ali Sher Tamāchi ...	6 and some months.		
,, Karān, son of Tamāchi	0	0	1½
Fateh Khān, son of Sikandar	11 and some months.		
Tughlaq, his brother ...	28	0	0
Mubarāk, the chamberlain	0	0	3

[1] The following list is from the *U. T.*

A.H.	A.D.	
87.	705.	Belochistān invaded by Hijaj, governor of Bassora, and Md. Qāsim.

The *Ansaries*, the *Sameras*, and the *Samanas* or *Jams*, successively gain the ascendancy, then a Dēlhi governor (1205?) Nasir ud din Qabbacha, becomes independent, drowned.

The *Jami* Dynasty of Sumana, originally Rājputs.

A.H.	A.D.	
737.	1336.	Jām Afra; tributary to Toghlak Shāh.
740.	1339.	,, Choban.
754.	1383.	,, Bang; asserted his independence.
782.	1367.	,, Timaji, his brother.
782.	1380.	,, Salāhu'ddin, convert to Islām.
793.	1391.	,, Nizamu'ddin.
796.	1393.	,, Aly Sher.
812.	1409.	,, Giran, son of Timaji.
812.	1409.	,, Fatteh Khān.
827.	1423.	,, Toghlak, invaded Gujerat.
854.	1450.	,, Sikandar.
856.	1452.	,, Sangar, elected.
864.	1460.	,, Nandā or Nizām-u'ddin, cot. of Hasan Langa.
894.	1492.	,, Feroz; the Turkhan family became powerful, 1520.
927.	1520.	Shāh Beg Arghun, occupies Sind.
930.	1523.	Shāh Hosein Arghun.
962.	1554.	Mahmud of Bhakar.
982.	1572.	Akbar annexes Sind. (Perishta, 1001 = 1592).

The title of Jām, Perishta pronounces, is a boast of their supposed descent from Jamshid, but commonly given to their head or chief to preserve the tradition of this fabulous lineage. The lineage of the Sumra and Samma dynasties is discussed in Appendix P. of Elliot's Arabs in Sind. The latter name may be traced in the Sambastæ and Sambus of Alexander's historians. Sambus occurs as Sabbas in Plutarch, Saboutas in Strabo, Ambigarus in Justin and Ambiras in Orosius.

	Years	Months	D.
Sikandar, b. Fath Khān	1	6	0
Sanjar, commonly called Rādhan (var. and G. Rādman	8 and some months.		
Jām Nizāmuddin, known as Jām Nandā, (see Vol. I, p. 362) ...	60 and some months.		
Jām Firoz, his son.			
,, Salāhuddin, a relation of Firoz.			
,, Firoz, a second time.			

In former times, there lived a Rājā named *Siharas*[1] whose capital was Alor. His sway extended eastwards, as far as Kashmir and towards the west to Mekrān, while the sea confined it on the south and the mountains on the north. An invading army entered the country from Persia, in opposing which the Rājā lost his life. The invaders contenting themselves with devastating part of the territory, returned. Rāi Sāhi, the Rājā's son, succeeded his father, by whose enlightened wisdom and the aid of his intelligent minister *Rām*, justice was universally administered and the repose of the country secured. A Brāhman named *Jach* [Chach] of an obscure station in life, attached himself to the minister's service and by flattery and address made himself of much consequence and was advanced to a post of dignity, and on the death of the minister, was chosen to succeed him. He basely and dishonourably carried on an intrigue with the Rājā's wife, which the Rājā, notwithstanding its disclosure to him by the ministers of State, refused to credit. During the Rājā's illness, the wicked wretch, in collusion with this shameless paramour, sent for the generals of the army separately, on pretence of consulting them and set them apart, and by seductive promises won over the several enemies of each to accomplish their death. When they were put out of the way and the Rājā too had breathed his last, he assumed the sovereignty.

The pursuers of worldly interests attached themselves to his cause and he took the *Rāni* to wife, thus garnering eternal perdition, but he laboured for the prosperity and increase of his dominions and seized upon *Kach* (Gandāvā), and *Mekrān*.

[1] Of the Rai dynasty whose capital was Alor. The *Tuhfatul Kirām* makes *Siharas* the son and successor of *Rāi Diwāij*, followed by *Rāi Sāhasi*, the first, second and third of that name. It was under the latter that Chach rose to power.

During the Caliphate of Omar (b. u'l) Khattab, Mughirah Abu'l Aās advanced by way of *Bahrain* to *Debal*, but the troops there opposed him and he was killed in the engagement. In the Caliphate of Othmān an intelligent explorer[1] was sent to ascertain the condition of Sind, and an army of invasion was under orders. The messenger, however, reported that if a large force were sent, supplies would fail, and a small one would effect nothing and he added many dissuasive representations. The Prince of the Faithful, Āli, despatched troops that occupied the borders of Debal but on hearing of the death of the Caliph they withdrew in haste to Mekrān. Muāwiyah twice despatched an army to Sind and on both occasions many of the troops perished.

Chach died after a prosperous reign of 40 years, and his youngest son *Dāhir* succeeded him on the throne. In the Caliphate of Walid b. Abdul Malik, when Hajjāj was governor of Irāq, he despatched on his own authority Muhammad Qāsim his cousin and son-in-law to Sind who fought Dāhir in several engagements.[2] On Thursday, the 10th of Ramazān A.H. 99, (17th April 717) the Rājā was killed in action and the territory of Tattah became subject to the invaders. The two daughters of Rājā Dāhir, who had been made captive were sent with some valuable presents to the Caliph. In a spirit of revenge, they deceitfully represented to the Caliph that Muhammad Qasim had dishonoured them. He therefore abstained from visiting them, and in a fit of fury gave orders that Qāsim should be stuffed into a raw hide and despatched to his presence. The commands of the Caliph reached him when he was about to march against Hari Chand, king of Kanauj, and he obediently submitted to them. When he was thus

[1] Hākim, b. Jabala al Abdi was sent to explore Sejistān and Mekrān and the countries bordering on the Indus valley by Abdu'llah Amar, a cousin of the Caliph, who succeeded Abu Musa Ashari in the government of Basra. His report was as follows: "Water in that country is of a dark colour, flowing only drop by drop, the fruits are sour and unwholesome, rocks abound and the soil is brackish. The thieves are intrepid warriors, and the talk of the population dishonest and treacherous. If the troops sent there are few in number, they will be exterminated, if they are numerous, they will perish of hunger." Elliot. The expeditions of Ali and Muāwiyah and the progress of the Arab conquests in Sind may be read in the succeeding pages. Elliot's conclusion that Debal was taken in A.H. 93 is confirmed by As Suyuti in his biography of Al Walid, b. Abdu'l Malik, in which year Kirāh, or Kiraj as Ibn ul Athir calls it, was also captured. (See translation of As Suyuti's *History of the Caliphs*, p. 229). Elliot thinks this probably situated in, if not named from Kachh.

[2] Described in Elphinstone, p. 308, and in Briggs' Ferishta, IV, p. 417.

carried to the court, the Caliph exhibited the spectacle to the two princesses who expressed their gratification in viewing the slayer of their father in this condition. This decision of the Caliph excites astonishment inasmuch as it was pronounced without deliberate investigation. It is the duty of just princes not to be swayed by the representation of any one individual, but to be circumspect in their inquiries, since truth is rare and falsehood prevalent, and more especially in regard to the recipients of their favour, towards whom the world burns with envy without just cause of resentment. Against the outwardly plausible and inwardly vicious they should be particularly on their guard, for many are the wicked and factious who speciously impose by their affected merit and by their misrepresentations bring ruin on the innocent.

After Muhammad Qāsim's death, the sovereignty of this country devolved on the descendants of the Banu Tamim Ansāri.* They were succeeded by the *Sumrah* race who established their rule and were followed by the *Sammas* who asserted their descent from *Jamshid*, and each of them assumed the name of *Jām*. In the reign of *Jām Bānhatiyah*[1] Sultān Firoz Shāh on three occasions led an army from Delhi against that prince, and obtained some conspicuous successes. On the third occasion, he took him prisoner and carried him to Delhi, leaving Sind under charge of his own officials. Subsequently being satisfied with his good will and capacity he reinstated him in his government. On the death of *Jām Tughlaq*, the chamberlain *Mubārak* succeeded him through the efforts of a vain and seditious faction, and was followed by Sikandar the son of *Jām Fath Khān*.

During the reign of *Jām Nandā*, *Shāh Beg Arghān* made a descent from Qandahār and took *Sewi* and leaving the command of it to his brother Sultān Muhammad, returned to Qandahār. The Jām marched a force against

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* Several of this tribe were at various periods sent to Sind. Under the Caliphate of Yazid b. Abd u'l Malik, Halāl a't Tamimi was sent in pursuit of the Banu Muhallab. About 107 A.H. Tamim b. Zaid al Utbi succeeded Junaid in the government of that province and died near Debal. Under the Abbassides Musa b. Kab a't Tamimi, drove out Mansur b. Jamhur the Umayyad governor. Abdu'r Razzāk the first Ghaznevide governor of Sind, about A.H. 417, (1026) found the descendants of old Arab settlers of the tribes of Thakifi, Tamimi, Asad etc.

[1] Māni according to Ferishta who says that the expedition of Firoz Tughlaq took place in 763 A.H. (A.D. 1320).

Muhammad who was killed in action. Shah Beg made a second incursion and took possession of *Sehwān* and a considerable part of Sind and leaving his conquests in charge of his own people, withdrew.

In the reign of Jām Firoz, a relative of his named Salāhu'ddin rose in rebellion and failing in his attempt, took refuge with Sultān Mahmud of Gujarāt who received him graciously and assisted him with an army; Daryā Khān the prime minister of Jām Firoz espoused his cause and the kingdom of Sind fell under his power without a blow. Subsequently the said Daryā Khān determined to restore Jām Firoz who had withdrawn into private life, but who thus recovered his kingdom. Salāhu'ddin a second time advanced from Gujarāt with a force furnished by the Sultān and occupied Sind. Firoz retired to Qandahār and Shāh Beg supplied him with troops, and an engagement took place near *Sehwān* in which Salāhu'ddin and his son were slain. Thus Firoz was again established in his kingdom. In the year A.H. 929 (A.D. 1522-3) Shāh Beg took possession of Sind and Jām Firoz retired to Gujarāt, gave his daughter in marriage to Sultān Bahādur and was attached to the Court in the ranks of its nobles. Sind was now subject to Shāh Beg. This prince was the son of Mir Zu'n Nun Beg, the commander-in-chief of Sultān Husain Mirzā, who received the government of Qandahār. He fell fighting bravely against Shaibak Khān Uzbek who was engaged in hostilities with the sons of Sultān Husain Mirzā. His eldest son succeeded to the government of Qandahār, a prince of distinguished valour and versed in the learning of his age. At his death, his son Shāh Husain ascended the throne and wrested Multān from Sultān Mahmud. After him Mirzā Isā son of Abdu'l Ali Tarkhān[1] succeeded, followed by Muhammad Payandah[2] but his prince being subject to fits of mental estrangement, did not

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[1] *Tarkhān* was originally a rank among the Mughals and Turks, but in the time of Baber it had come to belong to a particular family. The ancient Tarkhān was exempt from all duties and could enter the royal presence without asking leave and was to be pardoned nine times be the fault what it would. He had perfect liberty of speech and might say what he pleased before royalty. The name constantly occurs in the early portion of Baber's *Memoirs*.

[2] He has omitted the succession of Muhammad Bāqi son of Isā Tarkhān to whom Ferishta gives a prosperous reign of 18 years. The genealogical tree of Mirzā Jāni Beg and the subsequent history of this family will be found at pp. 361-2, Vol. I of this work. Ferishta altogether omits Muhammad Payandah and gives the succession to Jāni Beg immediately after Muhammad Bāqi.

personally administer the government. Mirzā Jāni Beg, his son assumed the direction of affairs till His Majesty's victorious troops advanced into the country and reduced it to order, and Mirzā Jāni Beg was enrolled in the ranks of his nobility.

SUBAH OF KABUL.

It is situated in the third and fourth climates, and comprises *Kashmir, Pakli, Bimbar, Swāt, Bajaur, Qandahār* and *Zābulistān*. Its capital was formerly *Ghaznah*, but now *Kābul*.

KASHMIR.

(*Editor's Note.*)

The notes on the subah of Kashmir in this revised edition of Jarrett's translation have been entirely prepared by Prof. Nirod Bhusan Roy, after a minute study of A. Stein's *Memoir on Maps of Ancient Kashmir* (Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1895) and *Rajatarangini: a Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir* (2 vols. 1901),—which are cited here under the respective titles of *Stein, J.A.S.B.* and *Stein, Chron.* In addition, Prof. Roy has consulted Drew's *Jummo and Kashmir Territories* (1875), Bates' *Kashmir Gazetteer*, Rose's *Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes* (3 vols., 1914), and the *Travels* of Vigne and Moorcroft.

Abul Fazl devoted more space to the description of the places of note in Kashmir than in any other subah, because he looked upon it as a holy land full of sacred places, hermits' retreats and quiet natural scenes,—"appropriate to be the retired abode of the recluse", as he himself says. This Sufi's paradise is said to contain a temple of liberal broad-minded worshippers of God, for which he wrote a charming inscription printed by Blochmann at the end of his life of Abul Fazl in the first volume of his translation (pp. xxxii-xxxiii).

But when Abul Fazl compiled his *Ain-i-Akbari*, Mughal rule was not yet firmly in the saddle in this recently conquered province, and full and correct reports on Kashmir had not begun to reach the imperial chancellory at Delhi. Hence its statistics are less accurate than those of the longer-settled subahs of Akbar's empire, which formed the basis of his *Imperial Gazetteer*. The Persian text of the chapter on Kashmir is vitiated by too many errors in proper names and topographical data, which may have been due to Abul

Fazl's clerks as well as to later transcribers of his book. The hopeless confusion thus created was first removed by the publication of Stein's two works cited above.

In the present edition, copious extracts have been made from these scholarly sources by Prof. N. B. Roy and the obsolete or useless notes of Jarrett have been deleted. *The new topographical notes are given in one place at the end of Abul Fazl's account and not at the foot of each page.—Jadunath Sarkar.*

Stein's remark on A. F.'s account of Kashmir.

"Abul Fazl's detailed description of Kashmir, is in many respects valuable to the historical student, but it is particularly in connection with topographical search that we must feel grateful to the author for having, like his great master, caught some of the enthusiasm of the valley.

The account of Abul Fazl presents for us an authentic survey of all the Kashmirian *tirthas* that were well known and popular at the end of the 16th century. . . Abul Fazl's notes have enabled me to trace in more than one instance the position of ancient *tirthas* or particular features regarding them which have since his time been wholly forgotton." Stein, *Chron.* II, 382-83.

A NOTE ON THE LANGUAGE OF KASHMIR.

Kashmiri or Koshiru.

The Kashmiri language is the language of the Valley of Kashmir. In a dialectic form it has spread south-west into the Valley of Kashtawar (Kishtwar), and to the south it has flowed over the Pir Pantsal Range into the lower hills lying north of the River Chinab, where it reappears in a number of mixed dialects.

The word 'Kashmiri' is Persian or Hindi, and is derived from the Sanskrit Kasmirika. It is not the name used by the people of Kashmir itself. There the country is called Kashiru, and the language Koshiru.

Kashmiri has one true dialect,—Kashtawari, spoken in the Valley Kashtawar (commonly known as Kishtwar), lying to the south-east of the Valley of Kashmir. Kashmiri has also overflowed the Pir Pantsal Range into the Jammu Province of the State, and in the valleys between the southern

hills of the range, between the water-shed and the valley of the Chinab, there are a number of mixed dialects, such as Poguli, Siraji of Doda, and Rambani. The first two of these represent Kashmiri merging into Dogri. Farther east, over the greater part of the Riasi District of the State, there are more of these mixed dialects, about which nothing certain is known, except that the mixture is rather between Kashmiri and the Chibhali form of Lahnda.

In the standard Kashmiri of the Valley, there are minor differences of language, which, however, are not sufficient to entitle us to divide it out into further separate dialects. For instance, the Kashmiri spoken by Musalmans differs from that spoken by Hindus. Not only is the vocabulary of the former more filled with words borrowed from Persian, but also there are slight differences of pronunciation.

Kashmiri belongs to the Dard group of the Dardic languages. It is most nearly related to Shina. It has, however, for many centuries been subject to Indian influence, and its vocabulary includes a large number of words derived from India. Its speakers hence maintain that it is of Sanskritic origin, but a close examination reveals the fact that, illustrious as was the literary history of Kashmir, and learned as have been its Sanskrit Pandits, this claim of Sanskrit origin cannot be sustained for the vernacular of the latter. Kashmiri is a very old language. Three words in it are quoted by Kalhana (circ. 1150 A.D.) in his *Rajatarangini*, and these are not very different from the language of the present day. [Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. 8, part II, pp. 233-235.]

Sarkār of Kashmir.

It lies in the third and fourth climates. Its length from *Qambar Ver* to *Kishan Ganga* is 120 *kos*, and its breadth from 10 to 25 *kos*. On the east are Paristān and the river Chenāb: on the south-east *Bānihāl* and the *Jammu* mountains: on the north-east, Great Tibet: on the west, Pakli and the Kishan Ganga river: on the south-west, the Gakkhar country: on the the north-west, Little Tibet. It is encompassed on all sides by the Himalayan ranges. Twenty-six different roads lead into Hindustān but those by *Bhimbar* and *Pakli* are the best and are generally practicable on horseback. The first mentioned is the

nearest and it has several routes of which three are good, *viz.*, (1) *Hasti Bhanj*[1] which was the former route for the march of troops; (2) *Pir Panjāl,* which His Majesty has thrice traversed on his way to the rose garden of Kashmir. If on these hills an ox or a horse be killed, storm clouds and wind arise with a fall of snow and rain[2]; (3) *Tangtala.*

The country is enchanting, and might be fittingly called a garden of perpetual spring surrounding a citadel terraced to the skies, and deservedly appropriate to be either the delight of the worldling or the retired abode of the recluse. Its streams are sweet to the taste, its waterfalls music to the ear, and its climate is invigorating. The rain and snowfall are similar to that of Turkestān and Persia and its periodical rains occur at the same season as in Hindustān. The lands are artificially watered[3] or dependent on rain for irrigation. The flowers are enchanting and fill the heart with delight. Violets, the red rose and wild narcissus cover the plains. To enumerate its flora would be impossible. Its spring and autumn are extremely beautiful. The houses are all of wood and are of four stories and some of more, but it is not the custom to enclose them. Tulips[4] are grown on the roofs which present a lovely sight in the spring time. Cattle and sundry stores are kept in the lower storey, the second contains the family apartments, and in the third and fourth are the household chattels. On account of the

[1] The three different routes into Kashmir are thus described. The first runs almost in a straight line passing through Nowsherah, Rajori, the Pir Panjāl pass and Shupiyon. The second deviating from Rajori runs to the Punch river and on to Punch and crossing the Hāji Pir, joins the Murree road near Uri. The third, parting from Samani Sarai, passes through Kotli and Sera to Punch and unites with the second. The route by Shupiyon is the Pir Panjāl. The second is Tangtala which name, however, is no longer known and is probably a misscript. The third is believed to be the Hasti Bhanj, for it is the only one by which elephants can travel. *Cf.* Vigne's *Kashmir and Ladāk,* I. 147 in which 20 passes into Kashmir are mentioned and described.

[2] The superstition regarding the tempest of wind and snow and rain, appears to be connected with that of the *Yedeh* or rain-stone frequently alluded to by Baber, the history of which is given by D'Herbelot. It is of Tartar origin and the virtues of the stone are celebrated in Yarkand and attested by authorities who have never witnessed them. It is said to be found in the head of a horse or a cow, and if steeped in the blood of an animal with certain ceremonies, a wind arises followed by snow and rain.

[3] The terms are *Abi, Lalmi.* The first signifies in the N.-W. P., land watered from ponds, tanks, lakes and watercourses, in distinction to that watered from wells, and as being liable to fail in the hot season, is assessed at a lower rate. The second is a Pushtu word (Raverty) and means growing spontaneously and applied to crops wholly dependent on rain for irrigation or spring crops. The next term *Chalkhāi* in the text has a variant *Jalkhāya* signifying parched land that has absorbed its moisture.

[4] Dr. King takes this to be probably the *Fritillaria Imperialis,* though there is nothing against the plant being a real tulip. The *T. stellata* is common in many parts of the N. W. Himalayas.

abundance of wood and the constant earthquakes, houses of stone and brick are not built, but the ancient temples inspire astonishment. At the present day many of them are in ruins. Woollen fabrics are made in high perfection, especially shawls which are sent as valuable gifts to every clime. But the bane of this country is its people, yet strange to say, notwithstanding its numerous population and the scantiness of the means of subsistence, thieving and begging are rare. Besides plums and mulberries, the fruits are numerous. Melons, apples, peaches, apricots are excellent. Although grapes are in plenty, the finer qualities are rare and the vines bear on mulberry trees. The mulberry is little eaten, its leaves being reserved for the silkworm. The eggs are brought from *Gilgit* and *Little Tibet*, in the former of which they are procured in greater abundance and are more choice. The food of the people is chiefly rice, wine, fish and various vegetables, and the last mentioned they dry and preserve. Rice is cooked and kept overnight to be eaten. Though *shāli* rice is plentiful, the finest quality is not obtainable. Wheat is small in grain and black in colour, and there is little of it, and little consumed. Gram (chick-pea) and barley are nowhere found. They have a species of sheep[1] which they call *Hāndu*, delicate and sweet in flavour and wholesome. Apparel is generally of wool, a coat of which will last for some years. The horses are small, strong, and traverse difficult ground. There are neither elephants nor camels. The cows are black and ill-shaped, but give excellent milk and butter. There are artificers of various kinds who might be deservedly employed in the greatest cities. The bazār system is little in use, as a brisk traffic is carried on at their own places of business. Snakes, scorpions and other venomous reptiles are not found in the

[1] According to Cunningham (*Ladak*, p. 210) the Ladāki sheep are of two kinds, the tall black-faced *Huntya* used chiefly for carrying burdens and the pretty diminutive sheep of *Purik* used only for food. The common sheep is the *Huntya* which with the exception of the *Purik* breed is almost the only kind of sheep to be found throughout Tibet. It is much larger than any of the Indian breeds, the height averaging from 27 to 30 inches. Nearly the whole of the traffic is transported on these sheep which are food, clothing and carriage and are the principal wealth of the country. Drew (*Jummoo and Kashmir*, p. 288) gives the average weight carried by them at from 24 to 32 lbs. The *Purik* sheep when full grown is not larger than a south-down lamb of 5 or 6 months, and is said by Moorcroft to equal in the fineness and weight of its fleece and flavour of its mutton any race hitherto discovered. The oxen are the yāk or chauri-taled bull and the yāk cow, Brimo or Dimo, and they reproduce with the common cattle. The yāk is kept chiefly for loads, being generally too intractable for the plough. The cow is kept only for milk. The most valuable hybrids are the *Dso* bull and *Dsomo* cow, the produce of the male yāk and common cow.

cities. There is a mountain called *Mahādeva* and in any spot whence its summit can be seen, no snake exists, but fleas, lice, gnats and flies are very common. From the general use of pellet-bows which are fitted with bow-strings, sparrows are very scarce. The people take their pleasure in skiffs upon the lakes, and their hawks strike the wild-fowl in mid-air and bring them to the boats, and sometimes they hold them down in the water in their talons, and stand on them, presenting an exciting spectable.

Stags and partridges likewise afford sport and the leopard too is tracked. The carriage of goods is effected by boat, but men also carry great loads over the most difficult country. Boatmen and carpenters drive a thriving trade. The Brāhman class is very numeorus.

Although *Kashmir* has a dialect[1] of its own, their learned books are in the Sanskrit language. They have a separate character which they use for manuscript work, and they write chiefly on *Tuz*[2] which is the bark of a tree, worked into sheets with some rude art and which keeps for years. All their ancient documents are written on this. Their ink is so prepared as to be indelible by washing. Although, in ancient times, the learning of the Hindus was in vogue, at the present day, various sciences are studied and their knowledge is of a more general character. Their astrological art and astronomy are after the manner of the Hindus. The majority of the narrow-minded conservatives of blind tradition are *Sunnis*, and there are some *Imāmis* and *Nur Bakhshis*,[3] all perpetually at strife with each

[1] The languages of Kashmir are divided into 13 separate dialects. Of these Dogri and Chibali which do not differ much from Hindustāni and Panjābi, are spoken on the hills and the Punch and Jammu country. Kashmiri is mostly used in Kashmir proper and is curiously and closely related to Sanskrit. Five dialects are included in the term *Pahāri*: two are Tibetan spoken in *Baltistān*, *Ladakh* and *Champas*, and three and four varieties of the Dard dialects of Aryan origin in the North-West. The thirteen dialects are enumerated and discussed by Drew (*Jummoo and Kashmir*).

[2] *Tuz* in the *Burhān i Qāti* is said to be the bark of a tree used to wrap round saddles and bows. Dr. King identifies it with the well-known birch, Betula Bhojpattra, Wall. *Bhojpattra* he states is the current vernacular name.

[3] As the account of this sect in Ferishta has been almost entirely passed over by Briggs in his translation, the omission may be here made good and will serve the double purpose of supplementing his version and elucidating the present text. With the following note may be compared a monograph on the Roshaniyah sect by Dr. Leyden in the XIth Vol. Asiatic Researches.

Mirzā Haidar (Doghlāt) in his work the *Kitab i Rashidi* says that formerly all the inhabitants of Kashmir were of the Hanifi sect. In the time of Fath Shāh, a man named Shamsu'ddin came from Irāq and declared himself to be a follower of Mir Muhammad Nur Bakhsh. He introduced a new form of religion which he called *Nurbakhshi*, which accords neither with the Sunni or Shia belief. And the followers of this sect, like heretics, consider it their duty to revile and abuse the three Caliphs and Ayesha, but unlike the Shias,

other. These are chiefly from Persia and Turkestān. Their musicians are exceedingly many and all equally monotonous, and with each note they seem to dig their nails into your liver. The most respectable class in this country is that of the Brāhmans, who notwithstanding their need of freedom from the bonds of tradition and custom, are true worshippers of God.

They do not loosen the tongue of calumny against those not of their faith, nor beg nor importune. They employ themselves in planting fruit trees, and are generally a source of benefit to the people. They abstain from flesh-meat and do not marry. There are about two thousand of this class.

The *Tolah* in this country is 16 *māshās*, each *māshā* being equal to 6 *surkhs*.[1] The gold mohur weighs 16 *dānis*, each *dāni* equalling 6 *surkhs*, being 4 *surkhs* more than the ordinary mohurs of Delhi. *Rop Sāsnu* is a silver coin of 9 *māshas*. The *panchhu* is of copper, equal to the fourth of a *dām* and is called *kaserah*. One-fourth of this is the

they regard Amir Sayyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh as the Mahdi and Apostle of his time, and they do not believe as the Shias do in saints and holy persons, but consider them to be Sunnis.

"I compelled many men of Kashmir who were much disposed to this heresy, to accept willingly or otherwise the true religion and I put others to death. Some of these men saved themselves by adopting mystic doctrines and called themselves Sufis."

Before these people, there lived in Kashmir a sect of Sun-worshippers who were called Shammāssin. Their creed was that the sun's light owed its existenc to their purity of faith, and that they themselves existed through the light of the sun, and that if they rendered their faith impure, the sun would cease to be. [Jarrett.] *Nur-bakhshiya* in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, iii. 961-962. Elias & Ross, *Tarikh-i- Rashidi*, 435-437. *Shammāsi* in Elias & Ross, 436. For Hindu sun-worship, Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, xii. 83, ii. 483-484; Panjab Sun Creed, ix. 604. Babylonian *Shamash*, *ibid.*, ii. 311. [J. Sarkar.]

[1] The *Surkh* is the common red and black bead, *Abrus precatorius*, and is equal to a *rātī* in weight.

The Kashmiri mohur = 16 *dāni* or *dānāqs* = 96 *surkhs*.
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The 96 *ratis* or *surkhs* in a *tolah* exactly represent the 96 carat grains in the old assay pound. [Jarrett.]

With reference to the monetary system of Kashmir, Stein indicates the connection between the terms used by Abul Fazl for the various denominations of coins and their modern equivalents in Kashmir. Thus *Panchuhu* is the same as *Punisa*, (Skr. *Panchabimsati*), *hāth* unchanged (Skr. *sata*), *Sansu* same as *Sasun* (Skr. thousand). According to Abul Fazl *Bahagani*, (*bārakani*) is equal to ¼ *Panchuhu*. Stein corrects it and says that the above denomination represented one-half of the *Panchuhu*. The term *bah* in Kashmir means twelve and *bahabeni* as a twelver. All the terms used above with only one exception are stated to have survived in Kashmir to this day in the popular system of reckoning, notwithstanding the repeated changes which the currency of the State has undergone since Akbar's time. Stein, *Chronicle*, Vol. II, 312. [J. S.]

bahgani, [*barakani*], of which again one-fourth is called *shakri.*

4 *kaserahs* = 1 *rāhat.*
40 *kaserahs* = 1 *sāsnu.*
1½ *sāsnu* = 1 *sikkah.*
100 *sikkahs* = 1 *lakh* which, according to the imperial estimate, is equal to one thousand *dāms.*

The whole country is regarded as holy ground by the Hindu sages. Forty-five shrines are dedicated to *Mahadeva,* sixty-four to *Vishnu,* three to *Brahmā,* and twenty-two to *Durga.* In seven hundred places there are graven images of snakes which they worship and regarding which wonderful legends are told.[1]

Srinagar is the capital and is 4 *farsakhs* in length. The rivers *Bihat, Mār,* and *Lachmahkul*[2] flow through it. The last-mentioned runs occasionally dry: the second, at times, becomes so shallow that boats cannot pass. This has been a flourishing city from ancient times[3] and the home of artificers of various kinds. Beautiful shawls are woven, and they manufacture woollen stuffs (*Saqarlāt*) extremely soft. *Durmah, pattu* and other woollen materials are prepared but the best are brought from Tibet. *Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadāni*[4] resided for some time in this city, and a monastery founded by him still preserves his memory. To the east is a high hill known as the *Koh i Sulaimān,* and adjoining the city are two large lakes always full of water, and it is remarkable that their water will not deteriorate in good savour and wholesomeness for any length of time provided that their free exit is undisturbed.

[1] Serpent-worship, according to Genl. Cunningham, has been the prevailing religion in Kashmir from time immemorial. A full account of Hindu serpent-worship in Hastings' *Encyclo.,* xi. 411-419 (Kashmir on p. 412). J. S.

[2] The Jhelum, which nearly intersects the valley is formed, says the *I. G.,* by the junction of three streams, the *Arpat, Bring* and *Sandaram,* and receives in its course numerous tributaries. It mentions the *Tsont i Kul,* or apple-tree canal connecting the *Dal* or city lake, with the Jhelum which it enters opposite the palace and the *Nalit Mār* which flows into the Sind near *Shādipur* connecting the *Auchar* with the *Dal.* The Dudganga, a stream of good volume joins the river on the left bank at the city of Srinagar.

[3] Srinagari, the old capital, prior to the erection of Pravarasenapura is stated in the *Rajā Tarangini* to have been founded by Asoka, who reigned between B.C. 273—232. It stood on the site of the present Pāndrethān, and is said to have extended along the bank of the river from the foot of the *Takht i Sulaimān* to *Pāntasok,* a distance of more than three miles.

[4] This monastery is built entirely of wood. It is still extant and known as the Khānqāh i Muālla, on the right bank of the Bihat above Zenu Kadal, the fourth bridge of the town of Srinagar.

Near the town of *Brang* [Bring] is a long defile in which is a pool seven yards square and as deep as a man's stature. It is regarded as a place of great sanctity. Strange to say it is dry during eleven months, but in the Divine month of Urdi-bihisht (April), water bubbles forth from two springs. First in one corner of it is a cavity like a mortar called *Sendh brāri*: when this becomes full, the spring rises in another corner called *Sapt rishi*. From these two sources the pool runs over. Sometimes it boils up for three hours, and at times for only a second. Then it begins to decrease till not a drop remains. At three periods of the day, *viz.*, morning, noon and evening, this rise occurs. Various flowers are thrown in as offerings to either spring, and after the reflux of the water, the flowers of each votary are found in their respective springs.[1]

But this, like the divining cup is a contrivance of the ancients to secure the devotion of the simple.

In this vicinity also is a spring, which during six months is dry. On a stated day, the peasants flock to worship and make propitiatory offerings of a sheep or a goat. Water then flows forth and irrigates the cultivation of five villages. If the flush is in excess, they resort to the same supplications, and the stream subsides of its own accord. There is also another spring called *Kokar Nāg*, the water of which is limpid, cold and wholesome. Should a hungry person drink of it, his hunger will be appeased,[2] and its satisfaction in turn renews appetite. At a little distance, in the midst of a beautiful temple, seven fountains excite the wonderment of the beholder. I[n] the summer time self-immolating ascetics here heap up a [l]rge fire around themselves, and with the utmost fortitude [o]ffer themselves to be burnt to ashes. This they consider a means of union with the Deity. There is also a spring which produces touchstone, and to the north of it a lofty hill which contains an iron mine.

The village of *Vij Brāra*, one of the dependencies of *Aneych* is a place of great sanctity. It was formerly a large

[1] Tieffenthaler ascribes the cause of the phenomenon to the melting of the mountain snows under the influence of the sun which descending along hollows or by subterranean passages reach this cavern and boil up within it. The later ebullitions he conceives, are due either to the shade of the trees or the declining force of the sun on the snows. Bernier's opinion is somewhat the same. *Voyages*, II, 293.

[2] Vigne (I, 339) on the contrary bears testimony to its being provocative of appetite. The spring, situated about 2½ miles from the iron works at Sof Ahan, forms a stream equal in volume to that of Vernag and far superior in the quality of its water.

city[1] and contained wonderful temples. In the vicinity is an upland meadow called *Nandimarg,* of which I know not whether most to praise its level sweep of mead, the loveliness of its verdure and flowers, or the bountiful virtues of its streams and its air. In the village of *Pampur,* one of the dependencies of Vihi, there are fields of saffron[2] to the extent of ten or twelve thousand *bighas,* a sight that would enchant the most fastidious. At the close of the month of March and during all April, which is the season of cultivation, the land is ploughed up and rendered soft, and each portion is prepared with the spade for planting, and the saffron bulbs are placed in the ground. In a month's time they sprout and at the close of September, it is at its full growth, shooting up somewhat over a span. The stalk is white, and when it has sprouted to the height of a finger, it begins to flower one bud after another in succession till there are eight flowers in bloom. It has six lilac-tinted petals. Usually among six [3]filaments, three are yellow and three ruddy. The last three yield the saffron. When the flowers are over, leaves appear upon the stalk. Once planted it will flower for six years in succession. The first year, the yield is small: in the second as 30 to 10. In the third year it

[1] The principal ancient cities of Kashmir are the old capital of Srinagari and the new, Pravarasenapura which was lost in the former name: Khagendrapura and Khanamusha, identified with Kākapur on the left bank of the Bihat, ten miles to the south of the Takht i Sulaimān, and Khunamoh, four miles north-east of Pāmpur: Vijipara and Pantasok. The former twenty-five miles south-east of the capital: the latter three miles from the Takht i Sulaimān; Surapura the modern Sopur, mentioned in the Kashmir chronicles as Kambuca: Kanishkapura, corrupted to Kāmpur: Hushkapura probably Baramula: Jushkapura now Zukru or Zukur four miles north of the capital: Parihasapura built by Lalitaditya (A.D. 723—760): Padmapura, now Pampur: and Avantipura, now only a small village, Wantipur, seventeen miles south-east of the present capital. Cunningham, pp. 95, 103.

[2] See Vol. I, p. 84 where the method of cultivation of this plant is explained somewhat differently.

[3] I am indebted to Dr. King for the following note:

"There are three stamens and three stigmas in each flower. The latter yield the saffron. The style divides at the level of the anthers into three yellow drooping branches which hang out of the flower and become gradually thickened and tubular upward, stigmas dilated, notched and often split down one side, dark orange coloured. The mode of collection and preparation of saffron varies in different countries, but it consists essentially in removing the stigmas with the upper part of the style from the other parts of the flower and afterwards drying the parts detached. A not uncommon adulteration of saffron is made by intermixing the dyed stamens of the saffron crocus. It takes from 7,000 to 8,000 flowers to yield 17½ ounces of fresh saffron which by drying is reduced to 3½." *Medicinal Plants* by Bentley and Trimen, IV, 274. In the Waqiāt i Jehāngiri, it is asserted that in an ordinary year, 400 maunds or 3,200 Khurasāni maunds are produced. Half belongs to Government, half to the cultivators and a ser sells for about 10 Rs. A note states that one good grain of saffron contains the stigmata and styles of 9 flowers; hence 4,329 flowers yield one oz.

reaches its highest point and the bulbs are dug up. If left in the same soil, they gradually deteriorate, but if taken up they may be profitably transplanted.

In the village of *Zewan* are a spring and a reservoir which are considered sacred, and it is thought that the saffron seed came from this spring. When the cultivation begins, they worship at this fount and pour cow's milk into it. If as it falls it sinks into the water, it is accounted a good omen and the saffron crop will we plentiful, but if it floats on the surface, it will be otherwise.

In the village of *Khriu* 360 springs refresh the eye and each of these is accounted a means of divine worship. Near this is an iron mine.

Maru Adwin[1] adjoins *Great Tibet* where the *Handu* is found of the best breed and large in size, and carries heavy burdens. Near this is a hill called *Chatar Kot* on the summit of which snakes are so numerous that no one can approach it. There is also a high hill difficult of ascent, on which is a large lake. It is not every one that can find his way to it, for it often disappears from sight. At the foot of the mountain in different places images of *Mahādeva* fashioned of a stone like crystal are found and are a source of wonder.

In the neighbourhood of *Achh Bal,* one of the dependencies of *Khattār* is a fountain which shoots up to the height of a cubit, and is scarce equalled for its coldness, limpidity and refreshing qualities. The sick that drink of it and persevere in a course of its waters, recover their health.

In the village of *Kotihār* is a deep spring, surrounded by stone temples. When its water decreases, an image of *Mahādeva* in sandal-wood appears. The quality of this spring does not alter.

In the vicinity of *Wular* is a lofty mountain, containing a salt spring. The Kashmir stag[2] is here found in numbers.

Matan [Martand] stands upon a hill and once possessed a large temple. There is a small pool on the summit, the water of which never decreases.* Some suppose this to be

[1] More Wurdwun according to Vigne.

[2] The Bārā Singha or Kashmir stag, (*Cervus Cashmerianus*).

* Martand, situated on the highest part of the *Karewah* or raised plain between Islāmābād and the higher mountains. The temple is described by Hügel as "Koran Pandau," the beautiful ruins of which are the finest in Kashmir. Vigne inverts the order as Pandu Koru. At 150 yards distance as the Chāh i Bābil or well of Hārut and Mārut whose story does not need repetition. The spring referred to in the following paragraph is that of

the *Well of Babylon,* but at the present day there is no trace of anything but an ordinary pit.

On the slope of the hill is a spring, at the head of which a reservoir has been constructed, full of fish. The sanctity of the place preserves them from being touched. By the side of it is a cave, the depth of which cannot be ascertained.

In *Khāwarpārah* is a source, whose waters tumble headlong with a mighty roar.

In the village of *Aish*[1] is the cell of *Bābā Zainu'ddin Rishi*. It is in the side of a hill. It is said that in ancient times the hill held no water, but when he took up his abode there, a spring began to flow. For twelve years he occupied this cell and at length closed its mouth with a large stone and never went forth again, and none has ever found trace of him.

The town of *Dachchhinpārah* is on the side of a mountain bordering *Great Tibet* and is fed by the waters of the above-mentioned spring. Between *Great Tibet* and the above-mentioned *parganah* is a cave in which is an image in ice called *Amar Nāt*.[2] It is considered a shrine of great sanctity. When the new moon rises from her throne of rays, a bubble as it were of ice is formed in the cave which daily increases little by little for fifteen days till it is somewhat higher than two yards, of the measure of the yard determined by His Majesty; with the waning moon, the image likewise begins to decrease, till no trace of it remains when the moon disappears. They believe it to be the image of *Mahādeva* and regard it as a means (through supplication) of the fulment of their desires. Near the cave is a rill called *Amrāoti*, the clay of which is extremely white. They account it auspicious and smear themselves with it. The snows of this mountainous tract nowhere melt, and from the

Bawan, one of the holiest in Kashmir, swarming, says Vigne, (I, 359) with Himalayan trout. Hügel gives the legend of the caves one of which he was assured extended 10 kos, and that no one who ever entered, had been known to return. He penetrated to the end of it in a few minutes. Matan is the name of the *Karewah* at the end of which, according to Moorcroft, the Martand temple stands (II, 255) ascribed like most of the architectural remains to the Pāndus.

[1] The village of Aish Maqām or the abode of pleasure, holds in a long building situated conspicuously on the left bank of the Lidar, the shrine of the saint. He directed that a tomb should be erected where his staff should be found, as his body would disappear. It is still missing. See Vigne, II, 6.

[2] The Amarnāth cave is marked in Drew's map, south-east of Baltal and Sonamarg, near the sources of the Sind river. Its history and ceremonies are told by Vigne, II, 8. The ice bubble was doubtless a stalactite. See Moorcroft, II, 252.

extreme cold, the straitness of the defiles and the rough inequalities of the road, they are surmounted with great toil.

In the village of *Dākhāmun* is a spring, and whenever its water boils up and becomes turbid its surface is covered with particles of straw and rubbish, the dust of dissension arises in the country. A quarry of Solomon's stone[1] is in the vicinity of which utensils are fashioned.

About the *parganah* of *Phāk* grow a variety of herbs and plants. Adjoining is a large lake called *Dal*. One side of it is contiguous to the city and on its surface a number of floating islands[2] are constructed which are cultivated, and fraudulent people will at times cut off a piece and carry it away to a different position. *Sultān Zainul Abidin* constructed in this lake a causeway (*sad*) of clay and stone one *kos* in length from the city to this *parganah*. In the vicinity also is a spring of which the sick drink and are restored to health.

In the village of *Thid*, is a delightful spot where seven springs unite: around them are stone buildings, memorials of bygone times. There is also a source which in winter is warm and in summer cold.

In the village of *Bāzwāl* is a waterfall from the crest of *Shāhkot*. It is called *Shālahmār*. Here fish are caught in numbers. A streamlet is caged at two ends and when the water is carried off, the fish between are taken.

In *Ishibāri* is a spring held sacred by the people of Hindustān, called *Suryasar*, surrounded by stone temples. *Shakarnāg* is a spring which is dry all the year, but should the 9th day of any month happen to fall on a Friday, it bubbles up and flows from morn till eve, and people flock to partake of its blessings.

In the village of *Rambal* are a spring and a pool. Those who have special needs throw in a nut, if it floats, it is an augury of success; if it sinks, it is considered adverse.

In *Bānihal* is a temple dedicated to *Durgā*. If any one desires to learn the issue of a strife between himself

[1] Applied indiscriminately to both agate and onyx. Tieffenthaler describes a stone of their country, as green with white streaks which is worked with diamond powder and made into phials, saucers, hafts of daggers and the like. It is probably a kind of jade.

[2] Cucumbers and melons are commonly grown on them. Their construction is described by Moorcroft (II, 138) with the thoroughness which characterizes his observations. The causeway is called by Vigne, (II, 99) *Sad i Chodri* and is carried entirely through the lake to the village of Isha Bryri, four miles on the opposite side.

and his enemy, he fills two vessels with boiled rice, the one representing his own fortunes, the other those of his foe, and places them in the temple and closes the doors. On the following day the devotees present themselves to learn the result. In whose vessel roses and saffron are found, his undertaking will prosper, and that which is full of straws and dirt, portends the ruin of the person it represents. Stranger still, in a dispute where it is difficult to discover the truth, each party is given a fowl or a goat and sent to the temple. They then poison each of these animals and severally rub them with their hands. His animal whose cause is just recovers, and the other dies.

In the *Ver* tract of country is the source of the *Bihat*. It is a pool measuring a *jarib* which tosses in foam with an astonishing roar, and its depth is unfathomable. It goes by the name of *Vernāg*[1] and is surrounded by a stone embankment and to its east are temples of stone. In the village of *Kambar* is a spring called *Bawan Sendh* which during two months of the spring time is in agitation. It is always full and its water never decreases.

In *Devsar* in the village of Balau is a pool called Balau Nāg 20 yards square in which the water is agitated: it is embosomed in delightful verdure and canopied by shady trees. Whosoever is desirous of knowing the prospects of the harvest, or whether his own circumstances are to be prosperous or unfavourable, fills an earthen vessel with rice, writes his name on its rim, and closing its mouth, casts it into the spring. After a time the vessel of its own accord floats on the surface, and he then opens it and if the rice be fragrant and warm, the year will be prosperous and his undertakings successful, but if it be filled with clay or mud and rubbish, the reverse will be the case.

Veshau is the name of a stream which issues picturesquely from an orifice in a mountain, and at the same place is a declivity down which the waters tumble from a height of 20 yards with a thundering roar. Hindu devotees throw themselves down from its summit and with the utmost fortitude sacrifice their lives, in the belief that it is a means of securing their spiritual welfare.

Kuthār[2] is a spring which remains dry for eleven years, and when the planet *Jupiter* enters the sign of *Leo*, it flows

[1] *Ver* is the old name of Shahābād. A description of this celebrated fountain may be read in Vigne's *Kashmir*, I. 332, and in Moorcroft, II. 250.

[2] This appears to be the Kosah Nāg of Vigne which he says is pronounced *Kausar* by the Muhammadans after the fountain in Paradise.

on the following Thursday and during the succeeding seven days is again dry and once more fills on the Thursday next following, and so continues for a year.

In the village of *Matalhāmah* is a wood in which is a heronry,[1] the feathers are taken for plumes, and the birds are here regularly fed.

Near *Shukroh* is a low hill on the summit of which is a fountain which flows throughout the year and is a place of pilgrimage for the devout. The snow does not fall on this spur.

In *Nāgām* is a spring called *Nilah Nāg*, the basin of which measures 40 *bigahs*. Its waters are exquisitely clear and it is considered a sacred spot, and many voluntarily perish by fire about its border. Strange to relate omens are taken by its means. A nut is divided into four parts and thrown in, and if an odd number floats, the augury is favourable, if otherwise, the reverse. In the same way if milk (thrown in) sinks, it is a good omen, and if not, it is unpropitious. In ancient times a volume, which they call *Nilmat*, arose from its depths, which contained a detailed description of *Kashmir* and the history and particulars of its temples. They say that a flourishing city with lofty buildings is underneath its waters, and that in the time of *Badu Shāh*,[2] a Brāhman descended into it and returned after three days, bringing back some of its rarities and narrated his experiences.

In the village of *Biruwā* is a spring and in its water lepers bathe early on the first day of the week and are restored to health. In the vicinity is a plateau, a pasture ground for cattle, the grass of which has peculiar fattening properties.

In the village of *Halthal* of the *parganah* of *Yech* is found a quivering tree.[3] If the smallest branch of it be shaken, the whole tree becomes tremulous.

Lār borders on the mountins of *Great Tibet*. To its north is a lofty mountain which dominates all the surrounding country, and the ascent of which is arduous. At its foot are two springs, two yards distant from each other, the waters of one being extremely cold and those of the other

[1] The word is pronounced *Oukar* or *Okar* and signifies a heron. See Vigne, I, 306. The heronries are strictly guarded.

[2] Badu Shāh is Zainul Abidin (Vigne, II, 73).

[3] Dr. King informs me that the Aspen (*Populus tremula*) occurs wild in the N. W. Himalaya. The *P. Euphratica* of which the leaves are as tremulous as the aspen, is also common in many parts.

exceedingly hot. They are considered sacred and the bones of bodies are here reduced to ashes: the bones and ashes of the dead are cast into a large lake on the mountain and this ceremony is regarded as a means of union with the Divinity. If the flesh of an animal fall into it, a heavy fall of snow and rain ensues. The river called *Sind* which rises in *Tibet*, is wholesome to drink, and is so clear that the fish in it are visible. They strike them with iron spears and catch them also in other ways. *Shahāb-u'ddinpur* is on the banks of the *Bihat*, and about it are large plane trees which is a favourite resort. The *Sind* joins the Bihat at this point.

In *Tulmulā* is an area of about 100 *bighas* in extent which is flooded during the rains, and remains somewhat moist even after the waters have dried up. The people plunge in sticks of a yard in length, more or less, and work them about, and thrusting their hands into the holes pull out fish of four pounds weight and more, but commonly of small size.

In *Satpur* is a pool, the depth of which cannot be fathomed. It is held in great veneration and is a place of worship. *Bhutesar* is a temple dedicated to *Mahādeva*. Whoever approaches to pay his devotions, hears the sounds of ceremonial worship and no one can tell whence they proceed.

In *Khoihāma* which adjoins *Little Tibet* is a large lake called the Wular twenty-eight *kos* in circumference. The *Bihat* flows into it and its course is somewhat lost to the eye. Here *Sultān Zainul Abidin* built a large palace called *Zain Lanka*.[1] Boats full of stones and branches of trees are sunk in the lake and pulled up by ropes after the lapse of three or four months, and many fish are taken that have homed there. The capture of water-fowl here affords considerable sport, and in the village of *Ajas*, stags are chased down to the lake and taken. Near *Māchhāmu* is an island covered with trees which when shaken by the wind, cause the island also to quake.

Saffron is also cultivated in *Paraspur*. It formerly held a lofty temple which when destroyed by *Sikandar* father of *Sultān Zainul Abidin*, a copper tablet was discovered on which was inscribed in *Sanskrit*, that after the

[1] See Vigne, II, 153. The legend of the Lanka islet is given in Muhammad Aāzam's *Hist. of Kashmir* translated by me in the *A. S. Journal*, XLIX, Part I, 1880.

lapse of eleven hundred years, one Sikandar would destroy it and gather for himself exceeding great chastisement.[1]

In the *Parganah of Kamrāj*[2] at the village of *Trahgām* the residence of the *Chaks* is a fountain of sweet water called *Chatarnāg* and in the middle is a stone building of great age. The fish grow to great size but whosoever touches them, is afflicted by some calamity.

Near *Kargon* is a defile called *Soyam*[3] where an area of ten *jaribs* of land becomes so hot at the time of the conjunction of Jupiter and Leo that trees are burnt up and a vessel of water if left on the ground will boil. A flourishing little town stands here. From *Kamrāj* is a defile, one end of which touches *Kāshghar* and on the west lies *Pakli*, where gold is obtained in the following manner. The skins of long-haired goats are spread in the fords of this river, with stones placed round them that the current may not bear them away. They are taken up after three days and left in the sun. When dry, they are shaken, yielding their three *tolahs* weight of gold dust. *Gilgit* is the name of another pass which leads to *Kāshghar*. Gold is there obtained by soil washings.

At two days' distance from *Hāehāmun* is the river named *Padmati* which flows from the *Dārdu*[4] country. Gold is also found in this river. On its banks is a stone temple called *Sāradā* dedicated to *Durgā* and regarded with great veneration. On every eighth *tithi* of *Shuklapaksha*, it begins to shake and produces the most extraordinary effect.

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[1] Cunningham alludes to this at p. 102 and adds, 'The same story is told by Ferishta with the addition of the name of the Rāja whom the translator calls *Balnāt* (a mistake for *Lāldit*, the contracted form of *Lalitaditya* among the Kashmiris).

[2] Kamrāj and Merāj were two large districts into which Kashmir was divided from the earliest times, the former being the north half of the valley below the junction of the Sind with the Jhelum, and the latter the south half, above that junction. Cunningham, p. 94. Vigne calls the village Tāragāon (II, 139) the village of the stars. The remains of ancient masonry round a fine spring were still to be seen, some of the blocks little inferior in size to those of Martand.

[3] Suhoyum in Vigne, (II, 281) who states that it lies near the village of Nichi Hama in the Parganah of Machiapora at the north-west end of the valley, and that 36 years before his visit an intense heat was found to issue from the spot. The phenomenon has several times occurred, a white smoke being occasionally seen to issue from the ground, but without sulphurous smell or fissures in the soil.

[4] Few people can be traced through so long a period in the same place as these whom H. H. Wilson (Moorcroft, II, 266, n.)identifies as the *Dāradas* of Sanskrit geography, and *Daradræ* or *Daradæ* of Strabo. He supposes them to be the Kāfirs of the Muhammadans, though now nominally converted to Islam. The auriferous region of the Dāradas is mentioned by Humboldt (*Cosmos* II, p. 513. E. C. Otté) who places it either in the Thibetian highlands east of the Bolor chain, west of Iskardo, or towards the desert of Gobi described also as auriferous by Hewen Thsang.

The system of revenue collection is by appraisement and division of crops, assessments for crops paying special rates and cash transactions not being the custom of the country. Some part of the *Sair Jihāt* cesses, however, are taken in cash. Payments in coin and kind were estimated in *kharwārs* of (*Shāli*) rice. Although one-third[1] had been for a long time past the nominal share of the State, more than two shares was actually taken, but through His Majesty's justice, it has been reduced to one half. According to the assessment of Qāzi (Ali)* the revenue was fixed at 30 *lakhs*, 63,050 *kharwārs*, 11 *taraks*, each *kharwār* being 3 *man*, 8 *sers Akbarshāhi*. A weight of two *dāms* is called a *pal*, and ½ and ¼ of this weight are also in use.

Seven and a half *pals* are considered equivalent to one *ser*, two sers are equal to half a *man*, and four *sers* to a *tarak*, and sixteen *taraks* to one *kharwār*. A *tarak*, according to the royal weights (of Akbar) is eight *sers*. Taking the prices current for several years, the *Qāzi* struck an average of the aggregate, and the *kharwār* (in kind) was ascertained to be 29 *dāms*, and the *kharwār* in money was fixed according to the former rate of $13\frac{8}{25}$ *dāms*. The revenue, therefore, amounted to 7 *krors*, 46 *lakhs*, 70,411 *dāms*. (Rs. 1,866,760-4-5), out of which 9 *lakhs*, 1,663 *kharwārs* and 8 *taraks* were paid in money, equivalent to 1 *kror*, 20 *lakhs*, 22,183 *dāms*. (Rs. 300,554-9-2). The revenue fixed by Āsaf Khan, was 30 *lakhs*, 79,443 *kharwārs*, of which 11 *lakhs*, 11,330½ *kharwārs* were in money.

[1] The immemorial tradition in Kashmir considered the whole of the land as the property of the ruler. Of some portions of the *khālsa* lands the sovereigns divested themselves by grants in *jagir* for various periods. The Sikhs made a general resumption, ousted the possessors of grants and reduced thousands to destitution. In Moorcroft's time (II, 125) the *khālsa* lands were let out for cultivation. Those near the city as Sar Kishti, head or upper cultivation, those more remote Pai-Kishti, or foot and lower. When the grain was trodden out, an equal division took place formerly between the farmer and the government, but the latter advanced its demands till it appropriated ⅞ of the Sar-Kishti and ¾ of the P. K. crop. The straw fell generously to the share of the cultivator who was also permitted to steal a portion of his own produce by the overseer,—for a consideration. In the time of Zainu'l Aābidin, the rice crop (the staple) is said to have been 77 lakhs of *kharwārs*. In Moorcroft's day it was 20, at from 2½ to 6½ Rs. a *kharwār*. His weight-measures differ from those of Abul Fazl, a *kharwār* being 16 *taraks*, a *tarak* 6 *sers*, a *ser* 20 *pals*, a *pal* 3¼ Mahomed Shāhi rupees, which (the rupee being 173·3 grains) should make the *ser* nearly 2 pounds. The actual *ser* was, however, not above one pound avoirdupois, and a *kharwār* or ass-load was therefore 96 pounds. A horse-load equalled 22 *taraks*.

* See pp. 347 and 411 of Vol. I, where further information is given regarding the revenue system, its exactions and the disturbances which led to the Qāzi's murder.

The cesses *bāj and Tamghā*,[1] were altogether remitted by His Majesty, which produced a reduction of 67,824½ *kharwārs*, equivalent to 898,400 *dāms*. (Rs. 22,460). For the additional relief of the husbandman, five *dāms* on the price of a *kharwār*, were thrown in. Although the revenue, in *kharwārs*, of *Āsaf Khān* was in excess of that of Qāzi Ali by 16,392 *kharwārs*, yet calculated by money the receipts are less, after deducting the remissions, by 860,034½ *dāms* (Rs. 21,500-13-7), because he estimated the *kharwār* in money which is of lower relative worth, above its value.

In the revenue returns forwarded by *Qāzi Ali* to the Imperial Exchequer, forty-one *parganahs* are taken while the return submitted by *Āsaf Khān* contains but thirty-eight, there being thirty-eight in point of fact. For Qāzi Ali on a review of the question separated the two villages *Karnā* and *Dārdu*, of the *parganah* of *Kamrāj*, and dividing the *parganah* of *Sāir i Mawāzi* into two, constituted these into two *parganahs*. In former times certain selected towns of each *parganah* were denominated *Sāiru'l Mawāzi* (village-group) and were held as *Khālisa*.[2] *Qāzi Ali* united forty villages of the *Marāj* side under the name of *Parganahi Hāveli* and retained eighty-eight villages of *Kamrāj* according to the former distribution, as *parganah* of *Sāiru'l Mawāzi*.

The whole kingdom was divided under its ancient rulers into two divisions, *Marāj* on the east, and *Kamrāj* on the west.

At the present day that a great part of the army in Kashmir has been withdrawn, the local militia consists of 4,892 cavalry and 92,400 infantry.

Sarkār of Kashmir.

Containing 38 *Mahals*. Revenue 3,011,618 *kharwārs*, 12 *taraks*, being equivalent to 62,113,040½ *dāms*. (Rs. 1,552,826); out of which 9,435,006 *kharwārs*, 14 *taraks* is

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[1] *Tamghā* has been already defined at p. 63 of this Volume, as being a demand in excess of the land revenue and *bāj* is simply a toll or tax and must here have a somewhat similar application, but there were various other taxes in excess of land revenue, such as *Jihāt*, *Sāir Jihāt*, *Farua'āt* and others whose nature is defined at p. 63. Elliot discusses the value of the terms at p. 6, Vol. II, of his *Races of the North-West Provinces*.

Tamghā occurs later under Kabul, signifying inland tolls.

[2] Lands of which the revenue was the property of the government, not being made over in grants or gifts, *Jāgir* or *Inām* to any other parties. Also lands and villages held immediately of government and of which the State is the manager or holder. Wilson, *Gloss*.

paid in money, equivalent to 12,501,880 *dāms*. (Rs. 312,547). Castes, various. Cavalry, 3,202. Infantry, 27,725.

The Marāj Tract.

Containing 22 *Mahals*. Revenue 1,792,819 *kharwārs*, equivalent to 35,796,122½ *dāms*, (Rs. 894,903), of which 670,551 *kharwārs*, 12 *taraks* are paid in money, equivalent to 8,885,248 *dāms*, (Rs. 222,131-3-2). Cavalry, 1,620. Infantry, 4,600.

City of *Srinagar*. Revenue 342,694 *kharwārs*, 12 *taraks*, in money, 342,996 *kharwārs*, 8 *taraks;* in kind, 1,698 *kharwārs*, 4 *taraks*.

Parganahs east of Srinagar, 3 *Mahals*.

	In kind		In money		Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
	Kharwārs	*Taraks*	*Kharwārs*	*Taraks*			
Yech	144,102	0	62,034	4	5	50	Khamash? and Zineh.
Brang	78,834	4	8,769	8	68	1000	Bahtā,
Vihi	209,632	8	161,968	8	12	400	Brāhman.

Parganahs, north-east, 7 *Mahals*.

	In kind		In money		Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
	Kharwārs	*Taraks*	*Kharwārs*	*Taraks*			
Wular . ..	128,656	4	12,605	8	20	200	Dardah and Shāl.
Phāk	71,111	12	17,402	8	...	...	
Dachhinpār	75,153	0	6,902	12	20	100	Khān.
Khāwarpār ..	45,226	8	3,575	8	100	500	Khāwar.
Khattār	37,479	4	3,221	12	15	300	Dard.
Maru Adwin (Maru Wardwun, Vigne)	...		5,041	0	200 half bowmen	200	
Matan	190,43½		18,62½		20	100	Bhāt.

Parganahs, south-east, 11 *Mahals.*

	In kind	In money	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
	Khar-wārs Taraks	*Khar-wārs Taraks*			
Ādwin	101,432 4	14,815 16*	1	100	Dard.
Yech	98,369 0	14,377 4	6	30	Brāhman.
Banihāl	6,435 40 horseloads	...	400	4000	Sihar.
Bātu	3,515 0 besides transit duties remitted	4,235 8	50	300	Nāik.
Devsar	85,644 8	822 8	300	000	Zinah.
Zinahpur	15,875 4	1,799 1	20	...	
Soparsaman ..	6,133 besides dues on firewood	2,003 4	70	200	Kamboh.
Shādarah	39,167 0	8,550 12	....	...	Thakur.
Shukroh	45,224 0	12,757 8	20	...	Ashwār.
Nāgām	189,770 12	22,576 4	15	100	Bhāt.
Ver	12,270 8	838	500	5000	Sahsah.[1]

* This must be a mistake for 12, as 16 *taraks* make a *kharwār*: in the Arabic numerals the 2 and 6 are easily confounded. A horse load is 22 *taraks*.

[1] Var. Sahah, Sansah, Nakhah.

Kamrāj Tract.

Containing 16 *Mahals*. Revenue 1,218,799 *kharwārs*, 12 *taraks*, equivalent to 26,316,918 *dāms*. (Rs. 657,922-15-2). In money, 272,954½ *kharwārs*, equivalent to 3,616,632 *dāms*. (Rs. 90,415-12-9). Cavalry, 1,590. Infantry, 16,965.

Parganahs, north-west.

	In kind	In money	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
	Khar-wārs Taraks	*Khar-wārs Taraks*			
Zinahkar	13,253 0	32,55½ 0	50	100	Bhāt, Musalmān.
Khoihāma	83,670 12	15,522 0	50	1000	Zinah.[2]

[2] Var. Ahir.

Parganahs, south-west.

	In kind		In money		Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
	Khar-wārs	*Taraks*	*Khar-wārs*	*Taraks*			
Indarkol	9,553	4	7,238	0	...	...	Bhat.
Paraspur	18,830	12	3,352	8	...	...	Siyāhi.
Patan	4,799	4	523	0	30	110	Bhāt, Musalmān.
Bānkal	115,233	12	20,280	4	200	500	Bākri.
Barwi	57,098	12	13,383	0	35	30	Kahār.
Telkām	15,415	12	4,435	4	...	30	Pandit.
Dinsu	53,219½		17,038½		150	400	Doni.
Dachhin Khāwarah ..	36,222	4	20,653	0	25	300	Khasi, Kanku, Zinah.
Sāir u'l Mawāzi ..	192,641	4	18,553	12	...	...	
Khoi	12,945	0	370		...	15	Rawer.
Kamrāj	342,844	4	103,725	4	1000	10,000	Chak.
Karohan	115,474	0	29,779	12	...	110	

SOVEREIGNS OF KASHMIR.

Fifty-three princes reigned during 1266 *years.*

I.

Ugnand.
Damodar, } his sons.
Bāl, }
Thirty-five princes succeeded whose names are unknown.

II.

Lavah, (var. Lava.)
Kishen, his son (var. Kish.)
Kahgandra, his son.
Surandra, his son.
Godhara, of another tribe.
Suran, his son.
Janaka, his son.
Shachinar, (var. Hashka, Bishka).
Asoka, son of Janaka's paternal uncle.
Jaloka, his son.
Damodar, descendant of *Asoka*.
Hashka, }
Zashka, } three brothers. Buddhists.
Kaniska, }
Abhiman.

III.

	Y.	M.	D.
Rājā Ganand (Gonerda III) reigned ...	35	0	0
,, Bhikan (Vibhishana), his son ...	53	0	0
,, Indrajita, his son	35	6	0
,, Rāwana, his son	30	0	0
,, Bhikan II, his son	35	6	0
,, Nara, (also called Khar), his son ...	39	9	0
,, Sidha, his son	60	0	0
,, Utpalāchah, his son	30	6	0
,, Hiranya, his son	37	7	0
,, Hiraṇkal, his son	60	0	0
,, Abaskaha, his son	60	0	0
,, Mihirkal, his son	70	0	0
,, Baka (Vaka), his son	63	0	13
,, Khatnanda, his son	30	0	0
,, Vasunanda, his son	52	2	0
,, Nara, his son	60	0	0
,, Aja (Aksha), his son	60	0	0
,, Gopāditya, his son (MSS. Kopārat) ...	60	0	6
,, Karan, his son	57	0	11
,, Narendraditya, his son	36	3	10
,, Yudishthira, his son	48	0	10

IV.

Six princes reigned 192 *years.*

Pratapāditya, said to be a descendant of Vikramāditya	32	0	0
Jaloka, his son	32	0	0
Tanjir, (Tunjina) his son	36	0	0
Bijai, relation to above	8	0	0
Jayandra, (var. Chandra), his son ...	37	0	0
Ārya Rāj	47	0	0

V.

Ten princes reigned 592 *years,* 2 *months,* 1 *day.*

	Y.	M.	D.
Meghavāhana, a descendant of Judishthira	34	0	0
Srishtasena, his son	30	0	0
Hiran, his son	30	2	0
Mātrigupta, Brāhman	4	9	1
Pravarasena, a descendant of Meghavāhana	63	0	0
Judishthira, his son	39	3	0
Lakshman, called also Nandradit ...	13	0	0
Ranāditya, his younger brother ...	30	0	0
Vikramāditya, his son	42	0	0
Bālāditya, his younger brother, no issue ...	36	0	0

Seventeen princes reigned 257 *years,* 5 *months,* 20 *days.*

Durlabhavardhan, son-in-law of Bālādit ...	36	0	0
Pratapāditya, grandson of his daughter ...	50	0	0
Chandrapira, his eldest son	8	0	8
Tārāpira, his brother	4	0	24
Lalitāditya, another brother	36	7	11
Kuvalayāpirā, his son	1	0	15
Vajrāditya, his brother	7	0	0
Prithivyāpirā, his son	4	1	0
Sangrāpirā, grandson of Lalitāditya by a son	7	0	0
Jayāpira, ditto	31	0	0
Jajja, his brother-in-law	some months		
Lalitāpira, his son	12	0	0
Sangrāmapira, his brother	37	0	0
Brihaspati, son of Lalitāpira	12	0	0
Ajitāpira, or Ajayāpira, son of Prabhubāpira	36	0	0
Anangāpira, son of Sangrāmapira	3	0	0
Utpalāpira, son of Ajayāpira.			

VI.

Fifteen princes reigned 89 *years,* 1 *month,* 15 *days.*

Avanti Varmā, of the Chamār caste ...	28	3	3
Sankar Varmā, his son	18	7	19
Gopāl Varmā	2	0	0
Sankat, said to be his brother	0	0	10

	Y.	M.	D
Sugandhā Rāni, mother of above-mentioned Gopāl	2	0	0
Pārtha, son of Sukh Varmā	15	0	10
Mārjit Varmā, son of Sukh Varmā, his brother	1	1	0
Chakra Varmā	10	0	15
Sura Varmā, his brother	1	0	0
Pārtha, son of Mārjit	1	4	0
Chakra Varmā, second time	0	6	0
Sankar Vardhana, son of Mir Vardhana ...	3	0	0
Chakra Varmā, third time	3	0	0
Unmatt Avanti Varmā, son of Rājā Pārtha	2	2	0
Surma (Sura) Varmā, second time, last of the Chamār princes	0	6	0

VII.

Ten princes reigned 64 *years,* 3 *months,* 14 *days.*

Jasasra (Jasaskar) Dev, a peasant ...	9	0	0
Buranit, an uncle's descendant ...	0	0	1
Sangrāma Deva, son of Jasaskar ...	0	6	7
Parva Gupta, one of his subjects ...	1	4	0
Khema (Kshema) Gupta	8	6	0
Abhiman, his son	14	0	0
Nanda Gupta, his son	1	1	9
Tribhuvana	2	0	7
Bhimā Gupta, son of Abhiman ...	4	3	20
Diddā Rāni, mother of Abhiman ...	23	6	0

Twenty-seven princes reigned 351 *years,* 6 *months,* 17 *days.*

Sangrāma, son of Adirāj, nephew of the Rāni	24	2	0
Harirājā, his son	0	0	22
Ānanta, his son	5	5	0
Kalasa Deva, his son	26	0	0
Utkarsā, his son	0	0	22
Harsha, son of Kalasa	12	0	0
Uchal, grandfather of Harsha	10	4	2
Riddha, son of Siddha, one of the murderers of Uchal	[one night and 3 hours		
Salhan, brother of Uchal	0	3	27

	Y.	M.	D.
Susalha, brother of Salhan	7	10	0
Bhekhyājar, son of Haras	0	6	12
Rājā Susalha, second time	2	3	0
Jaya Singh, son of Susalha	27	0	0
Parmānak, son of above	9	6	10
Dati (var. and G. Danji Deva), his son ...	9	4	17
Jas Deva, his younger brother ...	18	0	13
Chag (Jag) Deva, son of above ...	14	2	0
Rājā Deva, his son	23	3	7
Sangrāma Deva, his son	16	0	10
Rāma Deva, his son	21	1	13
Lachhman (Lakshman) Deva, son of a Brāhman	13	3	12
Sinha Deva, chief of Labdar of Daskhinpārah	14	5	27
Sinha Deva, brother of above	19	3	26
Rinjan of Tibet, a native of that country ...	10	some months	
Adin Deva, relation of Sinha Deva ...	15	2	10
Rāni Kotā Devi, wife of Adin Deva ...	0	6	15

Thirty-two princes reigned 282 *years,* 5 *months,* 1 *day.*

A.H.	A.D.			Y.	M.	D.
715	1315	Sultān	Shamsu'ddin, minister of Sinha Deva ...	2	11	25
750	1349	,,	Jamshid, his son ...	1	10	0
752	1351	,,	Alāu'ddin, son of Shamsuddin	12	8	13
765	1363	,,	Shahābu'ddin ...	20	0	0
785	1386	,,	Qutbu'ddin, son of Hasanuddin	15	5	2
799	1396	,,	Sikandar, his son whose name was Sankār ...	22	9	6
819	1416	,,	Ali Shāh, his son ...	6	9	0
826	1422	,,	Zainul Abidin, younger brother of Ali Shāh ...	52	0	0
877	1472	,,	Hāji Haidar Shāh, his son	1	2	0
878	1473	,,	Hasan Khān, his son ...	12	0	5
891	1486	,,	Muhammad Shāh, his son	2	7	0
902	1496	,,	Fath Shāh, son of Ādam Khān, son of Sultān Zainul Abidin ..	9	1	0

			Y.	M.	D.
911	1505	Sultān Muhammad Shāh, a second time	0	9	9
		,, Fath Shāh, a second time	1	1	0
		,, Muhammad Shāh, a third time	11	11	11
		,, Ibrahim, his son ...	0	8	25
942	1535	,, Nāzuk Shāh, son of Fath Shāh, (*Ferishta*, "son of Ibrahim, son of Muhammad Shāh") ...	1	0	0
		,, Muhammad Shāh, a fourth time	34	8	10
		,, Shamsi, son of Muhammad Shāh	0	2	0
		,, Ismāil Shāh, his brother ...	2	9	0
		,, Nāzuk Shāh, a second time	13	9	0
		,, Ismāil Shāh, a second time	1	5	0
948	1541	Mirzā Haidar Gurgān ...	10	0	0
		Sultān Nāzuk Shāh, a third time	1	0	0
		Ghāzi Khān, son of Kāji Chak ...	10	6	0
971	1563	Husain Chak, his brother ...	6	10	0
		Ali Chak, brother of Husain Chak	8	9	0
986	1578	Yusuf Shāh, his son ...	1	0	20
		Sayyid Mubārak Shāh, one of his nobles	0	1	25
		Lohar Chak, son of Sikandar, son of Kāji Chak	1	2	0
		Yusuf Shāh, a second time ...	5	3	0
		Yāqub Khān, his son ...	1	0	0

Thus this series of 191 princes, reigning throughout a period of 4,109 years, 11 months and 9 days, passed away.

When the Imperial standards were for the first time borne aloft in this garden of perpetual spring, a book called *Rāj Tarangini* written in the Sanskrit tongue containing an account of the princes of Kashmir during a period of some four thousand years, was presented to His Majesty. It had been the custom in that country for its rulers to employ certain learned men in writing its annals. His Majesty who was desirous of extending the bounds of knowledge appointed capable interpreters in its translation which in a

short time was happily accomplished. In this work it is stated that the whole of this mountainous region was submerged under water and called *Sati Sar*. *Sati* is the name of the wife of *Mahādeva*, and *Sar* signifies a lake. One day of *Brahmā* comprises 14 *manvantaras*. Up to the 40th year of the Divine Era, of the seventh *manvantara*, at which time Kashmir began to be inhabited, 27 (*kalpas*) each of four cycles (*yug*) as before mentioned, have elapsed and of the twenty-eighth three cycles, and of the fourth cycle, 4,701 solar years. And when, according to the legend which they relate, the waters had somewhat subsided, *Kasyapa*[1] who is regarded as one of the most sublime amongst ascetics, brought in the Brāhmans to inhabit the new region. When men began to multiply they sought to have a just ruler over them, and experienced elders, solicitous of the public weal met together in council and elected to the supreme authority one who was distinguished for his wisdom, his large understanding, his comprehensive benevolence and his personal courage From this period dates the origin of their monarchical government which proceeded thus to the time of *Ugnand* 4,044 years prior to this the 40th year of the Divine Era.[2] Ugnand fell by the hand of *Balbhadra*, the elder brother of *Kishan* in the battle fought at *Mathurā* between Kishan and *Jarāsandha* rājā of Behār. *Dāmodara* (his son), to avenge his death marched against some of the relations of Kishan who were hastening to a marriage festival in Qandahār, and was killed fighting on the banks of the *Sind*. His wife being then pregnant and the astrologers foretelling that it would prove a son, Kishan bestowed on him the government of the province. Thirty-five princes succeeded, but through their tyranny their names are no more remembered. When *Lavah* ascended the throne, justice was universally administered and deeds met their just recognition. He founded in *Kamrāj* the great city of *Lavapur* the

[1] According to Tieffenthaler, he was called *Cashapmir*, from Cashapa grandson of Brahmā and *mer*, a mountain or habitation. Bāber mentions in his Memoirs that the hill country along the upper course of the Indus was formerly inhabited by a race called *Kās* from whom he conjectures that Kashmir received its name. The *Kasia regio* of Ptolemy applies to the race and seems to confirm his conjecture. Kasyapa was the son of Marichi the son of Brahmā, and was father of Vivaswat the father of Manu. His name signifies a tortoise which form he assumed as Prajapati, the father of all, and had a large share in the work of creation. He was one of the seven great Rishis.—Dowson.

[2] As the 40th year of Akbar's reign is A.H. 1003, commencing 5th Dec. 1594 and ending 25th Nov. 1595 A.D. the date of Ugnand would be B.C. 2449.

ruins of which are still to be traced. It is said to have held 800,000,000 houses. As the sage of *Ganjah*[1] well says:

House linked to house from Ispahan to Rai
Like jointed canes, I've heard, stretch countlessly,
So that a cat might trace the distant span
From roof to roof twixt Rai and Ispahan
But if the tale my credit doth belie,
The teller is its surety, faith not I.

When the succession devolved on *Asoka* the son of *Janaka's* paternal uncle, he abolished the Brahmanical religion and established the *Jain* faith.* His personal virtues adorned his reign, and his son *Rājā Jaloka* was distinguished for his justice, and his conquests were limited only by the ocean. On his return from *Kanauj*, then the capital of Hindustān, he brought with him a number of learned and enlightened men and of these his sagacity and perception of worth selected seven individuals. To one of them he entrusted the administration of justice; to another the revenue department; to a third the finances; to a fourth the superintendence of the troops; the fifth took charge of the department of commerce; the sixth controlled the material resources of the state, and the seventh interpreted the mysteries of the stars. He had also a knowledge of alchemy. It is said that a huge serpent ministered to his commands, mounted upon which he could descend below water for a long space. Sometimes he appeared as an old man, and at other times, as a youth, and marvellous tales are related of him. Buddhism became prevalent about this time.

Damodar (II) is said by some to have been one of the descendants of *Asoka*. He was a pious devout prince but was transformed into a snake through the curse of an ascetic. In the reign of *Rājā Nara* the Brāhmans prevailed over the Buddhists and levelled their temples to the ground. *Rājā Mihirkal* was a shameless tyrant, but by the strange freaks of fortune he made extensive conquests. As he was once returning homewards by the pass of *Hastibhanj*, an elephant lost its footing, and its screams and manner of falling caused him such amusement that he ordered a hundred ele-

[1] Shaikh Nizāmi, who was born in that town. The lines occur in the *Haft Paikar*, one of the *Khamsah* or Five poems of Nizāmi.

* See Thomas's *Jainism or the Early Faith of Asoka* for this theory, which modern scholars have rejected.

phants to be precipitated in a similar manner. From this circumstance the pass received its name, *hasti* signifying *elephant*, and *bhanj*, *injury*. During his reign, a large rock blocked up the ferry of a river, and, however much it was cut away, it yet increased again during the night to its ordinary dimensions. Remedies were proposed in vain. At length a voice came forth intimating that if touched by the hand of a chaste woman, the rock would displace itself. Time after time it was touched by women in succession, and when no effect was produced, he ordered the women to be put to death for incontinence, the children for bastardy, and the husbands for consenting to the evil, until three *krors* of human beings were massacred. The miracle was at length effected by the hand of a chaste woman, a potter by trade and caused great wonder. The Rājā being afflicted by various diseases, burnt himself to death.

Rājā Gopadit possessed considerable learning and his justice increased the extent of his sway. The slaughtering of animals was forbidden throughout his dominions and high and low abstained from eating flesh. The temple which now stands on *Solomon's Hill* was built by his minister.

Rājā Judishthira in the beginning of his rule administered the state with an impartial hand, but in a short space through his licentious conduct and intimacy with base associates, his subjects became estranged from him, and the kings of Hindustān and Tibet were arrayed against him. The chiefs of Kashmir threw him into prison.

During the reign of *Rājā Tanjin* (Tunjin) snow fell when the sun was in Leo (July, August). The crops were destroyed and a terrible famine threw the country into disorder.

Rājā Jayandra possessed a minister wise, loyal and virtuous, and void of levity and dissimulation. His equals bore him envy, and the wicked at heart but specious in appearance, sought his ruin and undermined his influence by underhand misrepresentations. As princes are on these occasions apt to err and do not investigate closely, forgetful of former experiences of what envy can effect, the minister was overthrown, and banished in disgrace. His strange destiny, however, did not deprive him of his composure. He allowed not grief to encompass him, but gladdened his days with cheerfulness of heart. His wicked enemies represented him as aiming at the throne, and the Rājā,

ignorant of the real facts, ordered him to be impaled. After some time had elapsed, his spiritual preceptor happened to pass that way and read on the frontal bone of his skull that he was destined to disgrace and imprisonment and to be impaled, but that he should again come to life and obtain the sovereignty. Amazed at learning this, he took down the body and secretly kept it and continued in supplication to the Almighty. One night the spirits gathered round and by their incantations restored the corpse to life. In a short time he succeeded to the throne, but his experience of life soon induced him to withdraw into retirement.

Meghavāhan was renowned for his virtues and gave peace and security to Hindustān as far as the borders of the ocean. After the death of *Rājā Hiran* without issue, the chiefs of Kashmir paid allegiance to *Rājā Bikramājit* the ruler of Hindustān. *Rājā Mātrigupta* was a learned Kashmiri Brāhman. Bikramājit profited by his wisdom but did not advance his temporal interests. He, however, gave him a sealed letter to convey to Kashmir and furnishing him with a small sum of money for his expenses as he started, despatched him on his mission. The Brāhman set out with a heavy heart. On his arrival in Kashmir, the letter was opened. It ran thus. 'The bearer has rendered important services at my Court and has experienced many reverses of fortune. On the receipt of this letter, let the government of the country be entrusted to him, and be this mandate obeyed under fear of the royal displeasure.' The chiefs met in council and yielded their submission.

Rājā Pravarasena had withdrawn from the country and lived in retirement in Hindustān. A devout and enlightened servant of God predicted to him the good tidings of his future elevation to a throne. On the faith of this, he went to Nagarkot and possessed himself of that place. On hearing of the death of Bikramājit, *Mātrigupta* abdicated and setting out for Benares lived in seclusion. *Pravarasena* was universally distinguished for his justice and liberality. He founded *Srinagar*[1] the capital of the country and

[1] The old capital previous to the erection of Pravarasenapura is stated to have been founded by Asoka (*Rāj Tarangini*, i, 104), (B.C. 26[illegible]-226). It stood on the site of the present *Pāndrethān* and is said to have extended along the bank of the river from the foot of the *Takht i Sulaimān* to Pāndrethān, a distance of more than three miles. It was still the capital in the reign of Pravarasena I, towards the end of the 5th century when the king erected a famous symbol of the god Siva, named after himself *Pravaresvara*. The new capital was built by Pravarasena, II, in the beginning of the 6th century. *Anct. Geog. India*, 97.

rendered it populous during his reign with 600,000 houses. With surpassing munificence he sent to *Mātrigupta* the aggregate of eleven years' revenue of Kashmir which that personage bestowed upon the indigent. *Rājā Ranāditya* was a just prince and made many conquests. In the neighbourhood of Kishtawār near the river Chenāb, he entered a cave with all his family and many of his courtiers, and was seen no more; many strange legends are related regarding him. *Rājā Bālāditya* invaded Hindustān and extended his dominions to the borders of the sea.

In the reign of *Rājā Chandrapira* the wife of a Brāhman appeared to him claiming justice, saying, that her husband had been killed and the murderer was undiscovered. He asked her if she suspected any one, to which she replied that her husband was of an amiable disposition and had no enemy, but that he often had disputations on points of philosophy with a certain person. This man was brought up but strenuously denied the accusation. and the complainant would not accept an ordeal by fire or water lest the man should employ some supernatural means of escaping it. The Rājā in his perplexity could neither eat nor sleep. An enlightened sage appearing to him in a vision taught him an incantation to be uttered over rice-meal scattered about, upon which the suspected person was to walk. If the footsteps of *two* people were observed as he passed over it, he was not to be suffered to escape. Through this suggestion the truth was discovered and punishment duly meted out. But as a Brāhman could not be put to death, an iron image of a man without a head was made and his forehead branded therewith.

Rājā Lalitāditya devoted himself to the prosperity of his kingdom and in the strength of the divine aid overran Irān, Turān, Fārs, Hindustān, Khata, and the whole habitable globe, and administered his dominions with justice. He died in the mountains of the north, and it is said that he was turned into stone by the curse of an ascetic, but others relate the story differently.

Rājā Jayāpira reached a lofty pitch of glory and his conquests were extensive. Ninety-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine horses were bestowed by him in charity at Benares, and his gifts to the poor were on the same munificent scale. He asked of the elders whether the army of his grandfather Lalitāditya or his own were the

larger. They answered that his contained but 80,000 litters, whereas 125,000 of such conveyances were arrayed under his grandfather's standard, by which proportion he might judge of the numerical strength of his other retinue. When he had proceeded some distance on his march of conquest, his brother-in-law, *Jajja,* who was in Kashmir disputed the throne. The nobles of the king, in anxious fear for their wives and children, betrayed him and preferred their outward reputation before their true honour. The Rājā hastened alone to Bengal, and with the aid of troops from that country, repossessed himself of his kingdom, Jajja being slain in battle.

Rājā Lalitāpira took low companions into favour and associated with buffoons, and his wise councillors withdrew from the court. His minister finding remonstrance of no avail, retired from office.

Rājā Sankar Varmā conquered Gujarāt and Sind, and overran the Deccan, but left it in the possession of its ruler. Although in the beginning of his reign he followed a virtuous course, he lacked perseverance. The intoxication of worldly prosperity plunged him into every vice.

During the reign of *Rājā Jasaskardeva,* a Brāhman lost a purse of a hundred gold *mohurs.* Under the impulse of violent grief he resolved to make away with himself. The thief hearing of this, asked him how much he would be satisfied to take, if he discovered the purse. The Brāhman answered, "Whatever you please." The thief offered him ten *mohurs.* The Brāhman, sore at heart, appealed to the Rājā who inquired into the case, and sending for the thief ordered him to restore ninety *mohurs,* intending by this, that the amount the thief desired to keep for himself, should be the portion of the Brāhman.

In the reign of *Sinhadeva,* a Muhammadan named Shāh Amir who traced his descent to Arjun the *Pandava* was in the royal service. About this time Dalju the chief commander under the king of Qandahār, attacked and plundered the kingdom. The Rājā took refuge in the mountain passes and levied forcible contributions on the people, and sent them to him and entreated him as a supplicant. The invader withdrew, dreading the severity of the weather, and many of his troops perished in the snow. About the same time also, *Rinjan,* the son of the ruler of Tibet invaded the country which was reduced to great

distress. On the death of the Rājā, the sovereignty devolved on *Rinjan* who was distinguished for his munificence. He appointed *Shāh Mir* his minister whose religion, through intimacy and association with him, he eventually adopted.

When *Rājā Aaindeva* died, the aforesaid Shāh Mir by specious flattery and intriguing, married his widow. In the year 742, A.H. (1341-2, A.D) he caused the *khutbah* to be read, and the coin to be minted in his own name and assumed the title of *Shamsu'ddin* and levied a tax of one-sixth on all imports into Kashmir. It had been revealed to him in a dream that he would obtain the sovereignty of the kingdom.[1]

Sultān Alāu'ddin issued an ordinance that an unchaste woman should not inherit of her husband.

Sultān Shahābu'ddin encouraged learning and proclaimed an equal administration of the laws. Nagarkot, Tibet and other places were overrun by him.

During the reign of *Sultān Qutbu'ddin* Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadāni arrived in Kashmir and was received with great favour.

Sultān Sikandar was a rigid follower of religious tradition and a bigot. He overthrew idolatrous shrines and persecuted people not of his faith. During his reign, Timur invaded Hindustān and sent him two elephants. *Sikandar* desired to pay his homage to that conqueror, but on his road to the interview he learnt that it was reported in Timur's camp that the sovereign of Kashmir was bringing with him a present of a thousand horses. Concerned at the untruthfulness of this rumour he returned and sent his excuses. Ali Shāh appointed (his brother) Zainul Abidin regent in his stead and set out for Hijāz. By the persuasion of foolish and evil advisers[2] and through inconstancy of purpose, he returned with the view of recovering his authority in Kashmir and aided by the Rājā of Jammu he took possession

[1] Such is the literal translation according to the punctuation of the text which I suspect is in error. Ferishta states that Shamsu'ddin abolished the exactions of his predecessors and having repaired the ruin, caused by the invasion and exactions of *Dūlfu*, by written orders fixed the revenue at 1/6th of the produce. The text as corrected runs as follows: "Assumed the title of Shamsu'ddin and fixed the revenue at one-sixth of the produce. Before his arrival in Kashmir, it had been revealed to him in a dream that he would obtain &c."

[2] These, states Ferishta, were his father-in-law the *Jammu Rājā*, and the chief of *Rajauri*.

of the kingdom. Zainul Abidin set out for the Panjāb and joined Jasrat of the Khokhar[1] tribe. Ali Shāh collecting a large army advanced into the Panjāb and a great battle took place in which Ali Shāh was defeated and fell into obscurity while *Zainul Abidin* recovered the sovereignty of Kashmir. Jasrat leaving Kashmir advanced against Delhi but defeated by Sultān Bahlol Lodi retreated to Kashmir and with the assistance of an army from its monarch, conquered the Panjāb.

Zainul Abidin overran *Tibet* and *Sind*. He was a wise prince, devoted to philosophical studies and it was his fortune to enjoy universal peace. He was regarded by high and low as a special servant of God and venerated as a saint. He was credited with the power of divesting himself of his corporeal form, and he foretold that under the dynasty of the *Chaks*, the sovereignty of Kashmir would be transferred from that family to the monarchs of Hindustān, which prediction after a period of years was accomplished. His benevolence and love of his people induced him to abolish the capitation tax (*levied on other than Muslims*) and to prohibit the slaughtering of cows, as well as penalties and presents of all kinds. He added somewhat to the measure of the *Jarib*. His private revenues were drawn from copper mines. He often personally administered medicinal remedies[2] and resolved all difficult undertakings with ease. Robbers were employed in chained gangs on public works. His gentleness of disposition dissuaded men from the pursuit of game, and he himself ate no flesh or meat. He caused many works to be translated from the Arabic, Persian, Kashmiri and Sanskrit languages. During his reign musicians from Persia and Turkestān flocked to his court; among them Mulla Uudi the immediate pupil of the famous Khwājah Abdu'l Qādir arrived from Khurāsān, and Mulla Jamil who in singing and painting was pre-eminent among his contemporaries. Sultān Abu Said Mirzā sent him presents of Arab horses and dromedaries from Khurāsān

[1] According to Ferishta *Jasrat Shaikha Ghakar* imprisoned by Timur in Samarkand, escaped and founded or acquired a principality in the Panjāb. Zainu'l Aābidin with his aid defeated Ali Shāh who, according to one account was taken prisoner by Jasrat, and to another was expelled from Kashmir by his successful brother. This freebooter gave considerable trouble to the Sayyid dynasty and held his own against Bahlol Lodi when that chief governed Multan under Sayyid Muhammad. See Vol. I, 456, n. for the Gakkhars (as it is there spelt) and the reference to Delmerick's history of this tribe.

[2] Ferishta says that for the encouragement of the study of medicine, he specially favoured *Sri Bhat* an eminent physician, by whose advice, the Brāhmans, expelled under Sikandar the Iconoclast, were recalled

and Bahlol Lodi king of Delhi and Sultā Mahmud of Gujarāt were in friendly alliance with him.

Sultān Hasan, collecting an army invaded the Panjāb and encountering Tārtār[1] Khān (Lodi) in several actions devastated the country.

In the reign of *Fath Shāh*, Mir Shamsu'ddin one of the disciples of Shāh Qāsim Anwār,[2] came from Irāq and promulgated the *Nur Bakhshi* doctrines, from which period date the dissensions between *Sunnis*, and *Shias* in this country.

During the third reign of *Muhammad Shāh* when he recovered the kingdom by the help of Sultān Sikandar (Lodi of Delhi), Bābar invaded Hindustān.

During *Sultān Ibrāhim's* domination, Abdul Mākri[3] represented to Sultān Bābar that Kashmir might be conquered with little difficulty. Shaikh Ali Beg, Muhammad Khān and Mahmud Khān were therefore despatched to that country and obtained some success, but the intrigues of the people prevented a settlement and they returned with gifts and presents and *Nāzuk Shāh* succeeded to the government. Under the reign of *Muhammad Shāh* for the fourth time, the emperor Humāyun ascended the throne of Delhi, and when Mirzā Kāmrān[4] was at Lahor, the officers formerly despatched to Kashmir (Ali Beg and Muhammad Khān) persuaded him that Kashmir could be taken with little trouble. The Mirzā therefore, despatched Mahram (Beg) *Kokah* with a body of troops to that country which they occupied. Massacres were frequent and their intolerable tyranny drove the people to rise till the Mughal chiefs sued for terms and withdrew. In the year A.H. 930, (1523-4) by command of Sultān Said Khān of Kāshghar, his son

[1] The Delhi governor of the Punjāb and the country at the foot of the hills.

[2] Ferishta places the accession of Fath Shāh in A.H. 894 (A.D. 1488-9), about which time occurred the arrival of Shāh Qāsim son of Sayyid Muhammad *Nur Bakhsh*, and the establishment of his doctrines as the prevailing creed. All religious grants and places of worship were made over to this sect, among the most illustrious converts to which were the Chak tribe.

[3] He was the son of Ibrahim Mākri who was minister in chief to Muhammad Shāh during his second reign. Abdāl Mākri his son played a considerable part in the stirring events of this time and was eventually driven from court by the intrigues of the minister Malik Kāji. He went to India and incited Bābar to the conquest of Kashmir. Fearing that the inhabitants would be opposed to the foreign rule of the Mughals, the enthronement of Nāzuk the son of Ibrāhim was adopted as a pretext to conciliate the Kashmiris, who, on his instalment in authority, dismissed the troops of Bābar with conciliatory gifts.

[4] Brother of the Emperor, governor of Kabul and Qandahār, to whom Humāyun had ceded the government of the Panjāb and the Indus frontier.

Sikandar Khān and Mirzā Haidar advanced into Kashmir at the head of 10,000 troops by way of Tibet and Lār, and taking an enormous booty retired after a short time under terms of peace. In the year A.H. 948 (1541-2) Mirzā Haidar, by command of Humāyun a second time entered Kashmir, guided by some of the natives of that country, as has been related in former accounts, and took possession of a part of Great Tibet. Kāji Chak came to Hindustān and bringing with him the aid of an army from Sher Khān, engaged Mirzā Haidar but was defeated. The Mirzā won over the Kashmiris by peaceful and conciliatory measures, so that he succeeded in having the *Khutbah* read and the coin minted in the name of Humāyun, the Kashmiris having previously read the *Khutbah* in the name of Nāzuk Shāh.

At the present time under the sway of His Imperial Majesty it is the secure and happy abode of many nationalities, including natives of Persia and Turkestān as well as of Kashmir.

CORRECT LIST OF RULERS OF KASHMIR.*

Historical Kings of Kashmir.

Asoka	C. 260 B.C.
Jalauka.	
Kanishka.	
Gananda III.	
Mihir Kula. ...	
Karkota dynasty.	
Durlabha Vardhana ...	627-649 A.D.
Pratāpāditya II or Durlabhaka.	
Chandrapida	713, 720.
Tārāpida.	
Lalitāditya Muktapida ...	736, 747.
Kuvalayapida	
Vajrāditya	Kalhana's *Chronicle* unattested by coin or other evidence.
Bāppiyaka	
Prithivyapida	
Samgrāmapida	
Jayapida	end of the 8th Century.
Cippata Jayapida ...	826-838.

* *Camb. Hist. of India*, iii. 277-293.

Ajitāpida	850/1.
Anangapida	
Utpalapida	
Line of Utpala	855/856—939 A.D.
Utpala	died 853.
Sukhavarman	r. 855-56.
Avantivarman	856-883.
Sankaravarman ...	883-902.
Gopālvarman	902-904.
Sankata	rule for 10 days in 904.
Sugandhā, Gopālvarman's widow	defacto ruler 904-'6.
Pārtha	906-921.
Pangu	921-923.
Chakravarman	923-933, 935-937.
Suravarman I	933-934.
Unmattāvanti	937-939.
Suravarman II	939.
Line of Viradeva	939-949.
Yasaskaradeva	939-948.
Sangrāmadeva	948-49.
Line of Abhinava	949-1003.
Parvagupta	949-950.
Kshemagupta(Diddā-Kshemā)	950-958.
Abhimanyu	958-972.
Nandigupta	973.
Tribhuvana	973-975.
Bhimagupta	975-980.
Diddā	980-81—1003.
Lohara dynasty	1003-1171.
Sangrāmarāja	1003-1028 A.D.
Harirāja	Rule for 22 days.
Ananta	1028-1063 A.D.
Kalasa	1063-1089.
Utkarsa	1089.
Harsa	1089-1101.
Period of civil war and internecine strife	1101-1339.
Uccala	1101-11.
Salhana	1111-12.
Sussala	1112-28.
Jayasinha	1128-1155.
Paramānuka	1155-1165.
Vantideva	1165-1171.

Line of Buppādeva	...	1171-1286.
Buppādeva ...	...	1171-1180.
Jassaka ...	...	1180-98.
Jagadeva ...	...	1198-1212-13.
Rājadeva ...	...	1212-13-1235.
Sangrāmadeva ...	...	1235-52.
Rāmadeva ...	...	1252-73.
Laksmandeva ...	...	1273-86.
Sinhadeva ...	...	1286-1301.
Tibetan dynasty		
Rinchana ...	...	1320-23.
Udyāndeva ...	...	1323-38.
Kotadevi ...	...	1338.
Muslim Sultans of Kashmir.		
Shamsuddin Shah	...	1346-1349.
Jamshed ...	...	1349-1350.
Alauddin ...	...	1350-59.
Shihābuddin ...	...	1359-1378.
Qutbuddin	...	1378-1394.
Sikandar ...	...	1394-1416.
Ali Shah ...	...	1416-1420.
Zain-ul-ābidin ...	...	1420-1470.
Haidar Shah ...	...	1470—Dec. 1471 or Jany. 1472.
Hasan Shah ...	...	1472-1489.
Muhammad Shah	...	1489, 1497, 1499-1526, 1529-1534.
Fath Shah ...	...	1489-1497, 1498-99.
Ibrāhim Shah, I	...	1526-27.
Nāzuk Shah ...	...	1527-29, 1540, 1551-52.
Shamsuddin Shah	...	1534-1540.
A new line.		
Mirza Haidar Shah	...	Nov. 1540-1551.
Ibrāhim Shah ...	...	1552-55.
Ismail Shah ...	...	1555-57.
Habib Shah ...	...	1557-61.
Ghāzi Shah ...	..	1561-1563, 64.
Nāsiruddin Husain Shah	...	1564-1569-70.
Ali Shah ...	...	1570-1579.
Lohar Chakk ...	...	1579-80.
Yusuf Shah ...	...	1579, 1580-86.
Yaqub Shah ...	...	1586-89.

Peoples of Kashmir

Bakhri—a clan claiming Rajput origin, found in several districts of the Panjab, converted to Islam by Bahauddin Zakariya, Rose, *Glossary of Panjab tribes and castes*, II, 39.

Khasa—Khasaka tribe, mod. Khakhas, Stein, *Chron.* II, 519.

Khawar—Var. *Kahu*,—*Either* Kahoi, a Jat clan found in Amritsar and Multan, *or* Kahut, another Jat clan found in Gujrat and Rawalpindi districts, Rose, 245.

Khamash—Rose mentions a Jat clan *Khamah*, resident in Multan, *ibid*, 491.

Bat, Bhat, or Bhatta,—Jarrett's classification of them as Muhammadans is not tenable, for there are Hindu Bhats as well, Rose, *ibid*, 94-101.

Kambah—Kamboh, "one of the finest cultivating tribes" found also in the Panjab, claiming descent from Raja Karan and saying that their ancestor fled to Kashmir. They belong to different religious pursuasions. Rose, II, 442-446.

Doni—*Either* Dhunia, a weaver caste *or* Dun, so called from Duhna to milk, hence milkman, Rose, II, p. 251.

Chak—*Either* a Kamboh clan *or* a sept of Jats, Rose, II, p. 146.

Shal—conjectured *Chahal*, Rose, III.

Siyahi—Sahi?, sometimes pronounced Chhahi in Ludhiana, a Jat tribe claiming descent from Solar Rajputs, Rose, III, p. 342. *Shahiya*?

Rawar—is it Rayar, a Jat clan of Amritsar? Rose, III, 332.

Sahasu- Sahasni?, a Jat clan of Amritsar, Rose, III, 342.

Thakur—representing the high-caste population of Kashmir, Rose, III, p. 326-329.

NOTES ON PLACES IN KASHMIR.

(Compiled by Prof. N. B. Roy)

P. 351. Qambar Ver—possibly the hill of Kamelana Kotta (anc. *Kramavarta*), a watch-station on the Pir Pantsal range. Stein, *Chron.* II, 292.

P. 352. Hasti Bhanj—Stein (*Chron.* Book I, n. 302) derives the name from Sanskrit *hasti*, elephant and W. Panjabi *vanj* to go. He describes this route in *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 376 sq., *Chron.* II, 394.

Tangtalah—5 miles n. of Pir Pantsal pass. For details Stein (*Chron.* II, 398).

P. 356. *Behat*—Vyath or Vitasta, embodiment of Parvati. Stein, Bk. I, 29, its legendary origin and course above Srinagar. *Chron.* II, 411, 415. *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, III, 286.

Mar—ancient name *Mahasarit*. (Stein, *Chron.* ii. 416). This stream drains the Dal lake to the east of the city of Srinagar, and carries off the surplus waters of the lake towards the Vitasta (Jhelum).

Lacham-Kul—canal of Srinagar (Stein, *Chron.* II, 457).

Sayyid Ali Hamadoni,—For anecdotes about him, Vigne, I, 82-83; shrine, Moorcroft, II, 120, Percy Brown, II, 83.

P. 357. *Brang*—modern *Bring*.

Sendhbrar—mod. *Sundbrar*. Stein identifies it with the spring of the goddess *Samdhya*. The spring flows during uncertain periods in the early summer, three times in the day and three times in the night. (*Chron.* I, note 33. *Chron.* II). Sendhbrar—Vigne writes about this tirtha saying,—on the 15th of Har (corresponding to 13th June), several thousand people are assembled, nearly naked—and wait for the rising of the water; those who are nearest to it, shaking peacock's feather over it as an act of enticement and veneration. When the basin perceptibly begins to fill, the immense multitude exclaim Sondi, Sondi, (it appears), and then they fill their brazen water-vessels, drink and perform their ablutions and return towards their home. Read Bernier's description, *Travels*, Brock's ed., II, p. 153.

P. 357. Kokar Nag—a *tirtha* in the Bring valley, situated a mile above the village of Bidar. The seven fountains inside the temple, mentioned by Abul Fazl, are the

spring now known as *Sweda Nag*. (Stein, 1899, *J.A.S.B.*, 181, *Chron.* II, 469.

Iron mine—Located by Vigne, I, 337, he describes the route from Shahabad to Sof-ahun where the principal or in fact the only iron works of the valley are to be seen.

Vej Brar—modern Vija-brar, one of the most famous *tirthas* of Kashmir, so called from the ancient shrine of Siva Vijayeshwar. The place being situated on the way to Martand and Amarnath, is much frequented even at the present day. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, pp. 173-175. *Chron.* II, 463).

P. 358. *Nandi-marg*—a beautiful mountain down situated on the eastern slopes of the Pir Pantsal range; about 12 miles s.e. of Supyan, 33. 34 N. 75 E. Bates, *Kashmir Gazetteer*, 287. Vigne, I, 299.

Pampur—mod. Pampar, ancient Padma-pur, the chief place of the Vihi pargana. Stein, *Chron.* II, 450; Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 167.

P. 359. Zewan—mod. Zevan, ancient *Jaya-van*, in the Vihi pargana. Here is a pool sacred to Takshaka, the lord of snakes, which is visited annually by pilgrims. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 166, *Chron.* Bk. I, 220 *note*, 166).

Khriu—mod. *Khruv*, ancient *Khaduvi*. Stein noted an abundance of fine springs in and about Khruv, and a mystical diagram called Sayambhu chakra, above the village which is held sacred to Jvalamukhi Durga. *Chron.* II, 459.

Maru Adwin—*Madivād-van* valley situated along the range that forms the eastern frontier of Kashmir, running from the Zoji-la almost due south towards Kastawar. (Stein, *Chron.* II, 435). Vigne (*Travels*, i. 354) noticed here a tank, 100 yards square.

Achh Dal—misreading for *Achabal*, a short distance from Sundabrar. Here was formerly a country-house of the kings of Kashmir, and then of the Mughal Emperors. See Bernier's *Travels*.

Khattar—mod. *Kutahar*, in the valley of Arapath or Harsapath which opens to the east of Islamabad. Stein derives the word from *Kapateshwar*, a *tirtha* on the southern side of the valley close to the village of *Kother*. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 179, *Chron.* II, 467).

Kotihar—mod. *Kother*, near Achabal. Here is the deep spring of *Pāpa-sudan* (or Remover of sin), mentioned by Kalhan. Siva is believed to have shown himself here in the disguise of pieces of wood floating on the water.

(Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 179). The route to this *tirtha* is described fully by Vigne (i. 351).

Wular—*Vular*, ancient Holada. It is situated in the pargana of the same name, comprising the valley opening to the n.e. of the Vitasta, between Dachunpor and Vihi (Stein, Chron. I, Bk. I, note 306, II, 460, *J.A.S.B.* p. 168)

Matan—Martand *tirtha*, situated in the eastern portion of the Lidar valley, at a distance of about 2 miles from Islamabad. For a description of its most famous temple, Vigne (i. 385-391), Moorcroft (ii. 255-256), Percy Brown (*Ind. Arch.* i. 181), Stein (*J.A.S.B.*, 176-178).

P. 360. Well of Babylon – The reference is to the imprisonment of two angels, Harut and Marut, in a well in Demavand for their submission to sin and temptation. (*Encyclo. Islam*, ii. 272). Vigne says that at a distance of 150 yards from the temple there was the residence of a faqir whose duty was to superintend the existence of a well called the *Chah-i-Babul*. (*Travels*, I, 361).

Kharwar-para—mod. Khovur-pur. The source mentioned here is a small river that feeds the northern branch of the principal tributary of the Behat. (Stein, *Chron.* II, 465).

Dachchhin-para—mod. Dachunpor, a district situated east of the confluence of the Vitasta and the Gambhira, and comprising the whole western side of the Lidar valley, and also the low-lying tract between the Vitasta and the lower course of the Visoka. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 170, Stein, *Chron.* II, 461).

Amarnath—Situated north of the Lidar valley but south of the high peak, (about 10 miles east-south of Zoji-La) that marks the eastern boundary of Kashmir. For a description of this tirtha which is the most popular of Kashmirian *pilgrimage places*, read, Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, p. 94, 163-4, *Chron.* Vigne, II, 7-8, Moorcroft, II, pp. 252-53.

P. 361. Dāl lake—Situated east of Srinagar, and forming one of the most favoured spots of the Srinagar valley. The floating gardens which covered its surface in Abul Fazl's time are described by Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 105, *Chron.* II, 417, Moorcroft, II, 115, 137-140, Vigne, II, 90-91, Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir*, 186.

Thid—ancient Thed which was adorned by king Aryaraja with *mathas*, divine images and lingas. Stein, *Chron.* II, 135. The seven springs mentioned by Abul Fazl

still exist, but other remains do not, Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 1879, *Chron.* II, 454.

Shalamar—Shalimar, this *bagh* along with *Nishat* and *Nasim*, form the three most delightful places on the Dal lake, Drew, *History of Jammu and Kashmir*, 187, described by Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, 100-101, Stein, *Chron.* II, 456 fn.

Ishibari—mod. Isabar, lying a short distance from the Nishat garden and Suresvari Ksetra, still sacred to Durga-Suresvari who is worshipped on a high crag to the east of the village. Of the several springs in and about Isabar, two are mentioned by Abul Fazl,—Suryasar and Shakarnag, one of them might be what is stated by Stein to be *Gupta-ganga*, forming the chief attraction of the place and filling an ancient stone-lined tank in the centre of the village, Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, p. 161, Stein, *Chron.* II, 455.

Rambal—mod. *Ranyal*, anc. Hiranyapur, north of Srinagar, situated at the foot of the ridge running down to the opening of the Sindh Valley. Stein mentions the existence of a spring to the south of the village. Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 163, *Chron.* II, 456.

P. 362. Banihal—anc. Bansala. Stein says nothing about the temple of Durga mentioned by Abul Fazl, but he refers to a group of peaks sacred to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 71, *Chron.* II, 393). The pass of the same name has always been a convenient route of communication towards the Upper Chenab valley and the eastern Panjab hill states, *Chron.* II, 392.

Ver—Old name of Shahabad pargana, comprising the valley of the Sandran river (Stein, *Chron.* II, 469).

Vernag—Situated in the Sandran valley. The stone temples of Abul Fazl's time have disappeared; their materials having been partly used for the construction of a fine stone enclosure which Jahangir built around the spring. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 182, *Chron.* II, 411, 469. Vigne, *Travels*, i. 332. Moorcroft, ii. 249).

Kambar—Bates mentions a village Kammar in the Shahabad valley, near the left bank of the Sandran river. Below this village lies at present the ziarat of Qadam Rasul. *Kas. Gaz.*, 223, nothing is said about the spring.

Devsar—mod. *Devasar*, anc. *Deva-saras*, drained by the Visoka. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 183, *Chron.* II, 470).

Balau—probably anc. Bilava, about 4 miles north-east of Drabgam, Stein, *Chron.* II, 473.

Veshau—mod. *Visoka.* Stein refers to a place named Gudar where a small stream called the Godavari falls down the hill, as a *tirtha* of some repute (*J.A.S.B.*, 184).

Kuthar—Jarrett suggests Kausar-nag, a lake two miles long described by Stein (*J.A.S.B.*, 71). Stein, *Chron.* II, 393.

P. 363. Shukroh—Jarrett's identification with *Zuyru* (4 m. n. of the capital) is far-fetched. Stein identifies it with the modern *Sukru,* where the ancient *tirtha* of Kalyanpur (mod. *Kalampur*) still stands, on the high road from Pir Pantsal to Srinagar. The fountain of the *Ain* is that at the mod. *Buda-brar* (anc. Bheda-giri). (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 186).

Nila-nag—situated in a valley between two spurs descending from the Pir Pantsal range. Stein points out that Abul Fazl has here made the mistake of transferring to this spring the legends of the famous Nila-nag at Vernag. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 190, *Chron.* II, 475).

Biruwa—mod. *Biru* (anc. *Bahurupa*), situated west of Dunts and towards the Pir Pantsal range. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 192).

Halthal—Halathal in Yech. Stein took it for *Salasthal* (*Chron.* II, 475).

Lar—anc. *Lahara,* comprises the whole of the valleys drained by the Sind and its tributaries. (Stein, *Chron.* II, 488).

P. 364. Shahab-ud-dinpur—*Shadipur,* at the confluence of the Vitasta and the Sindhu, (Stein, *Chron.* II, 379).

Tulmula—mod. *Tulamul* (anc. *Tulamalya*) situated in the midst of the Sind delta. According to Stein, the spring here is still held sacred. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 210, *Chron.* II, 488).

Satpur—

Bhutesar—in the narrow gorge of the Kankanai river, which flows past the south foot of the spur. Two miles above Vāngath are found the ruins of some 17 temples of various size and dimension. These ruins were identified by Stein with the temple of Bhutesar. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 211).

Khoihama—mod. *Khuyahom* (anc. *Khuyasrama*) stretching in a semi-circle round the north shore of the Volur lake. (Stein, *Chron.* II, 488, *J.A.S.B.*, 209).

Volur lake—anc. Mahāpadmasaras, 12 *kos* n.w. of Srinagar, a most striking physical feature in the western portion of Kashmir. For details, Stein, *Chron.* II, 423, Moorcroft, II, 111.

Zain Lanka—built by Sultan Zain-ul-abidin, in the midst of the Volur lake. (Stein, *Chron.* II, 423). Described by Moorcroft, II, 224.

Machhamu—Stein suggests that the village of *Ratasum* represents it, though there is a pargana of the name *Manchahom*. (*Chron.* II, 477).

Paraspur—anc. *Parihaspur*, the capital of Lalitaditya. The plateau on which it stood, is "about two miles from north to south and its greatest breadth is not much over a mile." The Badrihel canal bounds it on the north. In the S.W. part are the ruins of two large temples, much decayed but still showing dimensions which considerably exceed those of the great temple of Martand. On that part of the Udar which lies to the n.e. and towards the Badrihel *nala*, there is a whole series of ruined structures. The four great temples of Vishnu Parihasa-Keshava, Mukta-Keshava, Mahavaraha, and Govardhan-dhara, as well as the Rajvihar with its colossal image of Buddha, must all be looked for among the ruins. Extremely decayed condition." (Stein, *Chron.* II, 477, sec. iv, 194-204).

P. 365. Kamraj—anc. *Krama-rajya*, as distinguished from *Maraj* (*Madhya-rajya*). In modern times it designates only the parganas to the west and north-west of the Volur lake (Stein, *Chron.* II, 436).

Trahgam—anc. *Tri-gami*, mod. *Trigam*, 1½ miles n.e. of the Paraspur ruins. (Stein, *Chron.* II, 329, 479).

Kargon—Kherigam, a short way from Sardi (Stein, *Chron.* II, 282).

Soyam—(derived from *Swayambhu*) half a mile south-west of the village of Nichahom, in the Machipur pargana, where volcanic phenomena are observed in a shallow hollow formed between banks of clay and sand. Hot vapours issue from fissures in the ground. (Stein, *Chron.* I, Bk. I, note 34).

Haehamun—mod. *Hayahom*, on the pilgrim route to Sarada (Stein, *Chron.* II, 280, 486).

Padmate—miswritten for *Madmati* (=Madhumati). Stein suggests that Abul Fazl here confuses the Madhumati

with the Kishanganga, which (latter) alone flows from the Dard country. The notice of gold being found in the river, clearly refers to the Kishanganga, which drains a mountain region still known as auriferous. (Stein, *Chron.* II, 247).

Dardu—mod. Dard.

Sarada tirtha—situated on a small hill above the junction of the Kishanganga and the Madhumati. (Stein, *Chron.* I, Bk. I, note 37, for temple ii. 284-287).

P. 368. Phak—comprising the tract lying between the east shore of the Anchiar, the range towards the Sind valley and the hills which enclose the Dal on the east and the south.

Khattar—Kutahar pargana, comprising the valley Arupath or Harsapatha opening to the east of Islamabad. Stein, *Chron.* Vol. II, p. 467.

Matan—comprising the plateau on which the temple of Martand stands. Stein, *Chron.* Vol. II, 466.

P. 369. Adwin—Adawin, lies north of Divasar, reaching from the western end of Khur-Naravao to the lower course of the Visoka. Stein, *Chron.* Vol. II, 471.

Itch = Yech—anc. Iksika, comprises the tract to the immediate vicinity of Srinagar. Stein, *Chron.* II, 475.

Batu—Bot, adjoining Adavin on the north-east, Stein, *Chron.* II, 472.

Devsar—Divasar, adjoins the pargana of Shahabad Ver on the west and comprises the tract of alluvial plain drained by the Vesau, Stein, *Chron.* II, 470.

Zinahpur—Zainapur, comprising the northernmost portion of Adawin, Stein, *Chron.* II, 471.

Soparsaman—Suparsamun, comprising the villages lying at the foot of the spurs descending into the plain west and north-west of Supiyan. Stein, *Chron.* II, 472.

Nagam—(anc. Nagram), situated north of Chrath Pargana, Stein, *Chron.* II, 474.

Zinahkar—Zaingir, comprises the fertile Karewa tract between the Volur and the left bank of the Pohur River, Stein, *Chron.* II, 487.

Khoihama—Khuyahom, stretches in a semi-circle round the north shore of the Volur lake. Stein, *Chron* II, 488, Bates, 233.

P. 370. Indarkol—Mod. Andarkoth, (anc. Jayapura) comprises the marshy tract south of the Volur. Stein, *Chron* II, 480).

Paraspor—comprising the well-defined little tract lying between the marshes on the left bank of the Vitasta immediately to the south-west of Shadipur. Stein, *Chron.* II, 300. According to Stein, the Paraspor Udar, until some sixteen years ago, continued to form a separate pargana, *ibid,* p. 333.

Patan—Anc. Samkarapur, situated on the direct road between Srinagar and Baramula. Stein, *Chron.* Vol. II, 481.

Bankal—Bangil, anc. Bhangila, situated between Firozpur and Patan, sloping down from the mountains to the morass on the left bank of the Jhelum.

Telkam—Tilgama, a very small pargana, adjoins Patan.

Dinsu—Dunts, west of Yech and close to Srinagar Stein, *Chron.* II, 470.

Sair-ul-Mawazi—lying on the left bank of the Vitasta with Chrath. Stein, *Chron.* II, 474.

Khoi—Khuhy, north of Patan and Tilagam.

Karohan—Karnav, anc. Karnaha, north-west of Kashmir lying between the Kishanganga and the Kajanāg range. Stein, *Chron.* II, 405.

P. 378. Solomon's Hill—mod. Takht-Sulaiman, anc. Gopadri. The temple referred to is the shrine of Siva Jyesthesvara, built on the summit by Gopāditya; for the description of this tirtha, Stein, *Chron.* II, 159.

Sarkār of Pakli.

Its length is 35 and its breadth 25 *kos*. It is bounded on the east by *Kashmir*, on the north by *Kator*,[1] on the south by the territory of the *Gakhars*, and on the west by *Atak Benāres*. Timur left a few troops to hold this tract, and their descendants remain there to this day. Snow lies perpetually on these mountains and at times falls on the plains. The period of winter is longer than the summer. The rainfall is somewhat similar to Hindustān. It is watered by three rivers, the *Kishan Ganga*, the *Bihat* and the *Sindh*. The language of the country differs from that of Kashmir, Hindustān or Zābulistān. Vetches and barley are the principal crops. Apricots, peaches and walnuts grow wild, it not being the custom to plant fruit trees. Game and horses, camels and buffaloes are of middling account: goats and poultry, plentiful. The rulers of this district generally paid tribute to Kashmir.

Sarkār of Sawād (Swāt).

It comprises three districts, those of *Bimbar Swāt* and *Bajaur*. The first is 16 *kos* long by 12 broad and is bounded by *Pakli* on the east, *Kator* and *Kāshghar*[2] on the north, *Atak Benāres* on the south and *Swāt* on the west. Two roads approach it from Hindustān, *viz.*, the *Sherkhāni* pass and the *Balandari Kotal;* although both routes are difficult to traverse, the first is the more rugged.

The second district (Swāt) is 40 *kos* in length by 5 to 15 in breadth. On the east lies *Bimbar;* to the north *Kator* (Kunar) and *Kāshghar;* to the south *Bigrām*[3] and on the west *Bajaur*. It possesses many defiles. Near the *Damghār* pass which leads to *Kāshghar* is the town of *Manglor*[4] the

[1] Ferishta says (p. 144) that Kattor or Katār is a place of note in the Kafiristān country, but in the maps Kunar occupies a corresponding position.

[2] By Kāshghar cannot be meant the well-known town of E. Turkestān which is too far removed, but Chitral or Kāshkar, which, according to Erskine, (*Bābar's Memoirs*) is a corruption of Kāshghar with the territory of which it was long included. The *Kasia* or *Akhassa regio* of Ptolemy beyond Mount Imaus has perhaps given its name to both Kāshghar and Kashmir.

[3] *Bigrām* is said by Cunningham (p. 29) to signify "the city" *par excellence* and is applied to 3 other ancient sites near Kābul, Jalālābād and Peshāwar. Masson derives the name from the Turki *bi* or *be* "chief" and the Hindi *grām*.

[4] *Manglaur* was the capital of Udyāna, the Sanskrit name for the modern districts of Panjkora, Bajaur, Swāt and Buner. It is mentioned by Hwen Thang as Mung-kie-li or Mangalu.

residence of the governor. It is entered by two routes from Hindustān, *viz.*, the passes of *Malkand Baj* and *Sherkhānah*. It has no extremes of heat or cold, and though snow falls, it does not lie in the plains for more than three or four days; in the mountains it is perpetual. It is springtime here during the periodical rains of Hindustān. Rainfall occurs and the spring and autumn are very delightful. Its *flora* are those of Turkestān and India, wild violets and narcissus covering the meadows, and various kinds of fruit trees grow wild. Peaches and pears are excellent, and fine hawks and falcons are obtained. It also possesses an iron mine.

The third district (Bajaur) is 25 *kos* in length by 5 to 10 in breadth. On the east lies *Swāt*, on the north *Kator* and *Kāshghar*, on the south *Bigrām*, and on the west *Kuner* (and) *Nurkil*.[1] Numerous passes lead from Kābul.

An ancient mausoleum[2] exists here, and there is a strong fortress which is said to be the residence of the governor. Amir Sayyid Ali Hamadāni died here and his body was conveyed to *Khutlān* by his last testament. Its climate is similar to that of Swāt, but the extremes of cold and heat are greater. It has only three roads, one from Hindustān called *Dānishkol*, and two from Kābul, one called *Samaj* and the other *Kuner* and *Nurkil*, the easiest of these being *Dānishkol*. Adjoining this and between the mountains and the Indus and Kabul rivers, is a plain, 30 *kos* in length by 20 to 25 *kos* in breadth.

The whole of this tract of hill and plain is the domain of the *Yusufzai* clan. In the time of *Mirzā Ulugh Beg* of Kābul, they migrated from Kābul to this territory and wrested it from the Sultāns who affected to be descended from a daughter of Alexander Bicornutus. It is said that this monarch left some of his treasures in these parts with a few of his kindred and to this day the descendants of this band dwell in these mountains and affect to show their genealogical descent from Alexander.[3]

[1] Erskine states that *Kuner* and *Nurgu* form another Tumān situated in the midst of Kafiristān which forms its boundary. Nurgil, says Bāber, lies on the west and Kuner on the east of the Cheghān sarāi or Kāmeh river, p. 143.

[2] The text is here confused, and the translation has been made after correction from Babar's *Memoirs*.

[3] See Elphinstone's *Cabul*. App. C, p. 617.

Under the present ever-during Imperial sway, of the lawless inhabitants of this country, some have been put to death, others imprisoned, while some happily dwell under their tribal rule.

Sarkār of Daur, Banu and Isakhel.

This territory is to the south-east of *Kābul*, and is inhabited entirely by Afghāns. It is the principal settlement of the Shirāni, Kararāni and Waziri tribes.

Sarkār of Qandahār.

It is situated in the third climate. Its length from *Qalāt Banjārah* to *Ghor* and *Gharjistān*[1] is 300 *kos*: its breadth from *Sind* to *Farah* is 260 *kos*. On its east lies *Sind*; to the north *Ghor* and *Gharjistān*; on the south *Siwi*, and on the west *Farah*; *Kābul* and *Ghaznin* on the north-east. Its mountains are covered with perpetual snow which seldom falls in the city.

Eighteen *dināns* make a *tumān*, and each *tumān* is equivalent to 800 *dāms* [=Rs. 20]. The *tumān* of Khurāsān is equal in value to 30 rupees and the *tumān* of Irāq to 40.*

Grain is for the most part taken in *kharwārs*, the *kharwār* being equivalent to 40 Qandahāri *man*, or 10 of Hindustān.

The capital of the district is *Qandahār*. Its longitude is 107° 40′, and the latitude 33° 40′. It has two forts. The summer heats are extreme and the cold in winter is inconsiderable, but the ice-pits are filled in December and January. Once in three or four years a fall of snow occurs and is hailed with delight. Flowers and fruits are in abundance. Its wheat is extremely white, and is sent as a present of value to distant countries. At a distance of five *kos* is a hill called *Azhdarkoh* (the Dragon Hill) in which is a wonderful cave known as the *Cave of Jamshid*. People

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[1] Its limits are defined by Erskine, (p. 152), within Herat on the west, Farah on the south and Ghor on the east. *Encyclo. Islam*, ii. 141, gives "Ghardjistan, a tract on the upper valley of the Murghāb in Afghan Turkistan, . . . the country now occupied by the Firoz Kohis." [J. S.]

* *Tumān*. *Encyclo. Islam*, iv. 836. In the period of Mongol dominion, the *tumān* was 10,000 *dīnars*=60,000 *dirhems*. Value varied from country to country.

enter with lighted lamps, but the oppression of its atmosphere prevents exploration of its extent. Eight *kos* from *Qālāt* is a large mountain in the side of which is a huge cave called *Ghār i Shāh* (the King's Cave). Within it are two natural columns, one of which touches the roof of the cave and is 30 yards high. Water flows down it and enters a basin at its foot. The other is 11 yards in height. The waters of the *Hirmand* (Helmand) which rises between Balkh, and Kābul, flow in this direction along the skirts of the mountains. The meaning of *Hirmand* is 'abounding in blessings'. *Maulānā Muinu'ddin* in his history of Kurāsān records that it feeds a thousand streams. At a distance of 16 *kos* is a mountain, at the base of which is an area of land called *Natil* [Tānil], formerly full of watercourses, where melons are grown in great quantity and perfection. The mountain has several clear springs. There is also an iron-mine, and at the foot of the mountain is an iron-foundry for the smelting of the ore, a work of ancient times.

West of Qandahār is a long torrid tract of country, (*Garmsir*) through which flows the *Hirmand*. One side of it touches the *Dāwar*[1] territory, and on the other *Sistān* There are many forts and much cultivation on both sides of the river. In this neighbourhood once stood a large city, the residence of the Sultāns of Ghor, and many ruins still exist of the palaces of its ancient kings.

Between the *Hirmand* and Qandahār is the well-known city of *Maimand*, described in old astronomical tables.

Wheat and barley are called *Safedbari*.[1] The *jarib* of sixty (square) yards is used for measurements, but they reckon 30 yards of this according to the *Hijāzi jarib*, each yard of 24½ digits, the *gaz* there in use; equal altogether to 54 *gaz* of Qandahār. In the exchequer, out of every ten *kharwārs*, two are taken for the minister of finance on account of revenue and *jihāt* cesses. Cultivation is reckoned under seven heads. In the registers, the best kind of land is marked with an *'Ain* [Arabic letter] and calculating the

[1] *Dāwar* or *Zamin Dāwar*, lies west of the Helmand, below the hills, in S.W. Afghanistan.

[1] Var. and G. *safedtari*. I am disposed to think the marginal reading correct and that it signifies *white crops* in contradistinction to the *sabzbari* or *green crops* that follow lower down, though it is not easy to see why rice should be relegated to the green, rather than the white class. There are, however, two kinds of *shāli* rice, the white requiring deep water and the red needing only a moist soil.

produce of each *jārib* at 3 *kharwārs*, 24 *man* are taken as revenue. Thus :

No.	Kind of land—	Distinguishing Marks. Arabic letter.	Produce in *Kharwārs*.	Revenue in *mans*
1	Best.	'ain	3	24
2	Best and Medium.	toi 'ain	2½	20
3	Medium.	toi	2	16
4	Medium and Poor.	dal toi	1½	12
5	Poor.	dal	1	8
6	Poor and Poorest.	dal-dal, dal	30 *man*.	6
7	Poorest.	dal-dal	8	4

But if the husbandman is incapable of sustaining this class of assessment, the produce is divided into three heaps, two of which are taken by the tenant, and the third is again subdivided into three shares, two of which go to the revenue department and the third is charged to incidental expenses.

The revenue from grapes also is taken by agreement and by paying a special rate. In the latter case experts appraise the average outturn of the vineyard and exact 4 *bābaris* for each *kharwār*. Under the reigns of Bābar and Humāyun the rate was fixed at 2 *bābaris* and 4 *tangahs*. The *babari* is one *miskāl* weight and 2½ are equivalent to the rupee. Besides these three (wheat, barley, grapes), upon nine other articles called *sabzbari*, 7½ *bābaris* are taken for every *jarib*, formerly rated at 5 *bābaris*, *viz.*, rice (Shāli), musk-melons, water-melons, cucumbers, onions, turnips, carrots and lettuce. On other crops than these, two *bābaris* were formerly taken, the Turkomāns exacting three.

In the torrid tract (above-mentioned, between Dāwar and Sistan), the *safedbari* crops are divided into three heaps according to the Qandahār custom and all crops paying special rates are registered under the *'Ain* and *Toi* class (No, 2), and for every *jarib*, 50 *man* of the torrid tract (*Garmsir*) equalling 20 *man* of Qandahār, are taken. The *kharwār* of this district is 100 *man*, equivalent to 10 *man* of Hindustān. Grapes are treated in the same manner as at Qandahār. All articles under *Sabzbari*, pay two *babaris* on each *jarib*.

In the *Dāwar* tract, produce under *safedbari* is apportioned in three heaps as described above and the exchequer receives for every 4 *jaribs*, one *kharwār* weight of *Dāwar*,

which is equavalent to one *kharwār* and ten *man* of Qandahār, and for other produce, one *kharwār* on three *jaribs*.[1]

Sarkār of Qandahār.

Containing 24 *Mahals*. Revenue 8,114½ *tumāns*, 39,600 *dināns*: 45,775 *sheep*; 45 Balochi horses; 3,752,977 *kharwārs* of grain; 420 *man* of rice; 2 *kharwārs* of flour; 20 *man* of clarified butter. It furnishes 13,875 Cavalry and 25,260 Infantry. Qandahār city—5,270 *tumāns* in cash; 35,120 *kharwārs* of corn; 550 horse; 1,000 foot.

Dependencies east of Qandahār.

Territory of Duki,[1] has a fort of unbaked brick. 6 *tumāns* in money; 1,800 *kharwārs* of grain; 12,000 sheep; 15 Balochi horses; Afghāns of the *Tarin* and and *Kākar* tribes; 500 horse, and 1,000 foot.

,, *of Pashang;* has an old fort of unbaked brick. 33 *tumāns* in money; 3,200 sheep; 500 *kharwārs* of grain; 1,500 horse and 1,500 foot.

,, *of Shāl*, has a mud fort; 4½ *tumāns* in money; 940 sheep; 780 *kharwārs* of grain; Afghāns of *Kāst* and *Baloch;* 1,000 horse, and 1,000 foot.

,, *of Mashtang*, (Mastang) has a mud fort; 10 *tumāns* and 8,000 *dināns* in money; 470 *kharwārs* in grain. Afghāns of *Kasi*, and *Baloch* 100 horse and 500 foot.

,, *of Khelgari*, 12 *tumāns* in money; 415 *kharwārs* of grain; 200 horse, 300 foot.

Tribe of Pani, 60 sheep, an Afghān clan, 1,000 horse, 1,000 foot.

[1] Under the Caliphs, the land-tax was usually rated at ⅕ of the produce of wheat and barley if the fields were watered by public canals; ⅒ if irrigated by wheels or other artificial means; and ⅛ if altogether unirrigated. If arable land were left uncultivated, it seems to have paid 1 *dirhem* per *jarib* and ¼ of probable produce. Of dates, grapes, garden produce, ½ was taken either in kind or money; and ⅕ of the yield of wines, fishing, pearls and generally of products not derived from cultivation, was to be delivered in kind or paid in value even before the expenses had been defrayed. The customs and transit dues, for which unbelievers paid a double rate, and the taxes on trades, manufactures and handicrafts were also sources of public revenue. Sir H. Elliot. (*Arabs in Sind*, p. 78). For Aurangzib's revenue regulations, based on Islamic orthodox doctrines, see J. Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, Ch. XI.

Tribe of Abdāli, formerly paid revenue 1,000 sheep; fixed in the time of the *Qāzilbāshis*[2] at 100 *tumāns,* 400 horse, 600 foot.

,, *of Abdāli,* 2,800 sheep, 5 *kharwārs* of butter. Afghāns 2,000 horse, 3,000 foot.

,, *of Jamandi,* responsible for 11 *tumāns* and 4,000 *dināars.* Afghāns, 30 horse, 20 foot.

Surkh Rābāt i Balochān, revenue included under city of Qandahār. 50 horse, 50 foot.

Dependencies south of Qandahār.

Qalāt Banjārah, has a strong mud fort. 30 Balochi horses, 30 camels,—Baloch—500 horse, 500 foot.

Shorābak, 1,200 sheep. Afghans. 200 horse, 100 foot.

Tribe of Bisakh, 225 sheep. Afghans. 200 horse, 300 foot.

,, *of Mirkhāni,* 9 *tumāns* in money, 3,250 sheep. Afghans. 200 horse, 400 foot.

,, *of Maswāni,* 200 sheep. 7 *man* of butter Afghans. 50 horse, 100 foot.

Dependencies north of Qandahār.

Territory of Qalāt Tartuk [? Barluk] has a very strong mud fort. 520 *tumāns,* 9,600 *dināars* in money. 4,346 sheep; 1,171 *kharwārs* (of grain?) 1 *man* of butter; 1 *kharwār* of rice. Ghilzai Afghāns. 2,200 horse, 3,820 foot.

Hazārah Dahlah, [*Dahna*] 1,454 sheep; 20 *kharwārs* of grain; 200 horse, 500 foot.

Hazār Banjah Banji, [?] 160 sheep; 15 horse, 50 foot.

Territory of Tarin, has a strong fort. 15,000 sheep; 1,000 *kharwārs* of grain. Hazārah tribe. 1,500 horse, 3,000 foot.

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[1] *Duki* signifying a hill in the language of the country, and may be opposed to *Deshi,* or plain. Erskine's *Bāber,* p. 164.

[2] This name (*Qizil,* red, *bāsh,* head) was given to the seven Turkish tribes, descendants of the captives released by Timur at the request of Safiu'ddin ancestor of Shaikh Ismail the first of the Suffaveau monarchs. To the gratitude of these Carmanian captives the *Safi,* (*Anglice* Sophy) dynasty of Persia owed its elevation to the throne. See the XIVth Chapter of Malcolm's *History of Persia.* Round the red cap was twisted a turban in 12 plaits to the memory and in honour of the 12 Imāms. D'Herbelot. The term is applied generally to the Persians, and is so employed by Bāber, p. 181.

Dependencies west of Qandahār.

Territory of the torrid tract (Garmsir). 602 *tumāns*, and 8,000 *dināars* in money; 12,000 *kharwārs* of grain. 200 horse, 2,000 foot.

,, *of Zamin Dāwar,* 1,200 horse, 1,000 foot.

Tribe of Siāhkhānah, 42 *tumāns;* 30 horse, 70 foot.

Fort of Kushk Nakhod, has a mud fort, revenue included under city of Qandahār.

Sarkār of Kābul.

It is situated in the third and fourth climates. Its length from *Atak Benāres* on the Indus to the *Hindu koh* is 150 *kos;* its breadth from *Qarābāgh*[1] of *Qandahār* to *Cheghān Serā,* 100 *kos.* It is bounded on the east by Hindustān; on the north-west by the mountains and Ghor; between to the north lies *Anderāb* of Badakshān, the *Hindu koh* intervening; on the south by *Farmul* and *Naghr.* Adequate praise of its climate is beyond the power of pen to express, and although its winter is severe rather than moderate, it occasions no distress. The torrid and cold belts are so contiguous that the transition may be made from one to the other in a single day. Such approximation of summer and winter pasturage in an inhabited country is uncommon. Snow falls both in the plains and on the mountains; in the former from November and on the latter from September: Bāber states that the snowfall in the direction of Hindustān does not pass the crest of the *Bādām Cashmah.*[2] This doubtless was the case in those days, but at the present time it extends to the crest of the *Nimlah,* and indeed as far as the *Khaibar* pass. Even in summer

[1] According to Tieffenthaler 11 royal miles from Ghazni (about 19½ common miles) on the road to Qandahār, I, 21. The greater part of the account of this province is taken without acknowledgment by Abul Fazl from the *Memoirs of Bābar,* which should be in the hands of the reader for comparison and illustration of this brief sketch. Chenghānserāi contains one village only, according to Bābar, and lies in the entrance of Kafiristān. The large river known as the Chenghānsarāi river comes from the north-east behind Rajaur. Another smaller stream from the west after flowing through Pich, a district of Kāfiristān, falls into it. Naghr is sometimes written Naghz. It is now unknown but Erskine conjectures it to have been on the upper course of the Kurram, and Farmul probably Urghun where the Persian race of Farmulis still exist. Niamatu'llah (Dorn's *History of the Afghāns,* p. 57) says that Farmul was originally the name of a river running between the borders of Kābul and Ghazni and the dwellers on its banks were called Farmulis. See Elphinstone's *Cābul,* p. 315 for a fuller account of this division of the Tājiks.

[2] The pass of Bādām Chashmah lies south of the Kābul river between Little Kābul and Bārikāb. Erskine.

time covering is needed during the nights. There are various delightful fruits, but the melons are not so good.[1] Agriculture is not very prosperous. The country is surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains, so that the sudden invasion of an enemy is attended with extreme difficulty.

The *Hindu koh* separates Kābul from Badakshān and Balkh, and seven routes are employed by the people of Turān in their marches to and fro. Three are by the *Panjhir*[2] (valley), the highest of which is over the *Khawāk* pass; below this is *Tāl*, and the next lower in succession, *Bāzārak*. The best of these is *Tul* but it is somewhat long as its name implies. The most direct is over the heights of *Bāzārak*. Between the high range and *Parwān* are seven other heights called *Haft Bachah* (*the Seven Younglings*). From *Anderāb* two roads unite at the foot of the main pass and debouch (on Parwān) by the *Haft Bachah*. This is extremely arduous. Three other roads lead by Parān up the *Ghorband* valley. The nearest route is by the pass of *Yangi-yuli*,[3] (the new road) which leads down to *Waliyān* and *Khinjān;* another is the *Qibchāk* pass, also somewhat easy to traverse, and a third is the *Shibertu*. In the summer when the rivers rise, it is by this pass that they descend by way of *Bāmiān* and *Tālikān*, but in the winter the *Abdarah* route is chosen, for at this season, all other routes but this are closed.

[1] Bābar confirms or originates this fact, and adds that those raised from seed brought from Khurāsān are tolerable. He praises those of Bokhāra, but pronounces those of Akhsi, a district north of the Jaxartes, to be beyond comparison the best.

[2] The word is so written by Bābar, but, according to Cunningham, (p. 32), the true name is *Panchīr*, the Arabs writing *j* for the Indian *ch*. The modern spelling is *Panjshīr*.

[3] I have corrected the inaccuracies of the text by the true readings in Bāber. Bāber himself passed through Bāmlān and by the Shibertu Kotal on his march from Khorasan to Kabul in February 1507. Three of these roads, the τριοδον of Strabo, leading to Bactria parted at Opiān near Charikār, the Hupiān of Bāber, identified with Alexandria Opiana by Cunningham who gives the routes as follows:

1. The north-east road, by the Panjshir valley, and over the Khāwak pass to Anderāb.
2. The west road by the Kushān valley, and over the Hindu Kush Pass to Ghori.
3. The south-west road up the Ghorband valley and over the Hājiyak (Hājigak) Pass to Bāmiān.

The first of these roads, he continues, was taken by Alexander on his march into Bactriana from the territory of the Paropamisadæ, and by Timur on his invasion of India. The second road, he supposes Alexander to have followed on his return from Bactriana, as Strabo mentions the choice of another and shorter route over the same mountains. The third was taken by Changiz Khān after his capture of Bāmiān; by Moorcroft and Burnes on their journey to Bokhara.

There is also a road leading from *Khurāsān* to *Qandahār* which is direct and has no mountain pass.

From Hindustān five roads* are practicable. 1. *Karapah*, which after traversing two defiles, leads to Jalālābād. This route is not mentioned by Bāber and doubtless was not used in his time. 2. *Khaibar*, this was formerly somewhat difficult, but by the command of His Majesty it has been made easily practicable for wheeled conveyance, and at the present time travellers from Turān and India take this route. 3. *Bangash* which is reached by crossing the Indus at the Dhankot ferry. 4. *Naghr*. 5. *Farmul*, by which the Indus must be crossed at the *Chaupārah* ferry.

Eleven languages are spoken in this province, each nationality using its own, *viz.*, Turkish, Mughal, Persian, Hindi, Afghāni, Pushtu, Parāchi, Geberi, Bereki, Lamghāni and Arabic.[1] The chief tribes are the *Hazārahs* and *Afghāns*, and the pasturage of the country is in the hands of these two clans. The *Hazārahs* are the descendants of the Changhatai army, sent by *Manku Qāān* to the assistance of *Hulāku Khān*. These troops were sent to these parts under the command of his son *Nikodār Oghlān*. Their settlements extend from Ghazni to Qandahār and from Maidān to the confines of Balkh. They number more than 100,000 families,[2] and the third part of which consists of cavalry. They possess horses, sheep and goats. They are divided into factions, each covetous of what they can obtain, deceptive in their common intercourse and their conventions of amity savour of the wolf.

The Afghāns consider themselves the descendants of the *Israelites*. They assert that their remote progenitor, named *Afghān*,[3] had three sons, *viz.*, *Saraban* to whom the *Sarabani* clan trace their lineage; the second, *Ghurghusht* from whom the *Ghurghustis* claim descent, and the third *Batan* to whom the pedigree of the *Batani* tribe is ascribed. From these three branches they developed into their several

* The best account of the passes between India and Kābul is C. R. Markham's paper on "The Mountain Passes on the Afghan Frontier of British India", in the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society, 1879. Also Holdich.

[1] Bāber adds Pashāi; Gabri is said in the Khulāsatu'l Ansāb, to be a place in Bajaur. Dorn, p. 131.

[2] Lit. houses; the Tartars reckon the numbers of their families by households, tents and sometimes by kettles. Erskine's *Bāber*.

[3] In Dorn, Abdul Rashid, surnamed Pathān. Rose's *Glossary of Punjab Castes and Tribes*, for more accurate information.

clans, each distinguished by its eponymous tribarch. The following septs unite in SARABAN, *viz.*, *Tarin, Baraich, Miyānah, Kharshin, Shirāni, Urmar, Kāsi, Jamand, Kheshgi, Katāni,*[1] *Khalil, Mohmandzai, Dāudzai, Yusufzai, Kaliyāni,*[2] and *Tarkalāni*. From GHURGHUSHT spring the *Surāli* (var. Surāni), *Jilam, Orakzai, Afridi, Jagtāni, Khattaki, Kararāni, Bāwar, Mansub, Kākar, Nāghar, Bāni, Maswāni, Pani*, and *Tāran*. To BATAN are ascribed the *Ghilzai, Lodi, Niyāzi, Lohāni, Sur, Bani, Sarwāni* and *Kakbor*.

It is said that *Mast Ali*[3] *Ghori* whom the Afghāns call *Mati* had illicit intercourse with one of the daughters of Batan. When the results of this clandestine intimacy were about to become manifest, he preserved her reputation by marriage, and three sons were born to him, *viz.*, *Ghilzai, Lodi*, and *Sarwāni*.

Some assert the Afghāns to be *Copts*, and that when the Israelites came to Egypt from Jerusalem, this people passed into Hindustān. The tradition is too long to be condensed within narrow limits, but it is noticed in passing as a fanciful digression.

There are many wild tribes, such as the *Khwājah Khizri, Qāqshāl, Maidāni, Uzbek, Kalatki, Parānchi, Nilpurchi, Bakderi, Bahsudi, Sidibāi, Tufakandāz* (matchlockmen), *Arab, Gilahbān* (shepherds) and *Tuqbai* but not as numerous as the first mentioned, and most of them at the present time have become settled colonists.

The *City of Kābul* is situated in the fourth climate. Its longitude is 104° 40′, and its latitude 34° 30′. It is one of

[1] According to the *Khulāsat-u'l Ansāb* (Dorn, p. 127) the Katānis possess no territory but are scattered in single families. From Niāzi descend the Musakhail, Isakhail, Sambal Saharangh, conjointly called Niāzis: they reside about the town of Makhad on the banks of the Indus as far as Dera Ismail Khān. The descendants of Pani reside about Shikārpur. Another account places them, after their expulsion from their country, about Jeypur and Jodhpur where they subsist by traffic and carry merchandise to the Deccan. Nāghar's descendants reside about Dera Ghāzikhān, and Kākaris near Qandahār. The word 'zai' or 'zacy' as Raverty writes the word, signifies son', and answers to Mac, Fitz, and O. Suffixed to the tribal name, it means 'a man' of the particular clan.

[2] Probably a misscript for Gagiyāni.

[3] According to Dorn, Shāh Husain, Prince of Ghor, (pp. 46, 48, Part II). Matu was the name of Shaikh Patni's daughter and Shāh Husain not being of Afghān extraction, his descendants were called by the maternal name of Mati. The name of Ghilzai was given on account of the clandestine amour, *'ghil'* signifying thief, and *'zai'* born, a son.

the finest of ancient[1] cities, and is said to have been founded in the time of *Pashang*. It possesses a double earthwork fortress of considerable strength. To the south-west of the fortified town is a low hill which is a source of much beneficence, called *Shāh Kābul*,[2] doubtless with reference to an edifice erected upon it by one of its former kings. Upon its summit stands the citadel, and there was a separate ridge named *Aqābain*. As it somewhat overlooked the fort, it was included within its precincts by royal command. Skirting its base are fair embankments, pleasure-gardens and delightful groves, amongst which the *Shahr Ārā* (Pride of the City) are especially beautiful. The city is watered by two streams. One of these, called the Jui Khatibān, enters from *Lalandar* and flowing through the *Shahr Ārā* passes by the city; the other, the *Jui Pul Mastān*,[3] more wholesome and limpid than the former, from the narrows of the *Deh i Yaqub* winds past the Delhi Gate and runs on to *Deh i Mamurah*. Near this a canal called *Mahum Anagah*[4] has been brought, which is of extreme convenience, and adjacent is the *Gulkanah* quarter fair to the eye and dear to the heart. From the hill (of Shāh Kābul) flow three streams citywards; at the head of one is the shrine of Khwājah Hamu [Shams]; the second, according to popular belief, had been visited by the prophet *Khizr*; the third is over against (the tomb of) *Khwājah* Abdu's Samad known as *Khwājah Roshanāi*. The wise of ancient times considered

[1] It was the old capital of the country, says Cunningham, before the Macedonian conquest, and Ibn Haukal states that inauguration at Kābul was a necessary qualificaiton for government in a king: Tieffenthaler names 4 gates, *viz.*, *Lahor*, *Kābul*, *Nalbandī* and *Fatouhi*, adding that near this last was an ancient castle with mud walls. It was pulled down by Ahmed Abdāli, and the houses in front of the Fatouhi gate razed to the ground. A new fort was then erected of brick work 'sur un lieu elevé', and its garden laid out by the governor.

[2] Erskine says that there is a hill *south* of Kābul on which Qābil (Cain) the founder, is said to have been interred, but the only hill south-west is that known as Bābar Badshāh where Bābar himself was interred, and is the great holiday resort of the people. Bābar's description is as follows: "There is a small ridge which runs out from the hill of Shāh Kābul and is called Aqābain, and there is besides another small hill on which stands the citadel. The fortified town lies on the north of the citadel." Erskine identifies Aqābain with that now called Ashikān Arifān, which connects with Bābar Bādshāh. The Bālā Hissār is on the same ridge further east and south-east of the town. The beneficence of the Shāh Kābul mentioned in the text, is due to three streams that issue from it, two of which are in the vicinity of the shady and retired Gulkanah, the scene, as Bābar not regretfully notes, of many a debauch. The position of the citadel and of the conjoined hills, has been carefully described by Forster, Travels, p. 73.

[3] It is a canal derived from the river Logar as it enters the plains of Shevaki and has a course of about five miles. *I. G.*

[4] The name of Akbar's nurse (Anagah) who attended him from his cradle and exercised a backstair influence that affected many political fortunes.

Kābul and Qandahār as the twin gates of Hindustān, the one leading to Turkestān and the other to Persia. The custody of these highways secured India from foreign invaders, and they are likewise the appropriate portals to foreign travel.

In Kābul as well as in Samarqand and Bokhāra, a *parganah* which comprises towns and villages is called a *Tumān*. The *Tumān of Bigrām* is called *Parashāwar*, the spring season of which is delightful. Here is a shrine greatly venerated called *Korkhatri*,[1] visited by people especially *yogis* from distant parts.

The *Tumān of Neknihāl*[2] is one of the dependencies of *Lamghān*. The residence of the governor was formerly at *Adinahpur* but is now at *Jelālābād*. There is here no snowfall and the cold is not so severe. Nine streams irrigate the cultivated lands; the pomegranates have no seed-stones. Near Jelālābād is the *Bāgh i Safā*[3] (*The Garden of Purity*) a memorial of Bābar, and adjacent to *Adinahpur* is the *Bāgh i Wafā* (*The Garden of Fidelity*) another relic of the same monarch. To the south lies the stupendous range of the *Safed koh* (*The White Mountain*) with its perpetual snows from which it derives its name. In this neighbourhood is a low hill[4] where when it snows in Kābul, a similar snowfall occurs.

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[1] This shrine, is mentioned by Bābar as one of the holy places of the Hindu jogis who came from great distances to cut off their hair and shave their beards at this spot. He rode out to Bigrām to see the great tree but was not shown the shrine in 1505. Fourteen years later his curiosity was gratified. Gor Khatri was once a Buddhist monastery, (*I. G.*) then rebuilt into a Hindu temple, and now used as a *sarāi*.

[2] In the *I. G. Nangnihār* and by Bābar Nangenhār or Nekerhār, the district south of the Kābul river in the province of Jelālābād, that on the north, bounded on the west and east by the Alingār and Kunar rivers, being Lamghān. It lies along the Kābul river on the south, and the name is said to mean 'nine rivers'. The *I. G.* affirms it to be a distortion of the ancient name of *Nāgarahāra*, identified by Lassen with the *Nagara* of Ptolemy regarded by Cunningham as identical with Jelālābād. Adinahpur is south of the Kābul river.

[3] A garden of this name was planted by Bābar at Keldeh-Kehār (Kuller Kaner) near Pind Dādan Khān, eleven years after that of the Bāgh i Wafā near Adinahpur south of the Kābul river. It was situated 10 *kos* from Bahrah in the middle of the hill of Jud on a level plot of ground in the centre of which was a lake which received the water of the surrounding hills and was about five miles in circumference. *Bahrah* or *Bhīra* is marked in the maps 20 *kos* from Kuller Kaher, but the name is said to be common in the district.

[4] Bābar is more explicit. 'On the south of the fort of Adinahpur is the *Surkh-rud* (runs into the Kābul river between Jagdalik and Sardamak). On the north is a detached mass of mountain dividing Lamghānāt and the Lamghānāt. Whenever it snows at Kābul, the snow falls also on the top of this mountain by which means the people of the Lamghānāt can tell when it snows at Kābul.

The *Tumān of Mandrāur*: monkeys here abound. The *Alishang* river uniting with the Alingār joins the *Bārān*, while the *Cheghān Sarāi* river flowing through the north-east quarter enters *Kator*.[1]

The *Tumān of Alishang* is surrounded by lofty mountains covered with snow in which is the source of the *Alishang* river. The inhabitants are called *Kāfirs*. In the vicinity is a tomb asserted by the people to be that of *Lām* the father of Noah, called also Lamek (Lamech). The people here pronounce the *kāf* like a *ghain*, and hence the currency of the name (Lamghān).

The mountainous *Tumān of Najrāo*[2] also is peopled by the *kāfirs*. Instead of lamp they burn the *chilghozah*.[3] There is also an animal called the *Flying Fox*,[4] which flies upward about the height of a yard. There is also a rat which exhales the smell of musk.

Charkh is a village of the *Tumān of Loghar* which gives its name to *Maulana Yaqub Charkhi*. *Sajāwand* is also one of the well-known villages of this *Tumān*.

The mountains of the *Tumān of Badrāo* (?) are the home of *kāfirs* and wild Hāzarahs and Afghāns.

The *Tumān of Alsā*[5] is situated intermediately between the torrid and cold belts. Birds cross this tract about the beginning of spring and good sport is had.

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[1] Bābar's words are: 'The river of Cheghansarāi, after passing through Kaferistān from the north-east, unites with the river Bārān, in the *Baluk* of Kāmeh and then passes onwards to the east.'

[2] It lies north-east from Kābul in the hill country according to Bābar, who adds that their inhabitants are wine drinkers, never pray, fear neither God nor man, and are heathenish in their usages.

[3] The seed of the *Pinus gerardiana*; the cone, which is as big as a man's two fists, and also the tree itself, said to be derived from *chihal* 'forty' and *ghoza* a 'nut'.

[4] Copied from Bābar whose account is as follows: "It is an animal larger than a squirrel with a kind of leathern web stretching between its fore and hind feet like a bat's wing. It is said that they can fly a bowshot from a higher tree to a lower one. I myself have never seen them fly, but have let one go beside a tree which it quickly clung to and ascended, and when driven away, expanded its wings like a bird and came to the ground without injury." This must be the flying squirrel, which does not fly though wing-handed, but is supported by its membrane as it leaps.

[5] Bābar, *Alah-sāi*, which Erskine says is now called Tūgow. "It lies two or three farsangs east of Najrāo from which you advance straight towards Alah-sāi." Bābar places it between the cold and warm belts, and says that the birds take their flight across in the spring. Fowlers sit behind, scream and raise nets as the flights of fowl approach and intercept them. In the winter season the birds come down to the skirts of the hills and if in their flight they happen to pass over a vineyard they are no longer able to fly and are caught. A similar story is told of some fields near Whitby. (Notes to *Marmion*). The pomegranates of Alah-sāi are famous in the country, and are sent to Hindustān.

The *Tumān of Bangash*[1] furnishes 7,000 Cavalry and 87,800 Infantry, *viz.* :—

	Cavalry	Infantry
Mohmand	500	500
Khalil	500	6,500
Dāudzai	3,000	37,000
Gagiyāni	500	4,500
Muhammadzai	400	4,000
Sini	100	1,400
Utmānkhail	50	850
Ghilzai	100	2,900
Khizrkhail	30	950
Sherzād	20	1,400
Kharguni [Khar Kuli] ...	10	200
Khattaki	200	4,000
Abdu'r Rahmāni ...	100	2,500
Afridi	500	10,500
Oruk, (Orakzai) ...	500	5,500
	6,510	82,700

The *Tumān of Gardez*[2] has a strong fort. The houses are for the most part three and four stories high.

Ghaznin is situated in the third climate, and is also known as *Zābul*, and was the capital of Sultān Mahmud, Sultān Shahābu'ddin and several other monarchs.

This territory was formerly called Zābulistān, and some reckon Qandahār as included within it. Here is the last resting-place of *Hakim Sanāi*[3] and many other saintly personages. The winter season is said to resemble that of Samarqand and Tabriz. A river runs from north to south which waters all the arable tracts. The cultivators are put

[1] Occupies the lower grounds from Gardez to Kohāt. Bābar says it is infested by Afgh[illegible]s such as the Khugiāni, Khirilchi, Buri and the Linder.

[2] Upwards of sixty-five miles south-east from Kābul. Bābar says that the Daroghā of the Tumān of Zurmat, south of Kābul and south-east of Ghazni, resides at Gardez which is not named as a separate Tumān. Next follows the Tumān of Farmul omitted by Abul Fazl. It is notable only in the fact that the Shaikhzādahs, who were treated, as Bābar says, with such distinguished favour in Hindustān during the time of the Afghāns, were all of Farmul and descended from Shaikh Muhammad Musalmān.

[3] This tomb is mentioned by Elphinstone, *Cābul*, 433. He was a mystic of high authority and repute whom the great Sufi Maulanā Rum looked up to as his master. He flourished under Bahrām Shāh, son of Masaud Shāh of Ghazni (A.D. 1116-52) to whom he dedicated his *Hadiqat ul Haqāiq*. He left also the usual Diwān which is necessary to every Persian poet's fame or ambition. He is said to have died in 1131 at the age of 62. *Encyclo. Islam*, iv. 146; Browne, *Lit. History of Persia*, ii. 317.

to great trouble as fresh soil has to be supplied each year to fertilize the land and it becomes then more productive than that of Kābul. The metal called *ruin*[1] is here abundant and is imported into Hindustān. In the time of Bābar there was here a tomb which shook whenever the praises of Muhammad were recited. The investigations of acute observers discovered that this was effected by fraud of relic-mongers.[2] There is also a spring into which if any filth be thrown, a thunderstorm ensues with a fall of snow and rain.

The *Tumān of Dāman i koh*[3] has a profusion of flowers and its spring and autumn are matchless in beauty.

In the *Tumān of Ghorband* the variety of floral hues is beyond expression. Three and thirty species of tulips here bloom and one kind named the *rose-scented tulip* breathes the fragrance of the blush-rose.[4]

Mines of silver and lapis-lazuli are also found. Near the mountains is a sandy tract called *Khwājah Reg i Rawān*[5] and from this quicksand, the sound as of drums is heard in the summer time.

In the *Tumān of Zohāk* and *Bāmiān*, the fortress of *Zohāk* is a monument of great antiquity, and in good preservation, but the fort of Bāmiān is in ruins. In the mountain-side caves have been excavated and ornamented with plaster

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[1] Composed of four *sers* of copper to 1¼ of lead. See Vol. I, p. 41.

[2] Albiruni in his *Chronology*, Chap. XLII alludes to the "famous well in the mountains of Farghāna" which causes rain if contaminated and adduces several similar traditions. Bābar says that he made strict inquiry for the well, but no one could give him the slightest information about it. The discovery of the fraud at the tomb is due to his observation. A scaffolding had been erected over it, so contrived, that it could be set in motion when any one stood upon it, so that a lookeron imagined it was the tomb that moved. He directed the persons who attended the tomb to come down from the scaffolding, after which no number of prayers or praises could persuade it to stir.

[3] The beautiful plain is better known as *Koh Dāman*, the *hill skirt* of the Paghmān range. The gardens of Istalif at its north extremity, gay with flowers, its limpid ice-cold streams, the Arghwān trees with their vivid blossoms of scarlet and yellow seen in no other part of the country, its groves of oak and spreading plane trees have excited the eloquent admiration of Bābar.

[4] It is needless to say that the nomenclature of native flora by Persian or Indian writers is extremely unscientific and vague, and beyond a few well-known kinds, the rest are indiscriminately expressed by a shuffling of the few botanical terms they possess, and the same name does duty for more than one flower. The etymology of Ghorband is given by Bābar from *band*, a steep hill pass, and *ghor*, the country to which it mainly leads.

[5] This is mentioned by Bābar. The name of Khwājah *Reg i rawān* (Khwājah quicksand) appears in the margin of Elphinstone's Turki copy of Bābar's *Memoirs* as that of one of three personages known as the *Seh Yārān* or Three Friends who have given this name to a fountain in the *Koh Dāman* (Khwājah Seh Yārān) mentioned by Bābar. The other two are Khwājah Maudud Chashti and Khwājah Khawend Said, p. 147.

and paintings. Of these there are 12,000 which are called *Sumaj* and in former times were used by the people as winter retreats. Three colossal figures are here: one is the statue of a man, 80 yards in height; another that of a woman 50 yards high, and the third is that of a child measuring 15 yards. Strange to relate, in one of these caves is placed a coffin containing the body of one who reposes in his last sleep.[1] The oldest and most learned of antiquarians can give no account of its origin, but suppose it to be of great antiquity. In days of old the ancients prepared a medicament with which they anointed corpses and consigned them to earth in a hard soil. The simple deceived by this art, attribute their preservation to a miracle.

The territory of Kābul comprises twenty *Tumāns*. The Emperor Bābar in his Memoirs sets down the revenue at twenty *lakhs* of *Shahrukhis*, inclusive of *Tamgha*[2] imposts, equivalent to three *lakhs* and twenty thousand *Akbar Shāhi* rupees, the rupee being reckoned at forty *dāms*.

At the present time notwithstanding the remission of various taxes, by the blessing of this ever-during rule, the revenue has reached the amount of six *krors*, seventy-three *lakhs*, six thousand, nine hundred and eighty-three *dāms*. (Rs. 1,682,674-9). The increase is to be attributed to the improved state of the cultivation, and also that *Parashāwar* and *Ashtaghar*[3] were not included in the former account, and lastly, that the revenue officers of that time were not as capable as they are at present.

Sarkār of Kābul.

Containing 22 Mahals: Revenue 80,507,465 *Dāms* in money: *Suyurghāl* 137,178 *Dāms*. Cavalry, 28,187. Infantry, 212,700.

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[1] The punctuation in the text is clearly misplaced.

[2] Inland tolls. See Vol. I, 189, but Bābar's words are: "The amount of the revenue of Kābul, whether arising from *settled lands or raised from the inhabitants of the waste*, is eight *lakhs of Shāhrukhis*." The word 'twenty' *bist* must be a copyist's error for *hasht* eight, as the Akbar Shāhi rupee being equal to 2½ Shāhrukhis, the whole would give exactly three *lakhs* and twenty thousand rupees. Erskine notes *tamgha* as the stamp tax. All animals, goods, clothes &c. brought into the country are stamped or marked and a tax collected.

[3] A corruption of Hashtnagar, now a *tahsil* of the Peshāwar district. The "eight towns" of which it was composed were Tangi, Shirpao, Umrzai, Turangzai, Usmānzai, Rajur, Chārsada and Parāng. The last two are seated close together in a bend of the Kābul river and the sites of all are shown in Map IV. of Cunningham's *Anct. Geog.*, p. 46.

City of Kābul—Revenue, 1,275,841 *Dāms*. Cavalry, 7,000. Infantry, 15,000.

Dependencies east of Kābul.

	Revenue. D.	Suyurghāl. D.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Tribes.
Tumān of Bigrām	9,692,410	...	...		...
,, Neknihāl (Nangnihār)	11,894,003	1,224	200	5,000	...
Buluk i Kāmah (not recorded)	...	...	...		...

North.

	Revenue. D.	Suyurghāl. D.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Tribes.
Tumān of Mandrāur ...	2,684,880	...	50	500	...
,, Alishang ...	3,701,150	1948	50	5000	Alishāng.
,, Alingār ...	1,544,670	...	500	1000	Lamghāni.
Buluk Najrāo	2,045,451	...	3000	3000	Kāfir.
Tumān of Loghar	3,193,214	22,960	50	500	...
,, Badrāo	413,885	...	50	500	...
,, Alsāi	600,000	...	...	5000	Dilazāk.
,, Panihir (Panjshir)	461,940	..	...	35,000	Pani.

South.

	Revenue. D.	Suyurghāl. D.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Tribes.
Tumān of Bangash	3,332,347	...	7,087	87,800	Afghān.
,, Kohat, (var. Kohast. Karbast) ...	701,620	...	300	5000	Orakzai &c.
,, Naghr (var. Nagha)	854,600	...	1000	7000	Afghān, Banukhail.*
,, Gardez	2,030,602	...	200	1000	Afghān.
,, Maidān	1,608,709	1,884	2000	...	Hazārah Maidāni.
,, Ghaznin	3,768,642	1,076	1000	5000	...

* Variant, *Shahu Khail*.

West.

	Revenue. D.	Suyurghāl. D.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Tribes.
Tumān of Farmul	325,712	...	1000	5000	...
,, Dāman i koh ...	16,461,785	...	5000	30,000	...
,, Ghorband ...	1,574,760	...	3000	5000	Hazārah and Turkomān.
,, Zohāk Bāmiān ..	861,750	...	200	1000	...

In the year 77 of the Flight (A.D. 696-7) Abdu'l Malik b. Marwān removed Umayyah b. Abdu'l Malik from the government of Khurasān and conferred it upon Hajjāj b. Yusuf of the tribe of Thakif, and sent Abdu'llah b. Abu Bakr to Sistān, who levied an army, marched against Ranthel, king of Kābul. The latter unable to withstand him took refuge in the depths of the mountains. Abdu'llah not realising the difficulties of his undertaking eagerly pursued. The mountaineers barricading the passes with stone breastworks, blocked his road. The invading force was hard-pressed and reduced to extremity through want of provisions. Abdu'llah was therefore compelled to purchase a retreat with the sum of 700,000 *dirhams*, equivalent in present money value to 3,00,000 rupees. Shuraih b. Hāni in indignation at the compact advanced to an engagement notwithstanding his being stricken in years, and fell bravely fighting. Hajjāj on hearing of the event, reprimanded Abdu'llah and removed him from his command. In the year 80 (A.D. 699) he appointed Abdu'r Rahmān b. Muhammad Ashath to conduct the war against Ranthel and bestowed on him the government of Sistān and the adjacent territory. Abdu'r Rahmān on his arrival in Kābul adopted the former tactics, but prudently occupied each defile with his pickets and performing prodigies of valour, secured a large booty. The difficulties of the country, however, prevented its permanent occupation. Hajjāj disapproving his retreat sent him a severe reprimand in the following terms: "Although your exertions during the present year have been strenuous, the retribution demanded by your dishonourable retreat is that immediately on the receipt of this letter, you take possession of the country. Should you, through persistence in your own opinions or through fear of

the consequences to yourself, refuse to comply and defer operations till the coming year, you are removed from your command, are hereby required to look upon Ishāq b. Muhammad as your commander and to place yourself under his orders." Abdu'r Rahmān, confiding in the strength of possession, disloyally formed a compact with his officers and refusing submission, made peace with the king of Kābul and marched against Hajjāj. The conditions of peace were that Abdu'llah if victorious should altogether withdraw from Kābul and in no way molest it, but if defeated, the king should on his part afford him protection and assistance. Hajjāj was enraged at this rebellious conduct, and gave him battle outside the walls of Tustar.[1] Abdu'r Rahmān was victorious, and Hajjāj retreated to Basrah. A second engagement took place in which the rebel was defeated and took refuge in the fortress of Bast [in Luristan] which was held by one of his lieutenants. This accursed of God and man, with a view to ingratiate himself with Hajjāj, seized him with the intention of surrendering him to Hajjāj. The king of Kābul, on being informed of the circumstance, set out with the greatest expedition and releasing him, returned with him to Kābul. On several subsequent occasions, with the assistance of the king, he continued the war but without success. In the lunar year 84, (A.D. 703) Ranthel overcome by the persuasion and seductive promises of Hajjāj, sent Abdu'llah to him as a prisoner. The latter resenting the dishonour, whilst on the road, threw himself from a precipice and was killed.

In A.H. 107 (A.D. 725-6) under the caliphate of Hishām b. Abdu'l Malik, Amin b. Abdu'llah Qashari, governor of Khurasān conquered Ghor, Gharjistān, the territory of Nimroz[2] and Kābul and made (the latter) his capital. From that time continuously under the dynasties of Umayyah and Abbās, it was held by the governor of Khurasān, until under the Sāmānis, Alptegin a slave of that House, withdrew from their obedience, took possession of Ghaznin and Kābul and asserted his independence. On his death Sabuktegin father of the great Mahmud succeeded to the kingdom, and it continued under the House of Ghazni. From this it passed to that of Ghor and thence into the pos-

[1] Now *Shuster* in Khuzistān. It was first conquered in A. H. 20 in the Caliphate of Omar.

[2] Usually applied to Sijestān. Elliot. *Arabs in Sind*, p. 172.

session of their slaves, one of whom was Tāju'ddin Eldoz. The kings of Khwārizm succeeded, yielding in turn to the Great Qāān Changiz Khān. From him it reverted to Timur and is held by his descendants. May its fortune, through the enduring justice, unstinted clemency and ever increasing wisdom of the Imperial House, be blessed by an unfading prosperity.

AIN 16.

The Karoh or Kos.

The system of survey and measurement, as promoting the interests of civilization having deeply engaged the attention of His Majesty, directions were issued for the ascertainment of distances and their determination by the standard measure of the *kos*. The *kos* was fixed at 100 *tanābs*,[1] each consisting of 50 *Ilāhi gaz*, or of 400 poles (*bāns*) each pole of 12½ *gaz*. Both of these measurements give 5000 *gaz* to the *kos*.

Whenever His Majesty travels, the distances are recorded in pole-measurements by careful surveyors, and their calculations are audited by the superintendent and inspector.

Sher Khān fixed the *kos* at 60 *jaribs*, each of 60 *Sikandari gaz* which measurement is employed in the *Delhi* country. In *Mālwah* it consists of 90 *tanābs* of 60 *gaz* each and in *Gujarāt* is called the *cow kos*, that is, the greatest distance at which the ordinary lowing of a cow can be heard, which is put by experts at 50 *jaribs*. In *Bengal* it is called

[1] See p. 61 of this Volume. This subject is discussed by Elliot. (*Races, N.-W.* p. II. 194). Cunningham (*Anct. Geog. of Ind.* App. B. p. 571) and Tieffenthaler (I. 23). To the measurements of Abul Fazl, I may add the length of the *kos*, as fixed by Bābar. On Dec. 19th, 1526 he gave orders, as his Memoirs record, to have the distance measured between Agra and Kābul; that at every 9 *kos*, a *minār* should be raised 12 *gaz* in height surmounted by a pavilion; that at every 10 *kos*, a post-house for 6 horses should be placed. The *kos* was fixed in conformity with the *mil* according to the following verse in Turki.

Four thousand paces are one *mil*
Know that the men of Hindustān call it a *kuroh*.
This pace is a cubit and a half;
Every cubit is six hand-breaths;
Each hand-breadth is six inches; and again each inch
Is the breadth of six barleycorns. Know all this.

The measuring *tanāb*, was to consist of 40 *gaz* or paces, each measuring one and a half of the cubit that has been mentioned and so equal to nine hand-breadths, and 100 of these *tanābs* were to go to one *kos*.—Erskine adds that the larger *gaz* or pace was 9 hand-breadths; the smaller or cubit, 6 hand-breadths.

dhapiyah,[1] which is the distance that a fast runner can traverse at one breath. Some assert that it is the distance within which a green leaf placed on the head of one who walks rapidly, will become dry.

In ancient tables of measurement by *farsakh* of distances and magnitudes, it is recorded that the circumference[2] of the globe according to the method of the old geographers, was 8,000 *farsakh*, but 6,800 of the modern school, while all agree in defining a *farsakh* as three *kos*. The former made the *kos* 3000 *gaz*, each *gaz* of 32 digits. The latter fixed it at 4000 *gaz*, each of 24 digits. The digit with both was the breadth of six ordinary barley-corns placed front to back in succession, and the breadth of each barley corn was equal to the thickness of six hairs of the mane of a Turki horse. To short-sighted superficial observers, it would appear that these two systems differ in their estimate of the *kos*, but it is clear to the perspicacity of the far-seing that their conclusion is the same, and the apparent difference is caused by the variance in the number of the digits as may be proved by the rule of proportion. This consists of four numbers, the first bearing the same ratio to the second, as the third does to the fourth, as for instance, two is to four as eight is to sixteen. Of the properties of this relation one is this that the product of the extremes is equal to the product of the means, as is evident from the example above mentioned. The proof is given in the 19th proposition of the 7th book of Euclid[3] where the apparent contradiction is removed. The ratio of 3000 to 4000 is the ratio of 24 to 32. Although the four numbers are here

[1] The word is Hindi and means a short run according to Wilson's *Glossary*, about ¼ of a *kos* or half a mile.

[2] The circumference of the earth, according to our calculations is 24,897 miles and the *farsakh* is about 3¼ English miles; there are of course many local variations. Hamdu'llah Mustaufi, the author of the *Nuzhat'ul Qulub*, says that the *farsakh* under the Kaianian dynasty contained 3 miles of 12,000 feet; that of Khwarizm was 15,000 yards; in Azarbijān and Armenia, 12,000 yards, while in the two Ira'ks and the neighbouring provinces it was reckoned at 6000 yards, and in some other places at 8000.

[3] The *Elements* of Euclid were restored to Europe by translations from the Arabic which were begun to be made under the Caliphs Harun and Mamun at a time when the very name of that geometrician had disappeared from the West. Nasiru'ddin Tusi (see p. 4, n. 4 of this Volume) in the preface to his Arabic Edition of the thirteen books of the Elements, describes their original composition by Euclid and the subsequent addition of two books by Hypsicles. From it I transcribe the enunciation of the proposition referred to in the text.

"When four numbers are proportionals, the product of the 1st and 4th = the product of the 2nd and 3rd, and if the product of the 1st and 4th = the product of the 2nd and 3rd, the ratio of the 1st is to the 2nd as the ratio of the 3rd to the 4th."

severally distinct, the product of 3000 and of 32 which are the extremes, is equal to the product of 4000 and of 24 which are the means, namely, 96,000. Thus the result in both is the same, and the discrepancy in the number of yards is through the difference in the number of digits. Each *farsakh* therefore consists of 12,000 *gaz* (of 24 digits) according to the measure of the moderns or of 9000 (of 32 digits) according to the *gaz* of the ancients. The properties and virtues of these proportional numbers are manifold. Among them are the following: If one of the extremes be unknown, multiply the means together and divide by the known extreme, and the quotient is the unknown extreme. For instance in the given example, if 2, the first extreme, be unknown, by multiplying the means together which are 4 and 8, we get 32. Dividing this by 16, the quotient (2) is the unknown extreme. In the same way, if the other extreme, which is 16, be unknown, by dividing the product of the means by 2, the known extreme, the quotient is 16. Again, if the unknown quantity be one of the means, we divide the product of the extremes by the known mean, and the quotient is the unknown mean. For example, if 4, the first mean, be unknown, by dividing the product of the extremes, which is 32, by the known mean which is 8, the quotient is 4. And if the second mean, 8, be unknown, by dividing the product of the extremes by 4, the quotient is 8.

By the same means the distance and altitude from the base of a given object can be ascertained. A staff of a given height is fixed upright. Its shadow and that of the elevate object are measured. The ratio of the shadow of the staff to the staff is proportional to the ratio of the shadow of the object-height to the height itself. Again, a staff is fixed in the ground in the same line with the height to be measured and regarded from such a point that the line of vision may pass over the top of the staff to the summit of the object-height; the ratio of the distance from the standpoint of vision to the base of the staff is to the height of the staff as the ratio of the distance from the same point to the base of the object is to the height of the object. And if the altitude of an object be measured in a mirror or water and the like, a position must be taken whence the incident line of vision may strike the summit of the (reflected) object-height. The ratio of the distance of the reflected summit from the foot of the spectator is to his height as the ratio of the distance

of the same point from the base of the object is to the height of the object. And if it be required to find the depth of a well, the observer must stand where his line of vision traversing the brink of the well touches the level bottom of the well on the side opposite to him. The ratio of the distance of the brink of the well from the foot of the observer is to his height as the breadth of the well is to its depth.*

Some take the *barid* as the standard measure of length and make.

1 *barid*	equal to	3 *farsakh*.
1 *farsakh*	,,	3 *mil*.
1 *mil*	,,	12,000 *bāa* (pole).
1 *bāa*	,,	4 *gaz*.
1 *gaz*	,,	24 digits.
1 digit	,,	6 barleycorns.
1 barleycorn	,,	6 hairs of a mule's tail.

According to the Hindu philosophers—

8 barleycorns stripped of husks and laid breadth-ways	make	1 digit (*angusht*).
24 digits	,,	1 *dast* (cubit).
4 *dast*	,,	1 *dand* (pole or perch)or *dhanuk*.
2000 *dand*	,,	1 *karoh* or *kos*.
4 *karoh*	,,	1 *yoojana*.

Some measure by the steps of a woman with a water-jar on her head and carrying a child in her arms, reckoning a thousand such steps to a *kos*.

Praise be unto God that the institutes of imperial administration have been completed and a general survey of the Empire, by the aid of divine grace, placed upon record. The numbers of the tribal contingents and the chronology of the ancient kings with some other particulars have cost considerable labour, and from the conflicting accounts received, I was well nigh relinquishing the task; but the decrees of fate cannot be resisted. I have set down what has best commended itself to my judgment, hoping that it may win lustre from the light of public acceptance and its errors escape the carping of illiberal criticism.

END OF VOLUME II.

* This method of calculating distance and altitudes is more scientifically given with illustrations in the *Siddhanta Stromani* of Pundit Bapu Deva.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Colonel Jarrett's English translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*. Vol. III. (first published in 1893-'96) has been long out of print, though there is always a demand for it and second-hand copies are now selling at fancy prices. But a mere reprint of his edition would not do justice to the present state of Oriental scholarship and would naturally disappoint the modern reader. Jarrett began the preparation of his translation about 1890, that is fully 57 years ago. Among the authorities he most frequently quotes in his notes are D'Herbelot's *Bibliotheque Orientale* (1697 A.D.), D'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols* (1834), De Guignes's *Histoire Generale des Huns* (1756), Max Muller's *History of Sanskrit Literature* (18[illegible]), Davies's *Hindu Philosophy*, Colebrooke's *Essays* (1805-37) and Elphinstone's *History of India* (1841).

Since then a complete revolution in our knowledge of these branches of orientology has been effected by the publication of Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, the *Grundriss* (Indo-Aryan ed. by Buhler and Iranian by Geiger and Kuhn), Winternitz's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, and the histories of Hindu Philosophy by Radhakrishnan and S. N. Das Gupta, besides many learned special monographs. In Oriental geography, the work of the modern French and German explorers in Arabia, Persia, Syria and Africa is, except for one or two of the earliest published, entirely unrepresented in Jarrett's notes, and how valuable their information is we can judge by contrasting his remarks on any place-name with the account of it given in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*.

Thus, the first task of an editor of Jarrett's translation is to modernise his notes and elucidations by sweeping away his heaps of dead leaves. My second aim has been to lighten the burden of his notes, many of which are not only obsolete in information but prolix to the extent of superfluity. It is, I hold, a mistake of the translator's duty to try to make a modern reader get all his ideas of Hindu philosophy, literature, science and mythology, or Islamic hagiography, topography and science from an English translation of Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*.

Abul Fazl's original work was meant to serve as a handy encyclopædia for readers of Persian who knew no other language and had no access to standard works even in the Persian and Arabic languages. The modern reader, versed in English, will find very much fuller and far more accurate information on these subjects in the voluminous encyclopædias and standard monographs in the English language which have been published in our own times. The law of copyright would probably not permit me to transfer column after column of matter from these modern works to my footnotes, as Jarrett has done with the works of D'Herbelot and other antiquated sources. I have, therefore, totally omitted his lengthy quotations from these authors and given instead exact page references to the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, and other modern authorities, which are available to serious students in the libraries of learned societies and Universities.

I have also economised space and saved the reader from frequent unnecessary interruptions by the omission of the notes on the emendations of the printed Persian text made by the translator. The editing of many of the volumes in the Persian and Arabic section of the Bibliotheca Indica series, was not done with the necessary care and accuracy, as learned circles have found to their vexation. Therefore all obvious misprints and wrong readings have been silently corrected in this new edition of the translation and hundreds of notes of the first edition under this head eliminated. For example, on p. 68, we had "Lakhnauti, in Bengal" followed by the translator's note "The text has *Nek* for *Bang*." Such errors, due to the careless placing of dots (*nuqta*) by copyists or proof-readers, are too obvious to raise any doubt; this note has been excluded by me as unnecessary. But in every really important case, where the emendation of the text raises a vital question or leaves room for difference of opinion, the notice of such emendation has been retained in the new edition.

Abul Fazl's copyists or their successors made many errors and omissions in the matter of the latitude and longitude of places, all of which were corrected with meticulous care by Jarrett; I have retained all his corrections but dropped his references to the errors in the Persian text. On p. 104, Jarrett himself admits in despair, "The whole (geographical) list of Abul Fazl is the work of a scribe, not of a geographer"

Abul Fazl's professed aim in writing the *Ain-i-Akbari* was give the Persian-reading world of his day a clear idea of the liter ture, philosophy ,arts and sciences of the Hindus, and the sair and heroes of India ; but he also tried to adorn the subject l giving a brief account of the Muslim world, both in and out India,—by means of a short compilation from well-known Arab and Persian authorities composed outside India. The portions the *Ain* which serve the second purpose, make no claim to origi ality and have no historical value ; their accuracy is vitiated b Abul Fazl's possession of very poor manuscripts of the Arab works used by him. It is therefore not worth the while to no every one of the mistakes he (or his copyists) made for this reaso

No remark made above should be taken to cast any reflectic on Col. Jarrett's scholarship or belittle the stupendous task th he accomplished with immense industry and deep and varie learning,—combining the wisdom of the East and the West,—i translating and annotating the *Ain-i-Akbari*, volumes II and II He had to translate a very difficult book from a few badly transcribe and unhelpful texts, and to throw light on a wide range of technic subjects current in the middle ages but now obscure.

As will be seen, I have ventured to differ from him and give my own version in only four cases of importance,—*viz.*, the tric for curing gluttony (p. 432 of this edition), Alexander's stratager against Porus (p. 440), the benefits of hunting (p. 451), and Akbar' principles of marriage (p. 449) ; the remaining examples of chang are mostly verbal. In all other places the changes made in th present edition consist merely of the omission of obsolete or use less notes, the compression of prolix or partly irrelevant ones, an the modernisation of the information in all the notes that remain Jones's translation of the *Hitopadesa* (p. 438, *note* 11), has bee corrected as he had dropped the word *iba* (=as if) of the origina Sanskrit verse. The next most noticeable difference in this editior is the omission of all Greek extracts and literary quotations fron Latin. This change has been rendered necessary by the difference between the class of readers whom Jarrett had in view in 1890 and those who will mostly consult this second edition of 1947 The present conditions of paper supply and printing in Calcutt

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* On p. 54 of his edition, Jarrett, in referring to the holy city o Medinah, distinguished it not by the English epithet of the "best known" nor by the French phrase *par excellence*, but by a Greek phrase meanin the same thing and printed in Greek type!

made such compression and omission necessary, if this edition was to be printed at all.

Abul Fazl, unlike Al Biruni, admittedly had no personal knowledge of the Greek and Sanskrit languages. Therefore, with Sachau's English version of Al Biruni in our hands, we do not require the detailed correction or amplification of Abul Fazl's notes on Indian science and philosophy down to the time of Al Biruni, where the ground is better covered by that greater scholar. The real value of the *Ain-i-Akbari* lies in what it tells us about India under Muslim rule after Al Biruni's time (c. 1020 A.D.) and the much ampler details about Hindu philosophy and manners that Abul Fazl derived from the pandits engaged for his "Imperial Gazetteer" by order of Akbar. This latter portion alone has been fully annotated in the present edition.

The considerable amount of space saved by the rejection of hundreds of useless notes and the compression of many others of the first edition, has been put to a better use by employing a larger type and clearer spacing. This is of a special value in a book bristling with oriental proper names and technical terms. The reader of this new edition will, I hope, also appreciate the help that I have tried to provide for him by dividing the book into numbered chapters and sections, and adding descriptive section headings and summaries of contents, in imitation of the device employed in Professor Cornford's recent translation of Plato's *Republic*, which has been highly commended in England.

The elaborate system of transliteration at present followed by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in its *Journal*, could not be observed in this edition for three reasons: (1) The Society has changed its system several times during the last sixty years, so that no particular method can be rightly regarded as definite and final. In the case of a long volume in the Bibliotheca Indica series which has been issued in periodical fasciculi and completed after many years, (such as Beveridge's translation of the *Akbarnamah*), two different methods of romanising Oriental words are found in the earlier and latter parts of the same book!

(2) Jarrett has not been uniform in his system of transliteration in this volume and his system (or systems) are not the one ruling in the Society at present. He represents *kāf-i-qalmun* sometimes by *k* with a dot below it, and sometimes by *q*. His *'ain* is *a* with a dot below it, and his *hamza* is *a* with an inverted comma, and so

on. If we had to follow the latest system of romanisation throughout this second edition, the press-copy prepared from the printed first edition would have been scrapped up and the whole book typed again and the typescript collated with infinite labour. Hence, too, certain breaches of uniformity on some pages.

(3) Only two presses here possess all the diacritical marks, and they can use them only in hand setting up, while linotype composition was considered necessary for this edition. To get over this difficulty, I have been compelled to follow a simple and practical method of romanising, using only two diacritical marks, namely *ā* for the long vowel and an inverted comma to mark *'ain*, while the two *kāfs* have been represented by *q* and *k* respectively. But no distinction could be made between the two *t*'s, the two *h*'s, the three *s*'s, and the four *z*'s of the Arabic alphabet ; nor has the underlining and underdotting of letters been possible. As this is not a book on Arabic philology, the general reader will hardly feel any loss from the absence of the host of diacritical marks, while the learned will be easily able to trace the Persian (or Sanskrit) equivalents of the words in question, as they are mostly well-known.

The index has been prepared by Prof. N. B. Roy. Instead of giving merely the names of places and persons or oriental terms without any explanation as in the index of the 1st edition, he has tried to help the reader by inserting the positions of places and the English renderings of most of the oriental words, besides plenty of cross references (*e.g.*, *Yajna* and *Sacrifice*, *Jyotisha* and *Astronomy*, &c.) In order to save paper the obscure place and personal names which occur only once in the book have been omitted in my index. For the same reason, only the significant portions of Jarrett's preface to the third volume are reprinted below.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

ABUL FAZL AND AL BIRUNI COMPARED—THE GREAT MERITS OF THE *Ain-i-Akbari*.

The range and diversity of its subjects (*i.e.*, of the *Ain-i-Akbari*) and the untiring industry which collected and marshalled, through the medium of an unfamiliar language, the many topics of information to their minutest details, treating of abstruse aciences, subtile philosophical problems, and the customs, social, political and religious of a different race and creed, will stand as an enduring

monument of his learned and patient diligence . . . Though there is much to be desired, his comprehensive and admirable survey yet merits the highest praise . . . .

He laboured under the disadvantage of unfamiliarity with Sanskrit, and he had to take the statements of his Pandits tested through translations at second-hand. He found his Hindu informants, as he says, of a retrograde tendency, spinning like silk worms, a tissue round themselves, immeshed in their own opinions, conceding the attainment of truth to no other, while artfully insinuating their own views, till the difficulty of arriving at any correct exposition of their system left him in a bewilderment of despair. His description of the nine Schools of Philosophy has the merit of being, as far as it goes, scrupulously precise . . .

After a careful study of both these authors (Al Biruni and Abul Fazl), I am the more convinced that Abul Fazl borrowed the idea and arrangement of his work from his great predecessor. I have shown in his account of the Sarkār of Kābul instances of direct plagiarism from the Memoirs of Baber, and in his lives of Moslem Saints in the third Volume, verbatim extracts without acknowledgment from the Sufic hagiography of Jāmi . The same volume displays other examples suggestive rather than definite, of his indebtedness to an author whom he never names. The difference between the two men in this particular is most remarkable. Al Biruni's reading was far more extensive and scholarly. The Sanskrit sources of his chapters are almost always given, and Sachau's preface has a list of the many authors quoted by him on astronomy, chronology, geography, and astrology. He was also acquainted with Greek literature through Arabic translations, and in comparing its language and thought and those of Hindu metaphysics, selects his quotations from the Timaeus and its commentator the Neo-Platonist Proclus, with judgment and rare ability. And he rarely fails to record his authorities. With Abul Fazl it is the reverse. He rarely names them, and borrows from every side without scruple as without avowal. The difference in the manner of the two authors is not less conspicuous. Al Biruni quotes freely from his authorities, and where these seem to exaggerate or to be inaccurate, his citations are followed by some sharp brief commentary which gives a ceaseless interest to his pages . . .

His treatment of these topics is throughout scholarly, showing extensive reading and precision of thought acquired by a study of

the exact sciences. Abul Fazl, on the contrary, transcribes either from existing works or from oral communication. His compilation is extremely careful and carried out with the most laborious and marvellous exactitude, but it is unenlivened by those masterly criticisms which give Al Biruni his unique position among Eastern writers . . . .

When all is said, however, which a strict impartiality must weight in counterpoise to Abul Fazl's sterling merits, there remains ample justification for the high place held by this great work in the West as well as the East, and as a record of the extension of the Mughal empire of India under the greatest of its monarchs and the ability with which it was administered, it must always remain of permanent and fascinating interest. It crystallizes and records in brief, for all time, the state of Hindu learning, and besides its statistical utility, serves as an admirable treatise of reference on numerous branches of Brahmanical science and on the manners, beliefs, traditions, and indigenous lore, which for the most part still retain and will long continue their hold on the popular mind. Above all, as a register of the fiscal areas, the revenue settlements and changes introduced at various periods, the harvest returns, valuations and imposts throughout the provinces of the empire, its originality is as indisputable as its surpassing historical importance. The concluding account of the author and his family and the persecutions to which they were subjected will, perhaps, be read with as much interest as any other portion of the work.

H. S. JARRETT.

Calcutta, 17th May, 1894.

CHAPTER I

THE BOUNDARIES OF HINDUSTAN AND A BRIEF DESCRIPTION THEREOF.

INDIA—ITS BOUNDARIES, SEASONS, NATURAL BEAUTY, AND CROPS

Hindustan is described as enclosed on the east, west and south by the ocean, but Ceylon, Achin, the Moluccas, Malacca and a considerable number of islands are accounted within its extent. To the north is a lofty range of mountains, part of which stretches along the uttermost limits of Hindustan, and its other extremity passes into Turkestan and Persia. An intermediate region lies between this and the vast frontiers[1] of China, inhabited by various races, such as Kashmir, Great and Little Tibet, Kishtāwar and others. This quarter may therefore be likened to another ocean. With all its magnitude of extent and the mightiness of its empire it is unequalled in its climate, its rapid succession of harvests and the equable temperament of its people. Notwithstanding its vast size, it is cultivated throughout. You cannot accomplish a stage nor indeed travel a *kos* without meeting with populous towns and flourishing villages, nor without being gladdened by the sight of sweet waters, delightful verdure and enchanting downs. In the autumn and throughout the depth of winter the plains are green and the trees in foliage. During the rainy season which extends from the close of the Sun's stay in Gemini to his entry into the sign of Virgo[2], the elasticity of the atmosphere is enough to transport the most dispirited and lend the vigour of youth to old age. Shall I praise the refulgence of its skies or the marvellous fertility of its soil?

[1] Lit., Chin and Māchin, feigned or believed by Orientals to be the descendants of Japhet and applied by metonymy to express the full extent of the Chinese dominions.

[2] Middle of June to end of August.

attained. It then became clear that the commonly received opinion that Hindus associate a plurality of gods with the One Supreme Being has not the full illumination of truth, for although with regard to some points and certain conclusions, there is room for controversy, yet the worship of one God and the profession of His Unity among this people appeared facts convincingly attested.[1] It was indispensable in me, therefore, to bring into open evidence the system of philosophy, the degrees of self-discipline, and the gradations of rite and usage of this race in order that hostility towards them might abate and the temporal sword be stayed awhile from the shedding of blood, that dissensions within and without be turned to peace and the thornbrake of strife and enmity bloom into a garden of concord. Assemblies for the discussion of arguments might then be formed and gatherings of science suitably convened.

[The various causes of misunderstanding and quarrels between different religions in India.]

Notwithstanding that at all periods of time, excellent resolutions and well-intentioned designs are to be witnessed and the extent of the world is never lacking in prudent men, why does misunderstanding arise and what are the causes of contention?

[1] This is confirmed by Colebrooke. "The real doctrine of the Indian Scripture is the unity of the Deity, in whom the universe is comprehended; and the seeming polytheism which it exhibits, offers the elements and the stars and planets as gods. The three principal manifestations of the divinity, with other personified attributes and most of the other gods of Hindu mythology, are indicated in the Veda. But the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system: nor are the incarnations of deities suggested in any portion of the text which I have yet seen, though such are sometimes hinted at by commentators." H. H. Wilson in commenting on this passage admits that the worship of the Vedas is for the most part domestic, addressed to unreal presences and not to visible types, and not idolatry. *Vishnu. P.* Pref. ii. [H. S.] See also Max Muller on *henotheism*, and Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion*, vi. 283 and 289; viii. 810-811. [J. Sarkar.]

The *First* cause is the diversity of tongues and the misapprehension of mutual purposes, and thus the alloy of ill-will is introduced and the dust of discord arises.

Secondly, the distance that separates the learned of Hindustan from scientific men of other nationalities who thus are unable to meet, and if chance should bring them together, the need of an interpreter would preclude any practical result. An accomplished linguist capable of mastering the intricacies of science and the abstruse speculations of philosophy among various nations and competent to give them luminous and efficient expression, is very rare. Even at the present time, when through His Majesty's patronage of learning and his appreciation of merit, the erudite of all countries are assembled, and apply themselves with united effort in the pursuit of truth, so proficient a person is not to be found. Such as thirst after the sweet waters of wisdom and who leaving their native land undertake the wanderings of travel and with diligent assiduity employ their energies in the acquisition of various languages, are indeed uncommon. It needs a seeker such as Anushirwān, who amidst the pomp of empire should yet search for the jewel of wisdom, and a minister like Buzurjmihr, void of envy, as his counsellor, and both king and minister combined, to discover a coadjutor so unique and one so upright and intelligent as the physician Barzawaih, and then to send him with abundant means disguised as a merchant to Hindustan in order that with this capital stock-in-trade he might obtain the interest of acquired wisdom; and again this sagacious personage, making no distinction between the absence or presence of his employers, must be diligent in his inquiries and succeed in the accomplishment of his desire through the frankness of his demeanour and his largesse of gold. Or the occasion would demand an indefatigable and lofty intellect like that of Tumtum the Indian, who to receive the instruction of the divine philosopher Plato, passed from Hindustan into Greece and freighti

his caravans with the requisites of travel, set himself to face the dangers of seas and deserts, and with the medicinal simples of wisdom perfected his spiritual health and the harmonious [P. 3] balance of his soul. Or a powerful mind and vigorous body such as Abu Maashar of Balkh, enamoured of wisdom, who holding exile and his native country and toil and ease undissociated, travelled into India from Khorāsān and garnered a store of knowledge at Benares and carried it as a gift of price to the learned of his own land.

Thirdly, the absorption of mankind in the delights of corporeal gratification, for men regard the absence of beauty in an object as placing it beyond the pale of existence and therefore not to be thought of as worth acquisition or productive of enjoyment. Their fastidiousness is averse from listening to accounts of foreign peoples even by way of apologue. And forasmuch as their moral obliquity refuses to lend an ear and the glitter of this deceptive world lets fall a veil of ignorance before their eyes, what must be their state and how may grace illumine for them the lamp of guidance?

Fourthly, indolence. Men account what is ready to hand as more precious than the chance of future possession and prefer ease to exertion. They will not undertake the trouble of profound investigation, and content with a superficial view, will not move a span's length to acquire a deeper insight. He alone is the true promoter of wisdom who, setting before his resolve the investigation of the concealed beauties of meaning, under the guidance of assiduous research and undaunted desire, plants his foot in the dread wilds of research, and reaches the goal of his ambition undismayed by countless labours, sustaining the burden of the road by the force of capacity on the shoulders of his ever resolute will.

Fifthly, the blowing of the chill blast of inflexible custom and the low flicker of the lamp of wisdom. From immemorial time the exercise of inquiry has been restricted, and questioning and investigation have been regarded as precursors

of infidelity. Whatever has been received from father, director, kindred, friend or neighbour, is considered as a deposit under Divine sanction and a malcontent is reproached with impiety or irreligion. Although the few among the intelligent of their generation admit the imbecility of this procedure in others, yet will they not stir one step in a practical direction themselves.

[*It is only by meeting on a common platform of study and discussion that different religions can be correctly understood and their true worth appreciated. This book will promote that aim.*]

Sixthly, the uprising of the whirlwind of animosity and the storms of persecution have stayed the few earnest inquirers from uniting to discuss their individual tenets and from meeting in friendly assemblies in a spirit of sympathy, and from distinguishing[2] commonalty of bond from vital estrangement, under the guidance of impartiality, in order that error may be severed from truth and the why and the wherefore weighed in the scales of sound judgment. Even just monarchs, unconscious of their obligations, have herein neglected them. Arrogance and self-interest have intervened and occasions of intercourse have been marred by perplexities. Some have taken refuge in silence; others have found evasion in obscurity of language, while others again have extricated themselves by time-serving utterances. If temporal rulers had interested themselves in this matter and assuaged the apprehensions of men, assuredly many enlightened persons would have delivered their real sentiments with calmness of mind and freedom of expression. Through the apathy of princes, each sect is bigoted to its own creed and dissensions [P. 4] have waxed high. Each one regarding his own persuasion as alone true, has set himself to the persecution of

[2] I select a variant relegated to the notes, in place of the text, and amend the doubtful reading that follows by omitting the *be* before *āzaram*. With this alteration the difficulty is cleared and its simplicity recommends the correction.

other worshippers of God, and the shedding of blood and the ruining of reputation have become symbols of religious orthodoxy. Were the eyes of the mind possessed of true vision, each individual would withdraw from this indiscriminating turmoil and attend rather to his own solicitudes than interfere in the concerns of others. Amidst such unseemly discord, main purposes are set aside and arguments disregarded. If the doctrine of an enemy be in itself good, why should hands be stained in the blood of its professors? And even were it otherwise, the sufferer from the malady of folly deserves commiseration, not hostility and the shedding of his blood.

Seventhly, the prosperity of wretches without principle who deceitfully win acceptance by affected virtue and rectitude. Such as these do much harm and truths are obscured through unrecognition.

Cease, Abul Fazal, cease! The manifestations of divine wrath are illimitable and infinite are the marvels of their record. Loose not thy hand from the cord of peace seized by thy good intention. Follow out thy long projected design. Though some of thy hearers will attain to wisdom and meet in rejoicing union, yet many will fall into sorrows and reap bewilderment. Thanks be to God that thou art not a hostage to the lament of ignorance nor the extoller of those that are in bonds.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF HINDUSTAN

PREFATORY REMARKS

[The author's object in writing this account is to show that the Hindu religion has true and sublime conceptions of the Deity.]

[P. 1] It has long been the ambitious desire of my heart to pass in review to some extent, the general conditions of this vast country, and to record the opinions professed by the majority of the learned among the Hindus. I know not whether the love of my native land has been the attracting influence or exactness of historical research and genuine truthfulness of narrative, for Banākiti, Hāfiz Abru and other ancient chroniclers have indulged in vain imaginings and recorded stories that have no foundation in fact. Nor were the motives altogether these, but rather that when I had arisen from the close retirement of studious application and discovered somewhat of the ignorance and dissensions of men I formed the design of establishing peace and promoting concord. My original desire now renewed its possession of me, but a multiplicity of occupations prevented its gratification until the turns of fate brought about the composition of this striking record which has already branched out into such numerous details. Although my pen had occupied itself with the description of the Subahs and had briefly recorded the annals of Hindustan, and now that the ambition of my heart had attained the time of its realisation, not content with [P. 2] the information I had already acquired, I had recourse to the knowledge of others and set myself to gather instruction from men of true learning. As I was unfamiliar with the science of terms in the Sanskrit language and a competent interpreter was not available, the labour of repeated translations had to be undertaken, until by good fortune and my own steadfastness of purpose, my object was at length

[Noble character of the people of India, monotheism the universal root of their religious belief, while their image-worship is not idolatry, but an "aid to fixing the mind and keeping the thoughts from wandering".]

Shall I describe the constancy of its inhabitants or record their benevolence of mind? Shall I portray the beauty that charms the heart or sing of purity unstained? Shall I tell of heroic valour or weave romances of their vivacity of intellect and their lore? The inhabitants of this land are religious, affectionate, hospitable, genial and frank. They are fond of scientific pursuits, inclined to austerity of life, seekers after justice, contented, industrious, capable in affairs, loyal, truthful and constant. The true worth of this people shines most in the day of adversity and its soldiers know not retreat from the field. When the day is doubtful, they dismount from their steeds and resolutely put their lives to hazard, accounting the dishonour of flight more terrible than death, while some even disable their horses before entering the fight.

They are capable of mastering the difficulties of any subject in a short space of time and surpass their instructors, and to win the Divine favour they will spend body and soul and joyfully devote their lives thereunto. They one and all believe in the unity of God, and as to the reverence they pay to images of stone and wood and the like, which simpletons regard as idolatry, it is not so. The writer of these pages has exhaustively discussed the subject with many enlightened and upright men, and it became evident that these images of some chosen souls nearest in approach to the throne of God, are fashioned as aids to fix the mind and keep the thoughts from wandering, while the worship of God alone is required as indispensable. In all their ceremonial observances and usage they ever implore the favour of the world-illumining sun and regard the pure essence of the Supreme Being as transcending the idea of power in operation.

Brahmā, of whom mention was formerly made, they hold to be the Creator; Vishnu, the Nourisher and Preserver; and Rudra, called also Mahādeva, the Destroyer. Some maintain that God who is without equal, manifested himself under these three divine forms, without thereby sullying the garment of His inviolate sanctity; as the Nazarenes hold of the Messiah. Others assert that these were human creatures exalted to these dignities through perfectness of worship, probity of thought and righteousness of deed. The godliness and self-discipline of this people is such as is rarely to be found in other lands.

They hold that the world had a beginning, and some are of opinion that it will have an end, as will be mentioned hereafter.

An astonishing circumstance is this, that if an alien wishes to enter the Brahman caste, they would not accept him, and were one of these to adopt another religion and subsequently desire to revert to his own, he would not be suffered so to do save in case of his apostasy under compulsion. They have no slaves. When they go forth to battle or during an attack by an enemy, they collect all their women in one building, and surround it with wood and straw and oil, and place on guard some trusty relentless men, who set fire to it when those engaged in fight despair of life, and these chaste women vigilant of their honour are consumed to death with unflinching courage.

In times of distress, moreover, should any one, though unconnected by ties of intimacy, implore their protection, they are prompt to aid and grudge neither property, life nor reputation in his cause[1].

[1] The same things were observed by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang in the 7th century: "The ordinary people although they are naturally light-minded, yet they are upright an honourable . . . They are faithful to their oaths and promises . . . In their behaviour there is much gentleness and sweetness." (Beal, i. 83.) And of the Marathas: "The disposition of the people is honest and

It was also the custom in former times for each warrior in battle to challenge a foe and to encounter none other than him. [P. 6]

[*The Soil and its Produce—Arts and Crafts of the People of Hindustan.*]

The soil is for the most part arable and of such productive power that the same land is sown each year and in many places three harvests and more are taken in a single twelvemonth and the vine bears fruit in its first year.

Mines of diamond, ruby, gold, silver, copper, lead and iron abound. The variety of its fruits and flowers proclaim its luxuriance. Its perfumes and melodies, its viands and raiment are choice and in profusion. Its elephants cannot be sufficiently praised, and in parts of the country the horses resemble Arabs in breed and the cattle are uncommonly fine. But for its lack of cooled water, its excessive heats, the scarcity of grapes, melons and carpets, and of camels, it was open to the cavils of the experienced.[4] His Majesty has remedied these deficiencies. Saltpetre is now extensively used for its cooling properties, and high and low appreciate the benefit of snow and ice brought down from the northern mountains. There is a slender fragrant root called khas (the odoriferous grass *Andropogon Muricatum*) of which, under His Majesty's instructions, the fashion of constructing trellised chambers has come into vogue, and upon this if water be sprinkled, another winter arises amid the summer heats. Skilled hands from Turkestan and Persia under His Majesty's patronage, sowed melons and planted vines, and traders began to introduce in security the fruits of those countries, each in its season and with attention to their quality, which occasioned an abundance here when they were not procurable in their own. Through the favour of His Majesty, all

simple ; . . . to their benefactors they are grateful ; to their enemies relentless. If they are asked to help one in distress, they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance." (ii. 256) J.S.

products of art, and the manufacture of woollen and silken carpets and of brocades were extensively encouraged, and by means of the royal countenance so fine a breed of camels has been produced as to be equal to the dromedaries of 'Irāq.

A summary view of India having been now given, I shall proceed with more particularity, still proffering but little out of much and recording one among a thousand details.

THE COSMOGONY OF THE HINDUS: STORIES OF CREATION.

More than eighteen opinions on this point have been professed and extraordinary narratives put forward, and each describes a different genesis. It will be sufficient to mention three of them. The *first* is that God who has no equal, taking upon himself the form of man appeared under the special manifestation called *Brahma* already alluded to, and by his mere volition produced four sons, *Sanak*, *Sanandan*, *Sanātan*, and *Sanatkumār*. Each of these was commanded to engage in acts of creation, but lost in rapture of contemplation in the divine essence they neglected to comply. In anger, the Supreme being formed another design and came forth from his own forehead under another semblance and name as *Mahādeva*. His sublime immensity unfitted him for creative action. Ten[5] other sons issued from his volition and then from his body he fashioned the forms of male and female. The former was called *Manu* and the latter Sata-rupā. These two are the progenitors of mankind. [P. 7.]

[4] The reference is to Babur, who writes in his memoirs: "Hindustan is a country of few charms; there are no good horses, no good dogs, no grapes, musk-melons or first-rate fruits, no ice or cold water . . . There are no running waters in their gardens and residences." (Beveridge's tr. 518. J.S.)

[5] A variant has, "two".—The text has incorrectly *Satruka*, for which error Abul Fazl is responsible. The *Vishnu Purāna* says that he divided his male being into eleven persons. Next he created himself the Manu Swayambhuva and the female portion of himself he constituted Sata-rupā whom the Manu took to wife. There are also other complications of birth and intercourse which may be pursued by the curious in the Purāna itself, p. 51 et seq.

Secondly, it is maintained that God[6] the Creator of the world, manifested himself under the form of a woman whom they call *Mahā-Lachhmi*. Three qualities are incorporated with her, *Satva*, *Raja* and *Tama*. When she willed to create the world, through the instrumentality of *Tama*, she manifested herself under another form which is called *Mahā-Kāli* and also *Mahā-Māyā*. By her union with *Satva*, a further genesis proceeded called *Saraswati*, and at her command each brought forth a male and female and these two forms she herself inspired with life. Thus two beings were born of each. From *Mahā-Lachhmi* sprung *Brahma* under the form of a man, and *Sri* under the guise of a woman who is also called *Sāvitri*. From *Mahā-Kāli*, were brought forth *Mahā-deva* and *Tri* the latter of whom is also distinguished as *Mahā-bidya* and *Kāmdhenu*, and from *Saraswati* came forth *Vishnu* and *Gauri*. When these six forms took birth, *Mahā-Lachhmi* proceeded to their conjugal union, and joined *Brahma* with *Tri*, *Gauri* with *Mahā-deva*, and *Sri* with *Vishnu*. The conjunction of *Brahma* and *Tri* produced an egg[7] which *Mahā-deva* divided into two parts, from one of which originated the *devatās*, *daityas* and the like super-

[6] Hari, the lord of all, called also Janārdana (from *Jana*, "men" and Arddana, 'worship'—'the object of adoration to mankind'). He is the one only God, taking the designation of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, according as he creates, preserves or destroys:—This is the invariable doctrine of the Purānas. See Wilson, *Vishnu, P.* p. 19. The three qualities or attributes are shared by the Hindu Triad: Brahma being the embodiment of *Raja-guna*, the desire that created the world; Siva that of *Tama-guna*, the attribute of wrath; and Vishnu is *Satwa-guna* or the property of mercy and goodness.

[7] The *Brahmānd* or egg of Brahma is applied by Albiruni to the whole æther on account of its supposed spherical shape and its division into upper and lower and he says that when the Hindus enumerate the heavens they call them in their entirety, *Brahmānd*.

[The latest and best account of Hindu Cosmogony and Cosmology is the one by H. Jacobi in Hastings's *Encyclo. of Religion*, iv. 155-160. Varāha-Mihir the author of *Surya-Siddhānta*, died in 587 A.D. The old notes of Jarrett based on Bentley have been omitted here. J. S.]

natural beings; from the other, men, animals, and the vegetable and mineral worlds.

The *Third* opinion is accounted the most authentic. In the work called *Surya-Siddhānta* composed some hundreds of thousands of years ago, it is circumstantially related that towards the end of the *Satya-yuga*, flourished the great Demon Maya. That sage was lost in astonishment at the wonders of creation, and confounded by his own ignorance, applied himself to a supplication of the Sun to discover the mode in which creation was effected and passed some thousands of years in these entreaties and desires. After he had undergone surpassing trials, that bestower of radiance on the heavens and the earth appeared to him under a beautiful form and asked him what he desired. He said, "Draw back the veil from the marvels of the stars and the skies and from the mysteries of wisdom and illuminate the darkness of my understanding with the light of knowledge. It was answered: "Thy desire shall be granted. In a certain shrine unite in spirit with me and a celestial being shall appear and instruct you in wisdom." The seeker was comforted. He waited in expectation at the shrine appointed and near the close of the *Satya-yuga*, the giver of his desire appeared. The sage entered into much questioning regarding the mysteries of heaven and earth and received replies that satisfied him. [8]. The questions and answers were compiled in one volume under the name of the *Surya Siddhānta*, and to this day the astronomy, of entire Hindustān is based upon it. In this work the origin of creation is said to be from the Sun, which is regarded as a divine manifestation. The Almighty Creator of the world formed a hollow sphere of gold composed of two parts which he rendered luminous with somewhat of His own glory and it was called the Sun. The Sun produced the signs of the Zodiac and from the same source sprung the four *Vedas*, and afterwards the moon, the ethereal fluid, air, fire, water and earth, in this order. From

the ether he produced Jupiter; from the air, Saturn; from fire, Mars; from water, Venus; and from the earth, Mercury. Through the ten portals of the human frame-work he brought various matter into being. The ten portals are thus numbered: the two eyes, the two ears, the nose, the mouth, the navel, the anterior and posterior foramina, and the tenth, the crown of the head, which last is closed. It opens, however, at the time of death in some of those who are about to quit life and body, and this is considered singularly auspicious. His Majesty has increased the number of portals by the two breasts, and counts the number as twelve. After a long course the human race became of four kinds as shall be presently related.

On the Inferior and Superior Cosmic Phenomena.

The Hindu philosophers maintain that the elements have a spherical form[8] and they have added Ether to the number. They hold it to pervade all things and that no space is void of it. They do not incline to the notion of a celestial substance (*āsmān*) but adopt the account of the spheres on the system of the Almagest of Ptolemy.[9] The Zodiac is divided into twelve signs, each of which is termed "*rās*."

They are as follows:—

1. Mesha.	1. Aries.
2. Vrisha.	2. Taurus.
3. Mithuna.	3. Gemini.
4. Karkata.	4. Cancer.

[8] The authorities for this are Arya-bhata, Vásistha and Lāta. Albiruni, 26.

Ether is so called by the Greeks from its being in perpetual flow. Arist., *De Cælo*, iii.

[9] Ptolemy's first book of the Almagest treats among other matters of the spherical form and motion of the heavens, the spherical form of the earth and its location in the centre of the heavens and of the two circular celestial motions which all the stars have in common.

5.	Sinha.	5.	Leo.
6.	Kanyä.	6	Virgo.
7.	Tulā.	7.	Libra.
8.	Vrischika.	8.	Scorpio.
9.	Dhanu.	9.	Sagittarius.
10.	Makara.[10]	10.	Capricornus.
11.	Kumbha.	11.	Aquarius.
12.	Mina.	12.	Pisces.

The Persian, Egyptian and Greek sages affirm the existence of a colourless body which is transparent and is not subject to growth, increase, decrease, disruption, conjunction nor dissolution, neither does it admit of tenuity nor density nor generation nor decay. It is not compounded of bodies variously organised, neither is it affected by heat, cold, moisture, nor dryness, nor can lightness or gravity be predicated of it.[9] It possesses life and continuity of existence, and is not subject to desire or anger. It is called "asmān."[11] The general opinion is that the Universe (*to pān*) includes nine spheres, but some think eight, others, eleven,

[10] Capricornus was represented on ancient monuments with the fore part of a goat and the hind part of a fish. The Hindu *Makara*, according to the Sanskrit verses of Sripati, quoted by Sir W. Jones, (I, 336) is a sea-monster with the face of an antelope. The question at once presents itself as to the relative antiquity of the Greek and Indian Zodiacal signs. [H. S. J.] On the relation between Greek and Hindu astronomy, see Kaye in *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 759 and *J.A.S.B.*, 1911, p. 813, and the volume on Astronomy in the *Grundriss*. The relation between Hindu and Arab astronomy is best described briefly in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion*, xii. 95, the writer of which article has treated the same subject again in *Ency. Islam*, i. 497-502. [J. S.]

[11] These are the attributes of the Pradhāna, (chief principle or primary crude matter) ascribed to it by the Sankhya philosophy. It is independent and co-ordinate with primary spirit. See *Vishnu P*, p. 9 *et seq*. The greater part of this passage is almost identical with the description of the word, *falk*, the Arabic equivalent of *āsmān*, in the *Istilāhāt u'l Funun*, pp. 1134-5 quoted from the Hidāyat u'l Hikmat (Institutis philosophiæ recta) of Maibudi. I have not been able to trace the passage in the latter work verbatim, but in scattered references only. The notion is taken from Aristotle, *De Cælo*, iii.

others, seven, and it is even affirmed that there is but a single Kosmos.

The Hindu philosophers acknowledge the existence of the planets and fixed stars, but assert that their substance is of water[12] congealed like hail, and that they receive their light from the sun. Others maintain that it is from the moon, and that these luminous bodies dominate the aspects of fortune. They also hold the connection of a celestial spirit with each. Some suppose the stars to be human beings, who by suppressing the emotions of anger and desire, and by mortification and moral beauty of life, have reached this exalted eminence.

NAMES OF THE PLANETS[13] AND THE DAYS OF THE WEEK.

Sanichar is Saturn (Saturday). *Brihaspati* is Jupiter (Thursday). *Mangal* is Mars (Tuesday). *Aditya*, the Sun (Sunday). The Hindus have more than a thousand names for the sun. His Majesty knows by heart the whole of these and uses them in his prayers, but the name *Suraj* is the one in common use among all classes. *Sukra* is Venus (Friday). *Budh* is Mercury (Wednesday). *Soma* is the Moon (Monday).

[12] Albiruni mentions this in his LV Chap. "The Hindus believe regarding the bodies of all the stars that they have a globular shape, a watery essence, and that they do not shine, whilst the sun alone is of fiery essence, self-shining and *per accidens* illuminates other stars when they stand opposite to him. They reckon according to eyesight among the stars also, such luminous bodies as in reality are not stars, but the lights into which those men have been metamorphosed who have received eternal reward from God. The *Vishnu-Dharma* says: "The stars are watery and the rays of the sun illuminate them in the night. Those who by their pious deeds have obtained a place on the height, sit there on their thrones, and when shining, they are reckoned among the stars!" Sachau's Trans. II, 64.

[13] The 19th Chap. of Albiruni's *India* begins with the same subject and the similarity of treatment and expression, though not of the *order*, is so striking that, as I have before had occasion to observe, there is little doubt of Abul Fazl's indebtedness to his author. Albiruni's handling of any subject he discusses is that of a philosopher who is master of it: Abul Fazl is purely the compiler and scribe.

Each of these planets has several names, and each day of the week has a special connection with and is named after its planet, with the addition of the word '*wār*.' Thus, Sunday which begins the week is called *Aditya-wār*; Monday, *Soma-wār*; Tuesday, *Mangal-wār*; Wednesday, *Budh-wār*; Thursday, *Brihaspati-wār*; Friday, *Sukra-wār*; Saturday, *Sanichar-wār*.

THE INSTITUTION OF THE *Gharyāl*.

This is a round gong of mixed metal,[14] shaped like a griddle but thicker, made of different sizes; and suspended by a cord. It may not be sounded except by royal command, and accompanies the royal equipage.

The Hindu philosophers divide the day and night into four parts, each of which they call *pahr*. Throughout the greater part of the country, the *pahr* never exceeds nine *ghaṛis* nor is less than six. The *ghari* is the sixtieth part of a nychthemeron, and is divided into sixty parts, each of which is called a *pal* which is again subdivided into sixty *bipal*.

In order to ascertain and indicate the time, a vessel of copper or other metal is made of a hundred *tānks*, weight. In Persian it is called *pingān*, as an ancient sage sings,—

[10] Why reck'st thou of a world whose span
A clepsydra doth mete to man?[15]

[14] Lit. *Haft-josh*, a metal compounded of iron, antimony, lead, gold, tin, copper and silver. The ordinary bell-metal is an alloy of 80 parts of copper and 20 of tin, though some English bells have been found to consist of copper, tin, zinc and lead.

[15] These lines are from *Hadiqah* of Hakim Sanāi, p. 298, of the lithographed edition. The clepsydra was known in Greece in the time of Aristophanes and was used for regulating the time allowed for speeches of accused persons before courts of justice. But in this, the water was allowed to escape through the orifice of the vessel. (See Lewis' *Ast. of the Ancients*, p. 182.)

It is in the shape of a bowl narrower at the lower part, twelve fingers in height and breadth. A perforation is made below to admit of a golden tube being passed through of the weight of one *Māshā*, and in length the breadth of five fingers. It is placed in a basin of pure water in a place undisturbed by the wind. When the bowl is full of water, one *ghari* is elapsed,[15a] and in order that this should be known to far and near, the gong is struck once, and for the second time, twice, and so on. When a *pahr* has elapsed, the number of *gharis* expired therein is first sounded and then more deliberately from one to four (according to the *pahr*), thus announcing the *pahr* struck. Thus when it is two *pahr*, (twelve o'clock), the gong is struck twenty-sixth times, taking the *pahr* at eight *gharis*. The Emperor Baber in his Memoirs writes: "When at the end of a *pahr* a certain number of *gharis* had elapsed, this number was sounded while the *pahr* just expired was unknown. I ordered that the number of the *pahr* should be repeated after a brief interval." The Hindu philosophers account 360 breathings of a man in good health as a *ghari* of time, as each is formed of six inspirations and respirations, of which 21,600 are drawn in the course of a nychthemeron.

[15a] The Hindu hour-glass is thus described in the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, Chap. XIII. "The copper vessel (in the shape of the lower half of a water jar) which has a small hole in its bottom and placed upon clean water in a basin, sinks exactly sixty times in a nychthemeron, is called the Kapāla Yantra. In the *Vishnu Purāna*, p. 631, it is said to be "a vessel made of 12½ *Palas* of copper, in the bottom of which there is to be a hole made with a tube of gold, of the weight of 4 *Māshas* and 4 inches long." A commentary is more explicit. "A vessel made of 12½ *Palas* of copper, and holding a Prastha, (a Magadha measure) of water, broad at top and having at bottom a tube of gold of 4 *Māshas* weight, 4 fingers long, is placed in water, and the time in which the vessel is filled by the hole in the bottom is a *Nādika*." It is therefore clear that there must be a plug of the metal and of the length given, and not a simple aperture only. See a paper on Horometry in the *As. Res.* V. 87.

THE ORDER OF THE SPHERES.

The first is the Earth, over which is Water, but not encompassing it entirely. Above this is Fire, towards its northern extremity shaped like a myrobalan. Above this again is the Air, but its concave surface is not spherical. The Air is of nine kinds. *Bhuvāyu*, is the atmosphere extending up to the height of forty-seven *kos* from the globe of the earth. It is volatile in every direction and is the region wherein rain, thunder and lightning take their origin. *Avaha* is the air from the last-mentioned body to the moon. *Pravaha*, from the second to Mercury. *Udvaha* from the third to Venus. *Samvaha*, from the fourth to the Sun. *Suvaha*, from the fifth to Mars. *Parivaha*, from the sixth to Jupiter. *Paravaha*, from the seventh to Saturn. *Pravahānila*, from the eight to the fixed stars. Day and night are formed by the revolution of this wind, with a movement from east to west, the other seven winds reversing this order of motion.[16] But their more authoritative opinion is that those seven form the *Pravahānila*, and are named after the seven planets and all revolve from east to west.[17] Their knowledge does not extend beyond the fixed stars. Ether transcends all other spheres and is unfathomable.

[16] I am uncertain of this meaning. The elements in successive order are supposed to acquire the property of causality one to the other. The order in all the Purānas but one is the same according to Wilson (*Vish. P.*), and agrees with the text. The seven winds occur in this order in the *Siddhānta Siromani* which adds: "The atmosphere extends to the height of 12 *yojanas* from the earth. Within this limit are the clouds, lightning, &c. The Pravaha wind which is above the atmosphere moves constantly to the westward with uniform motion. As the sphere of the universe includes the fixed stars and planets, it therefore being impelled by the Pravaha wind is carried round with the stars and planets in a constant revolution." Wilkinson's Translation, p. 127.

[17] Compare with this the direction of the planes of the winds and their names according to the Moslem theory, in Albīrūnī's *Chronology of Ane. Nations*, Eachen, p. 341. In Vol. I. of his *India*, (p. 266 Sach.) Brahmagupta says "The wind makes all the fixed stars and the planets revolve towards the W. in one and the same

The mean motions of the planets which they call *Madhyama* differ from the Greek reckoning in the seconds and thirds. Thus, in a nychthemeron [P. 11] extending from midnight to midnight, the Surya-Siddhānta gives the following calculations.

	Degrees.	Minutes.	Seconds.	Thirds.
Moon	13	10	34	53
Mercury, Venus, Sun	0	59	8	10
Mars	0	31	26	28
Jupiter	0	4	59	9
Saturn	0	2	0	23

According to the Greeks.

	Degrees.	Minutes.	Seconds.	Thirds.
Moon			35	2
Mercury, Venus, Sun				19
Mars			27	40
Jupiter				16
Saturn				35

revolution, but the planets move also in a slow pace to the E. like a dust atom moving on a potter's wheel in a direction opposite to that in which the wheel is revolving. Albiruni considers their speaking of the wind as a motor is intended only to facilitate the idea to the vulgar comprehension, for when they come to speak of the first-mover (God) they at once lay aside comparison with the wind whose existence is not moving but is a body acted upon by external influences. According to the *Surya-Siddhānta*, the rapid movement of the planets is caused by the wind *Pravaha*.

The motion of the Planets is considered of their essence and is of equal velocity in all. When calculated in *kos* their rate of motion is said to be 11,858 *yojana*[18] and 3 *kos* in the space of a nychthemeron, and their direction is from west to east. The difference in their periods arises from the greater or less extent of their orbits, the superior being greater than those lower in position.

The progression of the fixed stars they consider to be somewhat similar to that of the planets, but differing from the Greeks, they assert that with regard to the Lunar stations, there is a motion of 54 seconds in one year, or one degree in 66 years and 8 months. They compute that the asterisms advance 27 degrees from the beginning of Aries, or according to another calculation, having advanced 24 degrees, they have a retrograde motion till they reach the 28th degree of Pisces whence they return to Aries, and the same movement re-commences.[19] The Ursa Major which is called in Sanskrit *Sapta-rishi* (the seven Sages) has a precession in one year of 17 seconds, 47 thirds from west to east, or one degree in

[18] A *yojana* is four *kos*. Albiruni in his *India*, Chap. XV, (Sach. I. 167) makes 1 *krosa* = 1 mile or 4,000 yards, and 1 *yojana* = 8 miles or *kroh* or 32,000 yards. Some, he adds, thinks that the *krosa* = ¼ *farsakh*, and so make the *farsakh* of the Hindus 16,000 yards, but this is not so, as this latter (*farsakh*) is = ½ *yojana*. Sachau has made a slight oversight in this last passage by translating 1 *krosa* = ½ *yojana*. But this cannot be as he already says above that 1 *yojana* = 8 *krosa*. The *Farsakh* is reckoned by Albiruni in his V Chap. as 3 miles, and = ½ *yojana* which being reckoned above at 32,000 yards, gives the length of the *farsakh* necessarily at 16,000. But with this result he appears to quarrel.

[19] In the *Surya-Siddhānta*, the precession of the equinoxes is thus described: "The circle of Asterisms librates 600 times in a great Yuga (that is, all the Asterisms at first move westward 27°. Then returning from that limit they reach their former places. Then from those places they move eastward the same number and returning thence come again to their own complete one libration or revolution as it is ca
Burgess has a long note on this mode of statement in his translation, p. 100.

200 years and 6 months, and accomplishes its revolution. One sect considers the operation of these forces to depend solely on the power of the Almighty.

The ancient Greeks, including Aristotle, were ignorant of the motion of the fixed stars and Hipparchus observed a few[20] with a motion from east to west in the Zodiac, but he was unable to calculate their dimensions. Ptolemy determined the motion of the stars in longitude to be one degree in a hundred solar years. Ibn Aalam and others reckoned sixty. The observations of Nasir'uddin Tusi agree with this last, but Muhyiddin Maghrabi[21] and a number of experts at the same observatory discovered that *Aldebaran*, the Heart of Scorpio (*a* Scorpii), and others, advanced a degree in 66 years. In the Gurgāni Tables (of Ulugh Beg) this is made to occur in 70 Yazdajirdi years, each of which is 365 years without a

[20] M. Montulca observes that Hipparchus, according to Ptolemy, suspected that only the stars in the Zodiac or in its vicinity had been disturbed in position as if, being the nearest in some measure to the great route of the planets, they had been more exposed to share in their motion. But he soon discovered that the movement was general around the poles of the Zodiac, and he transmitted a large number of observations on the fixed stars for the use of his successors. They served to assure Ptolemy of the perfect immovability of the fixed stars with regard to each other and of the movement of the whole starry sphere around the poles of the Zodiac. *Hist. des Math.* 265. J.

[21] Called al Maghrabi from his residence in Spain and Africa. He was spared in the sack of Aleppo by Hulāgu and associated with Tusi at Marāgha in A. H. 658. He thus took part in forming the Ilkhāni Astronomical Tables. He had a wide reputation as a philosopher and mathematician. D'Herb.

Ptolemy following the steps of Hipparchus, established conclusively his theory of the movement of the fixed stars. In comparing the longitudes of several of these with those found by Hipparchus, he showed that they had advanced parallel to the Zodiac by 2° 40′ since his day, and 265 years had since then elapsed, he concluded the movement to be one degree in 100 years. The more exact calculation of modern days shows it to be one in 72. *Hist. des. Math.* I. 225.

CIRCUMFERENCES OF THE SPHERE.

The Planets.	Yojanas.	Kroh.
Moon	324,000	...
Mercury	1,043,207	...
Venus	2,664,636	2 and a fraction
Sun [12]	4,331,500	a fraction
Mars	8,146,908	3
Jupiter	51,375,764	1
Saturn	127,668,255	2 less a fraction
Fixed Stars	259,890,012	...
Ether, beyond which the sun's rays do not traverse	18,712,080,864,000,000	...

The minutes of the diameters of each of the planets bear a proportionate ratio to the minutes of their circumference.[13]

3 Mustard seeds	make one.	Barley corn.
8 Barley corns		Digit.
24 Digits		Cubit (Dast).
4 Cubits		Dand.
2000 Dand		Kos.
4 Kos.		Yojana.

LUNAR STATIONS.

Each of these is called *Nakshatra*, and they are 27 in number, severally divided into 13 degrees and 20 minutes.

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[12] These distances are given in Albiruni's LV. Chap. in two computations with some variance between each other and those of the text. They are also given in 12th chapter of the *Surya-Siddhānta* with some slight variation from the text.

[13] This sentence is not in two MSS. and as it stands, appears incomplete. The remaining terms of the proportional are missing, and are probably the number of *yojanas* of the diameters, to the *yojanas* of the circumferences. Thus the minutes of the diameter of the moon are to the minutes of her circumference, *i.e.*, 21600, as the number of the *yojanas* of the diameter, *i.e.*, 480, are to the *yojanas* of the circumference of her whole sphere, and in the same way with the Sun, as shewn by Albiruni, Chap. LV.

Altogether 221 stars. The moon never tarries in any one station more than 65½ *gharis* or less than 54½.

Three degrees and twenty minutes of the 21st *Nakshatra* to 48′ of the 22° Nakshatra have, for certain purposes, been separately designated *Abhijit*.[24]

	Asterisms.	No. of stars.
1.	Aswini (Arietis)	3
2.	Bharani (Musca)	3
3.	Krittikā (Tauri Pleiades)	6
4.	Rohini (Tauri Aldabaran)	5
5.	Mrigasira (Orionis)	3
6.	Ardrā (Orionis)	1
7.	Punarvāsu (Geminorum)	4
8.	Pushya (Cancri)	3
9.	Aslesha (1 and 2 Cancri)	5
10.	Maghā (Leonis Regulus)	5
11.	Purvā-phālguni (Leonis)	2
12.	Uttarā-phālguni (Leonis)	2
13.	Hastā (Corvi)	5
14.	Chitrā (Virginis, Spica)	1
15.	Swāti (Bootis : Arcturus)	1
16.	Visākhā (dibra)	4
17.	Anurādhā (Scorpionis)	4
18.	Jyeshthā (Scorpionis, Antares)	3
19.	Mula (Ccorpionis)	11
20.	Purvāshādhā (Sagittarii)	4
21.	Uttarāshādhā (Sagittarii)	3
22.	Abhijit (Lyri)	
23.	Sravana (Aquilæ)	3
24.	Dhanishthā (Delphini)	4
25.	Satabhishā (Aquarii)	
26.	Purvābhadrapadā (Pegasi)	
27.	Uttarabhadrapadā (Andromedæ)	
28.	Revāti (Piscium)	

Note. I have taken the stars from Bapu Deva's translation of the *Surya-Siddhānta*.

[24] "A complete revolution of the moon, says Sir W. Jones in his paper on the Indian Zodiack (*As. Res.* II. 293) with respect to the stars, being made in 27 days, odd hours, minutes and seconds, and perfect exactness being either not attained or required by the Hindus, they fixed on the number 28 and inserted *Abhijit* for some astrological purposes in their nuptial ceremonies. It consists of 3 stars between the 21st and 22nd stations." According to Albirūnī, Abhijit is the Falling Eagle. An Nasr al Wāqi.

The Greeks reckoned 28 Lunar Stations and assigned 12 degrees, 51 minutes and 26 seconds to each. They are as follows.[25]

	Names of the Lunar Stations.	No. of Stars.	Magnitudes.
1.	Al Sharatān (Arietis)	2	3rd.
2.	Al Butain (Arietis)	3	5th.
3.	Al Thurayya (Pleiades)	6	5th.
4.	Aldabarān (Tauri)	1	1st.
5.	Al Hakaah (Orionis)	3	nebular[26]
6.	Al Hannah (Germinorum)	2	3rd and 4th
7.	Al Dhirāa (Geminorum)	2	2nd.
8.	Al Nathrah (Præsepe et duo Aselli Cancri)	2	4th.
9.	Al Tarfah (the eye of Leo; two close together, one belonging to Leo, the other to the stars outside the figure of Cancer)	2	4th.
10.	Al Jubrah (Leonis)	4	one of the 4th.
11.	Al Zubrah (Leonis)	2	2nd.
12.	Al Sarfah (Leonis)	1	1st.
13.	Al Awwā (Virginis)	5	3rd.
14.	Al Simāk (ul Aazal) (Spica)	1	1st.
15.	Al Ghafr (Virginis)	3	4th.
16.	Al Zubānā (Libræ)	2	2nd.
17.	Al Iklil (Scorpii)	3	4th.
18.	Al Kalb (Sorpii)	1	2nd.
19.	Al Shaulah (Scorpii)		2nd.
20.	Al Naāim (Sagittarii)	4	3rd.
21.	Al Baldah, a blank circular space of the heavens	...	.....
22.	Saad Al Dhābih (Capricorni)	2	3rd.
23.	Saad-Bulaa (Aquarii)	2	3rd and 4th
24.	(Saad) Al Suud (Aquarii)	2 or 3	3rd and 5th
25.	(Saad) Al Akhbiyah (Aquarii) ...	4	3rd.
26.	Mukaddam (Alfargh al Awwal (Pegasi) ...	2	2nd.
27.	Muakkhar (Alfaragh Althāni (Pegasi, and Andromedæ)	2	2nd.
28.	Rashā (Batu Alhut) (Andromedæ) ...	1	3rd.

In all 66 or 67 stars.

In the following table will be found various particulars regarding the Planets.

[25] Abul Fazl gives only the Arabian names. I take the Greek equivalents from Albiruni's *Chronology*, Sachau, p. 343.

[26] Ptolemy considered them one cloudy star and called them the nebulæ in the head of Orion. Albiruni. See also Humboldt's *Cosmos*, Vol. III. pp. 120-22, Otte.

[14] [The form is given but the particulars are wanting in all the MSS. The entries were probably left to be made at a later time, and either forgotten or the information was never obtained. The details were the diameters and dimensions of the planets and their distances from the earth's centre in *farsakhs* and *yojanas* according to the Hindus, to Ptolemy and to modern astronomers, but as Albiruni observes, the Hindu astronomers themselves are not agreed in their computations. Pulisa reckons the diameter of the earth as 1,600 *yojanas*, and its circumference as 5026 14/15, whilst Brahmagupta reckons the former at 1,581 and the latter at 5,000 *yojanas*. The table of Yaqub-b-Tārik, will be found in Albiruni's *India*, Vol. II, p. 68.]

MAGNITUDES OF THE FIXED STARS.

The Hindu philosophers reckon seven magnitudes as follows :—

Magnitudes.	Minutes.	Seconds.	Yojanas.	Kos.	Dand.	Cubit.	Digit.
Diameter of the 1st	7	30	90,239	2	700	...	...
,, ,, 2nd	6	15	75,199	2	1,250	...	...
,, ,, 3rd	5	30	66,175	2	1,580	...	...
,, ,, 4th	4	0	48,127	3	238	2	2
,, ,, 5th	3	0	36,095	0	678	3	13
,, ,, 6th	2	0	24,063	3	1,119	1	1
,, ,, 7th	1	0	12,031	3	1,559	2	12

The Greeks mention six. The first they call the greatest (Akbār) and the sixth, the least (Asghar), and each comprised three degrees, the great, the mean and the less, each more

[1] Humboldt remarks that at the period of Mongolian supremacy in the 15th century, when astronomy flourished at Samarkand under Ulugh Beg, photometric determinations were facilitated by the sub-

important in proportion to its degree.[27] The intervals of the hexade were measured by sixths. Some supposed that a diameter of a star of the 1st magnitude was six times the diameter of the smallest; but a manifest error occurred in calculating the volumes and distances intervening, by concluding that the volume of a mean star of the 1st magnitude must therefore be six times larger than the volume of a star of the 6th magnitude. But Euclid has demonstrated in the last proposition of the 12th Book of the Elements, that circles are to one another as the squares on their diameters, that is, if the ratio of one diameter to another be one-half or less, there will be three times the ratio between the spheres. For instance, if the diameter of one sphere be half the diameter of another, the smaller sphere will be ½ of ½ of ½ or ⅛ of the larger; and if the diameter be ⅓, the smaller sphere will be ⅓ of ⅓ of ⅓ or 1/27 of the larger, and so on. Therefore, if the case be as those have conjectured, the volume of a star of the 1st magnitude will be greater than that of one of the 6th by a very considerable difference.

The largest of the fixed stars that have been observed, is 222 times, and the smallest of them twenty-three times as large as the earth. From their multitude they cannot be numbered, but the position of 1022 has been fixed.[28]

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division of each of the six classes of Hipparchus and Ptolemy into three subordinate groups: distinctions being drawn between the small, intermediate and large stars of the second magnitude.

[28] This is the catalogue of Hipparchus which gives the longitudes and latitudes of the number described, by their position in the constellations as shown in the 8th book of the *Almagest*. Montucla observes that only 1,022 were observed, though there are a great many more, and some among them visible to the naked eye, but the number is far below what is vulgarly imagined. *Hist. des Math.* I, p. 295. I add on the authority of Humboldt. (*Cosmos* III, 143) that Pliny could count only 1,60 stars visible in the fine sky of Italy. In this enumeration he had descended to stars of the 5th, whilst half a century later Ptolemy indicated only 1,025 stars down to the 6th magnitude. The number of stars visible to the naked eye in the horizon of Berlin, Humboldt gives as 4,022 and in that of Alexandria 4,638.

Of these—

15	are of the	1st	Magnitude.	474	are of the	4th	Magnitude.
45	,, ,,	2nd	,,	217	,, ,,	5th	,,
208	,, ,,	3rd	,,	49	,, ,,	6th	,,

There are besides, 14 whose magnitudes are not catalogued, nine of which are obscure and five nebular. This is the theory of Ptolemy. According to Abdul Rahmān-b-Omar al Sufi,[29]

37	are of the	2nd	magnitude
200	,, ,,	3rd	,,
421	,, ,,	4th	,,
267	,, ,,	5th	,,
70	,, ,,	6th	,,

and four nebular.

[29] There is little known of this astronomer, but that he was a native of Rai, and according to D'Herbelot, preceptor of Adhadul Daulah of the Bowide dynasty. Hammer Purgstall gives the date of his death in A. H. 376, (A. D. 986) at the age of 85. He was the author of a work on the fixed stars with illustrations and two [three] others less important. [See *Ency. Islam*, i. 57.]

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF THE EARTH

The Earth is spherical and its centre is the centre of the Universe. The elevations and depressions caused by the action of water or violence of the winds do not affect its spheroidity. Its circumference is 5,059 *yojana*,[1] 2 *kos*, 1,154 *dand*. The ancient Greeks reckoned the circumference to be 8,000 *farsakh*[2] and its diameter 2,545 5/11 *farsakh*. Modern geometers give [16] 6,700 *farsakh* for the circumference and 2,163 7/11 *farsakh* for the diameter. All concur in making one *farsakh* equal to 3 miles.

The Hindu philosophers have the following rule for determining the diameter and circumference. *To find the circumference*. Multiply the given diameter which they call *biyāns* by the multiplier 3,927 termed *gunit*, and divide the product by the divisor 1,250 called *bhāg*; and the quotient, *labdhi* will be the circumference.[3] *To find the diameter*. Multiply the given circumference by 1,250 the former divisor, and divide the product by 3,927, the former multiplier, and

[1] The calculations are discrepant. Pulisa reckons 5,026 14/15 and its diameter 1,600, while Brahmagupta gives 5,000 and 1,581 respectively and Ibn Tārik 6,596 9/25 and 2,100. Albiruni, *India*, I, p. 312, II, p. 66.

[2] The calculation of Eratosthenes (276-196 B. C.), determined by a method identical with that which would be employed by a modern astronomer, gives the circumference at 250,000 stadia; Posidonius (135 B. C.) made it 240,000 stadia or 30,000 miles. Lewis. *Astron. of the Anc.*, pp. 199-215.

[3] बीज, *byāsam*. Sansk. *biyāns*. गुणक, *gunak*. Sansk. *gunit*. भाजक, *bhājaka*. Sansk. *bhāg*.

The rule in the *Surya-Siddhānta* is to multiply the square of the diameter by 10, and the square root of the product will be the circumference. The diameter is taken at 1,600 *yojana*. Pulisa reckons the ...lation of the diameter to the circumference as 1,250:3,927, and Brahmagupta as nearly 12,959:40,980. Albiruni, II. 71—72.

the quotient will be the diameter. The rule of Archimedes as given in Greek works, is accepted by the Hindus in the same manner, as an approximate calculation. The gist of the rule is that the relation of the diameter to the circumference is the ratio of 7 :22, or about thrice the diameter and one-seventh. Any given diameter is multiplied by 22, and divided by 7, the quotient being the circumference. Again the circumference multiplied by 7 and divided by 22 gives the diameter. The fraction,[4] however, is really less than 1/7 and greater than 10/71. It is evident that the Hindu rule was unknown to the Greeks or they would have vaunted it in their own praise. Glory be to Him who alone knoweth the relation of the diameter to the circumference.

Now the method of ascertaining the diameter of the (earth's) circumference was after this manner. On a level plain by means of instruments like the astrolabe, the armillary sphere or the quadrant of altitude, taking the elevation of the north pole of the Equinoctial, they proceed northwards, or southwards on the meridian line guided by the astrolabe, and raise the vertical indices above the plane of the circle so that they cover one another. And thus a distance is traversed which exceeds, or is less than the elevation above-mentioned by one degree. If the advance be to the north, it will increase; if to the south, the reverse. The distance from beginning to end is measured and the result forms a degree. Thus the circumference is found.

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[4] According to Albiruni, Archimedes defined it to be something between 10/70 and 11/70. (Chap. XV, p. 80), but the statement of Abul Fazl is correct. The book of Archimedes on the Dimensions of the Circle consists of three propositions. 1st, every circle is equal to a right angled triangle of which the sides containing the right angle are equal respectively to its radius and circumference, [illegible] the ratio of the area of the circle to the square of its diameter is [illegible] that of 11 to 14. 3rd, the circumference of the circle is [illegible] than three times its diameter by a quant greater than [illegible] f the diameter, but less than 1/7 of the [illegible] Smith. Art. Archimedes.

The ancients by this operation found the degree to be 22 *farsakh* and 2/9 or 66⅔ miles. When the plain of Sanjār near Mausil, was selected by the Caliph Al Māmun for this experiment, Khālid-b-Abdu'l Malik Marwarudi with a body of scientific men went towards the north, and Ali-b-Isā [17] Usturlābi with another to the south. The former party found the degree longer than the latter; for when each had measured their respective distances, it was found to be 18 *farsakh* or 56⅔ miles. The difference between the two was ⅔ of a mile.[5] Māmun as a test, asked the two parties the distance between Mecca and Baghdad. According to the above calculation, multiplying 12° 40′ by 56⅔ miles which is a degree, they made the distance to be 720 *kos*.[6] By the order of the Caliph the most level and shortest route between the two cities was measured and the difference was found to be slight. It is strange that the accurate (Nāsiruddin) Tusi in his *Tazkirah* (*u'l Nāsiriyah. Liber Memorialis de astronomiq*) should ascribe to the ancients what is related of the astronomers of Māmun's age regarding the measurement of a degree in the plain of Sanjār. Mulla Qutbu'ddin Shirāzi[7] in his *Tuhflat* (*u'l Shāhiyah, Donum regium*) and other works, expresses the opinion of the moderns in regard to the astronomers of that Caliph, in the manner I have related. There has been undoubtedly a slip of the pen in the *Tazkirah*. The Hindu astronomers make the degree 14 *yojanas*, 436 *dand*, 2 cubits and 4 digits, and explain it after the former manner.

[5] Mr. Reuben Barrow [in his notes in Gladwin's trans. of the *Ain*,] here remarks, that from the spheroidity of the earth, the degrees ought to increase towards the north: but this difference is much greater than it ought to be according to theory.

[6] Mr. Barrow here notes in Gladwin's work, that as the true length of a degree is between 69 and 70 miles, and there is reason to believe that the measures could not be far wrong, it follows that we have not the true length of their measures.

[7] Hāji Khalifah gives the year of his death as A. H. 720 (A. D. 1370). He composed the astronomical work alluded to, for the Emir Shāh Muhammad-b.-Mutazz-b.-Tāhir.

Also on a level plain at sunrise they regulate the course of *gharis* by means of the *Siktajantra* which is an instrument like an hour-glass, measured for 60 *gharis*. With this they walk eastwards. After 84 *yojanas* and a fraction, there is a difference of one *ghari* and the day advanced *by that time*.[8] This multiplied by 60 gives the circumference of the Earth.

DESCRIPTION OF THE INSULAR CONTINENTS.

The Hindu philosophers describe the terraqueous globe as comprising seven insular continents and seven seas, the whole area of land and sea measuring 7,957,750 *yojanas*.

1. *Jambu Dwipa*[9] is an island surrounded by the ocean, and is the habitation of the human race and the greater part of the animal creation. They consider it together with half the ocean, as equal to a half of the whole globe. The breadth of the ocean is 130 *yojanas*, and the breadth of the island is

[8] Mr. Reuben Barrow's note on this is as follows: "Their intent was evidently to measure a degree of longitude in a parallel circle. The principle of the method was the same as that of our modern longitude watches; and the general practice was to adjust the *Siktajantra* to the time of the meridian they set out from: and to go eastward till the difference of the times shewn by it and by observation appeared to be one *ghari*. For if the instrument was exact, whatever meridian it was carried under, it would still continue show the time under the meridian of the first place: and if the place arrived at was one degree more to the east, the time found at that place (whether by the sun's rising or any other method) would be one *ghari* more, and so in proportion; and this is what is meant by the day being more advanced. The Hindus must doubtless have observed the necessity of allowing for the change of declination in the time of sunrise; but according to the mode prescribed by the author, it would be requisite to restrict the time of making the experiment to that of the solstice."

[9] The description of these islands, their extent, position and reference to European Geography, form a literature of their own, too disputed and uncertain in their details for dogmatism, were the Puranic Cosmography credible enough to be worth it. "Manifold are the opinions of people," says Brahmagupta, "relating to the description of the earth *viddha* Mount Meru, particularly among those who study the Puranas and the religious literature." I content myself with indicating for reference Chaps. XX to XXXII of Albiruni, and the *Vishnu Purana*.

1,265 *yojanas*, of which 65 are water, and the superficial area of this island with the sea is 3,978,875 *yojanas*, of which 417,360 are water. They say that in the centre of the Earth is a mountain of gold like an axis, and that part of it which with reference to *Jambu Dwipa* is above the Earth, is called *Sumeru* and is 84,000 *yojanas* [18] high. They believe that the degrees of paradise are on its summit and around its sides. It is said to be the same depth below the surface, and this is known as *Badwānal* and extraordinary fables are told of it. This is the account of the fanatical traditionists of this people, but the learned among them, like the Greeks, do not admit of a height over 2⅓ *farsakh*.

2. *Shāka-dwipa:* half the sea bounds it on one side, and its superficial extent is 427,424 *yojanas*. Beyond this is a sea of milk, of 801,097 *yojanas*.

3. *Shālmali Dwipa;* 320,120 *yojanas*. Beyond this is a sea of curds, of 633,553 *yojanas*.

4. *Kusha Dwipa:* 286,749 *yojanas*. Beyond this is a sea of butter, of 459,792 *yojanas*.

5. *Krauncha Dwipa:* 181,684 *yojanas*. The sea beyond is the juice of sugarcane, of 250,504 *yojanas*.

6. *Gomedaka Dwipa:* 86,580 *yojanas*. The sea beyond is of wine, of 71,648 *yojanas*.

7. *Pushkara Dwipa:* 14,204 *yojanas*. Beyond is the sea of sweet water, of 28,160 *yojanas*.

The breadth of each sea is 130 *yojanas*, and the breadth of each island, 70 *yojanas*. In these six last *Dwipas*, are located the degrees of the lower regions. The seven seas measure together 3,079,474 *yojanas* and the dry land 4,878,278 *yojanas*.

The habitation of men and animals extends to the 53rd degree of latitude, being 72[illegible] *yojanas*.

DESCRIPTION OF JAMBU DWIPA.

The legends regarding the six islands being beyond the limits of credibility, I put them aside and confine myself to a few particulars regarding Jambu.

Dividing the ocean, at each of the four cardinal directions with relation to the equatorial line, stands a city whose fenced walls are of bricks of gold. 1. *Yamakoti*. The earth's longitude is reckoned from this, but in the Greek treatises the Hindu canon is said to be based (as 0° of longitude) on *Gangdizh*,[10] the Greeks being really unaware from what point their [19] longitude was taken. 2. *Lanka*.[11] 3. *Siddhapura*. 4. *Romaka*. Each of these is distant 90 degrees from its neighbour and 180° from that which is opposite to it. The mountain *Sumeru* is distant 90° from each. The northern sides of these lie under the equinoctial circle which in Sanskrit is called *Vishuva-vritta*. This circle passes over the zenith of the inhabitants of these four cities, and the sun twice in the year reaches the zenith, and day and night throughout the year are nearly equal. The greatest altitude of the sun is 90°. His progression is from Lanka to Romaka, from thence to Siddhapura, continuing to Yamakoti and back to Lanka. When the sun is in the meridian of Yamakoti, it is sunrise at Lanka, sunset at Siddhapura, and midnight at Romaka, and when it is midday in Lanka, it rises at Romaka, sets at Yamakoti, and is midnight at Siddhapura. When he is in the meridian of Romaka it is sunrise at Siddhapura, sunset at Lanka and midnight at Yamakoti. When in the meridian of Siddhapura, the sun rises at

[10] This is said to be a fortress built by Zohāk in the city of Babylon. Some account of it will be found in the 2 Vol. (Macan's edit.) of the *Shāhnāmah*. According to Albiruni. Abu Maashar based his canon on this place as a first meridian.

[11] Lanka and Ujjain. With Adelard de Bath, Gerard of Cremona, Albert the Great and Roger Bacon the name appears as Arim or Arym, and this place received the name of the Cupola of the earth which was also applied to Lanka, Rein, ccxlvii. 1.

Yamakoti, sets at Romaka and it is midnight at Lanka. There is a difference of 15 *gharis* between each of these four places.

Again, north of Lanka towards Sumeru there are said to be three mountains: *Himāchala, Hemakuta* and *Nishadha*. These three mountains in this order stretch across from the shore of the eastern sea to the western quarter. From *Siddhapura* to Sumeru also are three other ranges. *Sringavanta, Sukla,* and *Nila*. There is another mountain between Yamakoti and Sumeru, called *Mālyavanta* adjoining Nishadha and Nila, and another between Romaka and Sumeru called *Gandhamādana* whose extremes meet the same two ranges.

Extraordinary are the legends regarding these mountains which cannot here be particularised, but something shall be set down of the region between Lanka and Himāchala, and a little stand exemplar for much. This intervening country is called *Bhārata-khanda*. *Bhārata* was a mighty sovereign and his tract was named after him. From Lanka to Himāchala which is 52 degrees, the country is inhabited, the settlements being particularly frequent up to the 48th degree, and less so through the remaining four, on account of the extreme cold.

[20] According to their supposition a celestial degree is equal to 14 *yojanas* on earth; the whole fifty-two degrees therefore are 728 *yojanas* which they consider to represent the habitable world. Between Himāchala and Hemakuta lies *Kinnara-khanda* comprising 12 degrees of latitude. Between Hemakuta and Nishadha is *Harikhanda* comprising the same number of degrees. Between Siddhapura and Sringavanta is *Kuru-khanda* occupying 52 degrees. Between Sringavanta and Shukla lies *Hiranmaya-khand* with 12 degrees of latitude, the whole of which is of gold. Between Shukla and Nila is the tract called *Ramyaka-khanda* comprising the same number of degrees of latitude, and between Yamakoti and

Mālyavanta is *Bhadrāsva-khanda* with an extent of 76°. Intermediate between Gandhamādana and Romaka is *Ketumāla* of 76°. Between Mālyvanta, Gandhamādana, Nishadha and Nila is *Ilāvrita* and extends 14° on each quarter.[12] The superficial measurement of these nine divisions is said to be equal, though the breadth of some is less than that of others.

On the four sides of Sumeru are four other mountains; that on the side of Yamakoti is called *Mandara;* that towards Lanka, *Sugandha Parvata;* on the Romaka quarter, *Vipula,* and towards Siddhapura, *Suparsva.* The height of each is 18,000 *yojanas.*

The nine divisions of Jambu-dwipa having been recorded, I now proceed to relate some particulars of the first division, *Bhārata-khanda.* Between Lanka and Himāchala are said to be seven mountain ranges, extending from east to west and smaller than the former ranges. These are, *Mahendra, Sukti, Malaya, Riksha, Pariyātra, Sahya, Vindhyā.*[13]

The tract between Lanka and Mahendra is called *Indra-khanda;* between it and Sukti, *Kaser;* between Sukti and Malaya, *Tāmravarna;* between Malaya and Riksha, *Gabhastimat;* between Riksha and Pāriyātra, *Nāg-khanda;* between Pāriyātra and Sahya, *Saumyakhanda.* The tract between Sahya and Vindhyā is divided in two parts, the eastern of

[12] These tracts are named after the nine sons of Agnidhra, the king of Jambu-dwipa, who were named, Nābhi, Kimpurusha, Harivarsha, Ilāvrita, Ramya, Hiranvat, Kuru, Bhadrāsva, and Ketumala. Vishnu Pur. See also the Siddhānta Siromani where all these names and divisions occur.

[13] I correct the readings of the text from the *Vishnu Purāna.* The Mahindra chain extends from Orissa to Gondwana, part of which near Ganjam is still called Mahindra Malei or hills of Mahindra. Sukti or Suktimat is doubtful. Sahya is the northern portion of the W. Ghats, the mountains of the Konkan ; Riksha, the mountains of Gondwana. Vindhya is here restricted to the eastern division of the chain. Pāriyātra or Pāripātra is the northern and western portion. The classification seems to have been known to Ptolemy. See Wilson's note. *Vish. P.* 174.

which is called *Kumāra-ḳhanda*, and the western *Vāruna-ḳhanda*.[14]

The upper half of the globe would be represented by the accompanying plate.

Lacuna.

The Hindus also divide the world into three regions. The upper is named *Swar-loka*, where the good receive the reward of their virtuous life. The middle region is *Bhur-loka*, which is the abode of mankind. The lower is called *Pātāla-loka*, where the wicked receive the punishment of their evil deeds.

The religious teachers of this creed conceive the world to be a superficies divided into fourteen parts. Seven superior, *viz.*, *Bhur-loka*, *Swar-loka*, *Mahar-loka*, *Jana-loka*, *Tapo-loka* and *Satya-loka* and the same number inferior, *Atala*, *Sutala*, *Vitala*, *Talātala*, *Mahātala*, *Rasātala*, and *Pātala*. They relate extraordinary legends regarding the inhabitants of each region which cannot be inserted in a summary narrative.

This people also speak of seven seas and seven islands (*dwīpas*), and nine divisions of Jambu-*dwipa*, but there is considerable diversity in their order, extent and other particulars; as for instance, the mountain Sumeru is reckoned to be 84,000 *yojanas* above ground, and 32,000 in breadth and 16,000 below the surface of the earth and the same in breadth. The habitable earth is not confined, they think, only to Bhāratakhanda nor even to Jambu-*dwipa*. They say that beyond the ocean there is a land of gold[15] which is the abode of men. Their duration of life extends to a thousand years, neither more nor less. Sickness and grief come not nigh them, neither have they fear nor greed nor ignorance. They follow not evil speaking nor jealousy nor calumny and live in peace, in rectitude and in charity. They lose not the

[14] For Kumāra, which is Kumārika in Wilford, the *Vishnu P.* has Gāndharva.

[15] This is Pushkara the 7th *Dwipa*, and recalls the land of Hevilath where gold groweth" in the 2nd Chap. of Genesis.

vigour of youth, neither are they invaded by [P. 22] weakness or decrepitude. They are of the same creed and race and have no distinction of food or clothing, and their wishes are gratified without toil. Of the other islands in like manner are wonderful legends told which the ordinary rigid formalist would not admit to a hearing, but do not surprise the adoring believer in Divine Omnipotence.

They also divide Kumārakhanda into two parts. The country where the black antelope is not found they call *Mlechchha-des*,[16] and regard it with contempt and unworthy of existence. The region where that animal is indigenous is called *Jag-des*, and it is subdivided into four parts. 1. *Aryavarta*, bounded on the east and west by the ocean, and north and south by two mountain ranges of Hindustān: 2. *Madhya-des*, to the east of which is Illahābās and to the west the river Vināsā, twenty-five *kos* from Thanesar, and bounded to the north and south by the same ranges. 3. *Brahmarikh-des* (Brahmarshi), comprises five places: 1. Thanesar and its dependencies; 2. Bairāth (*var.* Pairāth); 3. Kampila (*var.*

[16] The Mlechchhas are the *Kirātas* of the *Vishnu Pur.*, the inhabitants of the mountains east of Hindustan according to H. H. Wilson. Wilford places them in the mountains of the Deccan. All this passage is taken from the ordinances of Manu and the names are marred in the taking. Manu writes as follows in Sir W. Jones' translation: Chap. II.

(17.) Between the two divine rivers Saraswati and Drishadwati lies the tract of land which the sages have named Brahmāvarta because it was frequented by gods.

(19.) Kurukshetra, Matsya, Panchāla or Kānyakubja Surasena or Mathura form the region called Brahmarshi, distinguished from Brahmāvarta.

(21.) That country which lies between Himavat and Vindhyā to the east of Vinasana and to the west of Prayāga, is celebrated by the title of Madhya-desa or the central region.

(22.) As far as the eastern as far as the western ocean, between the two mountains just mentioned lies the tract which the wise have named Ariavarta, or *inhabited by respectable men.*

Burnell in his translation explains Vinasana as the terminus of the Saraswati. Prayāga is of course, Allahabad. Wilford identifies the Drishadwati as the Caggar or Gagar, but the courses of these rivers must have considerably altered. Cf. Wilson, *Vishnu Purāna*, p. 181, note.

Kanilah), 4. Mathurā; 5. Kanauj. 4 *Brahmāvarta*, the fertile tract between the Sarsuti (Saraswati) and Rākasi (Drishadwati) rivers.

On Terrestrial Longitude.

The Hindus term longitude *lambana*, and make it consist of 180° after the manner of the Greeks. They reckon its beginning (as 0° of longitude) from *Yamakoti* in the farthest east, apparently because following the movement of night and day, the nearest point to its origin is selected. The Greeks reckon from the Islands of the Blest. There are six[17] islands of the western ocean formerly inhabited, but now submerged beneath the sea. From their delightful climate, their choice production of fruits and flowers and the luxuriance of their vegetation, they were accounted a paradise. Men call them the Eternal Islands (*Khāldāt*) or the Fortunate (*Sa'dā*). Some assert that the Fortunate Isles are 24 in number between the Eternal Islands and the sea-shore. Of the Greeks, some take the reckoning of longitude from the shore of the western (Atlantic) ocean which they call *Okeanós*[18] which is 10° east

[17] The number mentioned by Ptolemy and Pliny instead of seven, the actual number of the *ai ton Makāron nysoi*. A table of their ancient and modern names will be found in W. Smith's Dict.

Reinaud notices the distinction or confusion made by the Arabs between the Eternal Isles or Islands of the Blest, and the Fortunate Isles. Abulfeda confounds them, but Ibn Sayd places the Fortunate Isles among the Eternal and about them, making the latter 6 in number and the former 24 and distributing them among the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd climates between the 16th and 30th degrees of north latitude, thus allowing the inference that the Fortunate Isles are the Canaries and the Eternal the Cape de Verde. *Geog. Abulf.* Intro. ccxxiv.

[18] According to a fragment of Phavorinus, not a Greek word, but derived from the barbarians probably connected with Sanskrit. Among the Greeks the son of Uranus and Gaia, became in physical geography, a *river* or stream circumfluent round the earth, and the large expanses of water are distinguished by Herodotus as *seas*. But the idea of the encircling waters became transferred as a secondary meaning to the ocean and specially to the Atlantic which was called the Great Sea, the Outer Sea, the Atlantic or simply the Ocean. Smith's *Dict. Geog.*

of the Eternal Islands. The distance of the shore from the islands is 222 2/9 *farsakh* according to the system of the ancients, or 189 8/9 *farsakh* according to the moderns, the latter being guided to this conclusion by observation of the motion of the Zodiacal signs in succession and the proximity of the place. In the longitudinal reckoning of places both are agreed. The longitude is an arc of the equatorial between its point of upper intersection with the meridian measured from the beginning of the habitable earth (the first meridian), and its point of upper intersection with the meridian of the given place, and the interval is the distance between the place and the first meridian at its nearest side.[19]

To find the longitude; at the first meridian or a place whose longitude is known, observe the exact time of the occultation of light in a lunar-eclipse, its duration and initial or total reappearance, and let a similar observation be made at the place whose unknown longitude is required. If the time be the same on both, their longitude will be the same. If the time be later at the place required, the city is more to the eastward.[20] The difference of the times of observation is taken, and an excess in the number of degrees over the place whose longitude is known, is allotted on the calculation of six degrees for every *ghari* and fifteen degrees for every hour, reckoning 4 minutes to the degree. If the time be earlier, the city is more westerly and the calculation is the

[19] This is the literal translation, but it must be taken to include the meaning that the arc of the equator intercepted between the two meridians may be reckoned on any parallel of latitude as well as on the equator. It must be remembered with reference to what is termed the point of upper intersection that all south of the equator is supposed to be water and uninhabited and that therefore the upper half circle only of the equatorial is considered.

[20] The rule in the *Surya Siddhānta* is as follows:

At the given place if the Moon's total darkness (in her eclipse) begins or ends after the instant when it begins or ends at the Middle line of the Earth, then the given place is E. of the Middle line, (but if it begins or ends) before the instant (when it begins or ends on the Middle line, then) the given place is west of the Middle line.

reverse of that for the east. According to the system of the Hindu astronomers who begin their reckoning of longitude from the east, in the first instance, the number of degrees will diminish, and in the second case, increase.

On Terrestrial Latitude.

This is called by the Hindus *Akṣha*. It is reckoned from Lanka and carried to the 52nd degree of latitude. All within this region is populous, but less so up to 14° further (north) on account of the severity of the cold. The Greeks reckon their latitude from the equator, and and as their circle passes through Lanka, there is no discrepancy and the result is the same. The latitude of a place is an arc extending from the equator between the meridian of the place, and its upper intersection with the equinoctial. In short it is the distance of the meridian of the city from the equinoctial, and that is the degree of the elevation of the pole (above the horizon of the place).

To find the latitude.[21] Take the latitude of a (circumpolar) star that is constantly visible, and ascertain its highest and lowest points of ascension. Subtract the lesser from the greater and add half the remainder to the lesser, or subtract it from the greater. The result of this process of addition and subtraction gives the latitude of the place. Or

During either equinox, take the altitude of the sun at noon. Subtract this from 90° and the remainder is the latitude of the place. Or

When the sun enters the first of Cancer, take its greatest altitude and subtract its total declination. The remainder will give the co-latitude. Subtract this from 90° and the remainder gives the latitude of the place.

[21] Albiruni says in his 29th Chapter on India, that the Hindu method of determining the latitude of a place had not come to his knowledge.

Every place whose longitude is less than 90° is called west longitude, and greater than 90° east longitude. According to the Hindus it is the reverse. Every place whose latitude is less than 33°, is south, and greater than 33°, north latitude.

In order to ascertain the (times of) worldly events, at the sun's first entry into Aries, they observe its rising at Lanka, and finding the horoscope, they assemble to determine the calculation and this they call *Lankudaya Lagna*.[22] The oblique ascension is used to determine the relative conditions of any particular place, and is called *Nagr-udaya Lagna*. The Greeks observe this system, but they have two *ascendens* or horoscopes, one at the extreme east to ascertain the circumstances of one hemisphere and the second at the cupola of the earth which is the means of discovering the [24] conditions of the other. They consider that as the circle of the meridian cuts the globe of the earth, it appears as a circle on its circumference and intersects the equatorial line. The point of intersection (Lanka) is called the cupola or the centre of the earth. Some

[22] The etymology of these terms is thus given in the *Siddhānta Siromani*.

That point of the ecliptic which is, at any time, on the eastern horizon is called the Lagna or horoscope. This is expressed in signs and degrees and reckoned from the first point of stellar Aries. That point which is on the western horizon is called the Asta-Lagna or setting horoscope. The point of the ecliptic of the meridian is called the Madhya-Lagna or middle horoscope (culminating point of the ecliptic). The Udaya-Lagna is the rising horoscope or the point of the ecliptic which comes to the eastern horizon at the same time with the planet, its Asta-Lagna being the setting horoscope or the point of the ecliptic which is on the eastern horizon when the planet reaches the western horizon.

According to a paper in the *As. Res.* II, by Samuel Davis, the Hindus signify by the *Lagna of Lanka*, those points of the equator which rise respectively with each 30th degree of the ecliptic in a right sphere, answering to the right ascension in any latitude. By the Lagna of any particular place, the oblique ascension or the divisions of the equator which rise in succession with each sign in an oblique sphere. By the horoscope is signified the point of the ecliptic rising at a given time after sunrise, the rule to find which is given in the *Surya Siddhānta*, (Bāpu Deva, p. 39). The omphalos which marked Delphi as the centre of Greece and of the Earth, existed in the temple of Delphi during the historic period.

suppose the cupola to be in the middle of the *oikoiméný*, that is at a spot situated in Lon. 90°, Lat. 33°. Others place it in the fourth climate, Lon. 9°, Lat. 36°.

A brief description of the cosmogony according to the strange theories of Hindu sages having been given, I here note some particulars of the system of the Greeks to relieve the dryness of this exposition.

There are nine integral heavens[23]. 1. The greatest heaven, called also the crystalline, whose revolution is the cause of night and day. 2. The heaven of the fixed stars. 3. The heaven of Saturn. 4. The heaven of Jupiter. 5. The heaven of Mars. 6. The heaven of the Sun. 7. The heaven of Venus. 8. The heaven of Mercury. 9. The heaven of the Moon. There are besides fifteen minor spheres. Again, the elemental spheres are nine in number.

The first is of Fire: its convex adjoins the concave of the sphere of the moon.

[23] The *Istilāhātu'l Funun* describes the heavens (*āflāk*) as of two kinds: (1) the integral or independent (*Kullya*) which are *not* parts of other heavens, and, (2) the supplemental or dependent (*juzya*) that are so. The integral sphere is simple (*mughrad*) when it has no dependent sphere, such as the great or crystalline heaven; and it is compound (*markab*) if it has such, like the heavens of the planets. Its definition of the word "heaven" (*falk*) corresponds to that of *āsmān* at p. 14. The great or crystalline heaven, the sphere *par excellence* which includes all others is called also the heaven of heavens, the universal heaven (*falk-ul-kul*), the starless, the lofty, the all-comprehending, &c. It is the *primum mobile* having a swift motion from E. to W. completed in less than 24 hours, and its movement carries round the other heavens and all in them, for being itself the prime motor, it possesses the force to compel the motion of all included by it, for it is the motor of them in *essentia rei* and of all in them *per accidens*. The crystalline sphere of Anaximander was handed down to the middle ages as a cosmical theory and the firmament was supposed to consist of from 8 to 10 glassy spheres encasing each other like the coats of an onion. The vault was called crystalline from the supposed condensation of the air into a solid transparent body by the action of fiery ether.

Albiruni (Chap. XX) accepting the necessity of eight spheres, sees no object in a ninth, which was unknown to Plato. For Islamic astronomy, see *Ency. Islam*, i. 497-501.

The second, of Air: of this there are four strata, *viz.*, 1. *volatilised* where the fluid is permeated by vapour, for the ascending vapours do not reach this point but become dissipated. It is here that comets, Zodiacal light,[24] luminous streams and meteors and the like have their origin. The Hindus regard them all as astral bodies of which they number a thousand kinds, and believe that they are always in existence but only occasionally visible:[25] 2. *predominant*, where the shooting stars are observed: 3. *boreal*, which is a vaporous wind and extremely cold in which clouds, lightning, thunder and thunderbolts take their rise: 4. *dense*, and this adjoins the spheres of Water and Earth.

The third, of Water: this surrounds the earth and from the effect of light and contact with earth, does not retain its original purity and thus waters varying in sweet, saline, clear, and turbid qualities spring from the soil and are diverse in their scantiness, excess, limpidity and density.

The fourth, Earth: this according to their notions lies in three strata (α) that which by the bounty of the Creator came forth from the waters and subjected to heat became dry land, wherein is the region of mountain and mine and the habitat of the greater number of animals; (β) clay, which is earth

[24] The term *Nezak* or *Nayzak* (a short spear) was first applied, according to Humboldt, (*Kosmos* I, 128 Otte), by the Court astronomers of Persia to the strange light never before observed, seen in 1688 in Persia and described by the great traveller Chardin. In his *Atlas du Voyage*, however, he applies the term *nyāzak* to the famous comet which appeared over nearly the whole world in 1688 and whose head was so hidden in the west that it could not be seen in the horizon of Ispahan.

[25] "The belief in the existence of non-luminous stars was diffused amongst the ancient Greeks and in the early ages of Christianity. The doubt as to the passing away and reappearance of stars is expressed by Pliny in his mention of Hipparchus, "Stellæ an obirent nascerenturve?" The authority of Humboldt is opposed to the doctrine of their annihilation and affirms that the cosmical alteration is merely the transition of matter into new forms and that dark cosmical bodies may by a renewed process of light again become luminous. *Kosmos* III, pp. 222—254. Otte.

mixed with water; (γ) earth simple, and this is about the centre of the globe.

Some writers blindly following traditional lore hold that the Earth like the heavens consists of seven vaults, and another school believes that the heavens overshadow them all, and that each earth is surrounded by a mountain, as the mountain of *Qāf*[26] surrounds this habitable world. They also assert that the earths are of gold, and ruby and the like. Some pretend that beyond Qāf there are seventy regions of gold, followed by as many of musk and imagine similar extraordinary strata. Though fable may create a hundred other such fancies, no proof can substantiate them.

Extent of Desert and Habitable Land.

The equinoctial is a great circle, the two poles whereof are the two poles of the earth. The one which is in the direction of Ursa Minor called also *Banāt u'n Naash*, is the north pole. The constellation of the [P. 25] Kid[27] is adjacent to it. The other is the south pole[28]. When the sun passes over this circle, night and day are of equal length in all places, either actually or approximately, and this occurs in the first

[26] Albiruni says (XXIII) that the mountain called by his people Qāf, is Lokaloka with the Hindus. (a fabulous belt of mountain boundary, beyond the seven seas and dividing the visible world from the regions of darkness).

[27] *Jidy*. It is not a constellation but *a* of Ursa Minor, *i.e.*, the polar star. Reinaud (Abulf. I. cxciv) calls it le Chevreau and points out that its other signification of Capricorn has led astray several savants, notably Silvestre de Sacy (*Recueil des Notices* t. VIII, p. 146, et. 178). The Bear which does not set for those who live north of the equator, serves the Arabs to mark the north while Canopus which is always visible to them, marks the south. Reinaud. Ibid.

[28] "It is well known", says Albiruni (xxii) "that the north pole with us is called the Great Bear, and the south pole, Canopus. But some of our people maintain that in the south of heaven too, there is a Great Bear of the same shape as the northern, which revolves round the southern pole." The Greek word πολος originally signified a ball or sphere and hence was applied to the cavity of the heavens.

of Aries and Libra. From this imaginary circle being drawn upon the concave surface of the *magnus orbis*, a great circle is delineated upon the earth which divides it into two-halves north and south, the periphery being called the equatorial line where night and day are always equal.

The horizon is of two kinds, the *real* and the *sensible*, and the latter is to be understood in two ways. The *first* is a circle parallel to the *real* horizon and contiguous to the surface of the earth. The *second* is a circle which divides the visible portion of the sphere from the invisible, and this horizon is also called the visible, the radial and the horizon of vision. The zenith and nadir are its two poles, which vary with the spectator and his position. The *real* horizon is a great circle, having the same two poles, and the distance of the *first sensible* horizon from the *real*, is half the earth's diameter, and by this the *real* horizon is obtained.[29] And as the equatorial line divides the earth into two halves, the northern and the southern, the circle of the *real* horizon divides those two halves again into two, an upper and a lower. Thus by these two circles, the earth is apportioned into four quarters, an upper and lower northern, and similar southern divisions. The Greeks supposed the northern quarter only to be above water, but they have determined this by no proof. Its creation was assigned to the power of the Sun, in order that animal life to which breathing is a necessity, might secure the capacity to exist and the wondrous power of human speech become manifest. Through the force of the celestial light and the accretional properties of matter in the upper

[29] That is, in those regions where the sun's rays fall directly and not obliquely upon the earth. So Albiruni says "The country S. of the Line is not known and the earth is too much burnt to be habitable. Parts of the inhabited world do not reach nearer the equator than to a distance of several days journey. There the water of the sea is dense because the sun so intensely vapourises the particles of water that fishes and other animals keep away from it. . . . The sun when reaching the perigee of his excentric sphere, stands nearly in its utmost southern declination and burns all the countries over which he culminates." *Chronology*, 249.

regions, and by the action of the winds and the commotion of the seas, lofty mountains and marvellous configurations of hills and profound abysses were produced. And because the tendency of water is to flow downwards and the earth thereby becomes viscous, the fermentation of heat and the disintegrating process of time caused the rise of mountainous ranges.

When the sun culminates in the northern signs of the ecliptic from Aries to Virgo, its lowest declination from the equator will necessarily occur in the southern signs. From Libra to Pisces are the signs culminating in the winter solstice. At this time the sun is nearest the sphere of the earth and the warmth is excessive, the heat absorbing moisture as may be witnessed by experiment with a lamp. The solstice continues in the same sign during 2,100 years and the entire revolution is made in 25,200 years, one-half of this period being occupied in the northern and the other in the southern signs.[30] It is now in the 3rd degree of Cancer and the opposite solstitial point is in the same degree of Capricorn. It is this ecliptic movement that has caused the northern quarter of the globe to become *terra firma*. Its superficial area, according to the ancients, is 5,090,000 and according to the moderns 3,678,233½ *farsakh*. The rule to find this is to multiply the diameter by ¼ of the circumference and the product will be the measurement of the quarter of the globe, or divide the superficial area of the whole globe by 4 and the quotient gives the area of the quarter. There is a difference of opinion as to whether the quarter of the globe was created *terra firma* or became so at a later period. The majority incline to the latter belief from the consideration of the proximity of the solstitial points. They affirm that the whole of the fourth

[30] The precession of the equinoxes was discovered by Hipparchus. At that time the point of the autumnal equinox was about 6° east of Spica Virgins. In 1750, *i.e.*, about 1900 years afterwards, this point was observed 26° 21′ west of that star. Hence the equinoctial points will make an entire revolution in 25,745 years.

part of the globe was *terra firma*, but that now a great part of it is submerged such as the Eternal Islands, Greece and and other places.

[26] The *Oikoiméný* is declared not to extend in latitude beyond the complement of the greatest declination of the Sun from the equator[31] which is 60° 29′ 43″, as animal life could not exist beyond this point from the severity of the cold The superficial area of the *oikoiméný* is taken by the ancients from the equatorial line to a place whose latitude is equal to the complement of the sun's greatest declination from the equator. According to the Gurgāni Canon, the superficial area is 4,668,502 7/60 *farsakh* and according to the moderns 3,370,992¾ *farsakh*. Some say that a portion of the upper southern quarter adjoining the northern quarter is *terra firma* but not inhabited. Others affirm that it is inhabited as far as 10° south. Ptolemy[32] in his Geography allows 16° 25′ and near the Zanj and Abyssinian, further still. A few even suppose that the other three-fourths of the globe are also above water and inhabited.

Ancient traditions relate that Alexander after his conquest of the northern quarter of the globe, desiring to obtain some information of the remaining quarters and of the seas thereof, named several bold and scientific explorers for this duty, and supplying them, confident in their providential

[31] That is to say, the greatest northern declination from the equator being according to our calculation 23° 27′ 27″ ; this subtracted from 90° will give the complement of the arc from the equator to the north pole ; and this complement, *viz.*, 66° 32′ 33″ reckoned *from the equator* measures the limit, in the sense of the text, within which men can live and beyond which in a northerly direction, they cannot.

[32] Ptolemy placed the southern limit of the habitable world as, Abul Fazl rightly states later in the parallel of 16¼ degrees of S. Lat. at Antimerooe, and the northern limit in 63° N. Lat. which passes through Thule, supposed to be the Shetlands. This range therefore includes 79¼ degrees. The total degrees of longitude of the habitable parts of the earth he accounts to be 177¼. *Cosmog. Fol. Venet.* 1486, Chap. XII and Mc. Crindle, *Anc. Ind.*, 5.

mission in the pursuit of knowledge, with six months' provisions, embarked them in a sea-going vessel. After sailing day and night, through the period mentioned, they fell in with some vessels, but from diversity of tongues they were unable to understand each others' intentions. A fight ensued and Alexander's party was victorious. With some of the captives they intermarried. The children of these marriages spoke the languages of both their parents and from these nurslings of life it was discovered that a certain prince had despatched this band also with the same object, and after a three months' continuous sail the encounter had taken place. But this account is disputed.[33] In other ancient writings it is related that Alexander sent out a party of scientific men thoroughly proficient in the knowledge of various languages, on an expedition by sea with provisions for three years. They were instructed to sail eastwards for a period of a year and a half towards the rising places of the stars, and then to return and relate their experience. This party after sailing the appointed time reached a flourishing coast and they learnt that they had penetrated to the country of Bactria. Alexander for a time appointed some of his ministers to the government of this province.

At the present day, those of more exact information declare that the south is inhabited in the same way as the north. Of late years the Europeans have discovered an extensive and populous insular continent which they have called the New World. Some shattered vessels had been here driven ashore. A man mounted on horseback was seen by the inhabitants. Mistaking the man and his horse for a single animal they were overcome by fear and the country fell an easy capture.

[33] Such is the literal translation of this ridiculous account but nothing is too childish or incredible for Abul Fazl's narrative.

Division of the Earth into Countries.

The learned have divided the *oikoy mene* into seven parts, to each of which they have given the name of *klima*. Some reckon from the equator as Ptolemy shows in his [27] *Almagest*.[34] Another school omitting 12° 45′ north of the equator, divide the remainder and terminate as is known at the 50° 31° parallel of latitude.[35] In the former case, therefore, the parallels from the equator will be seven circles and in the latter, eight. The seven belts which these lines form are called *climates*. A climate therefore is a belt on the surface of the earth between two semi-circles parallel with

[34] In the *Almagest* (II. 6) he marks ten climates north of the equator, beginning at the parallel of Taprobane in lat. 4° 15′ and ending at that of Thule in lat. 63° ; and in the south, beginning at the equator or the parallel of Cape Raptum and ending at the parallel of Antimeroe in 16° 25′. In the Geography he gives 19 climates ; as far as the 16th climate, which is the arctic circle, twelve are determined by the increase of half an hour in the length of the longest day, the 13th and 14th, one hour, and the 15th and 16th, two hours. In the remaining climates within the arctic circle, the days no longer increase by hours but by months. *Dict. of Antiq.* W. Smith.

[35] The double theory of longitude is thus explained by Albiruni in his XXIX Chap. (Sachau's Transl. I. 304). "Some adopt as the beginning of longitude the shore of the Atlantic Ocean and they extend the first quarters as far as the environs of Balkh. . . . . So that Shaburgān and Ujjain are placed on the same meridian. A theory which so little corresponds to reality is quite valueless. Others adopt the Islands of the Happy Ones as the beginning of longitude and the quarters of the *oikoumene* they extend thence as far as the neighbourhood of Jurjan and Nishāpur." That is, with Ptolemy's division of the circumference of the globe into 360°, the 90° naturally fell in the middle of the habitable world and was taken as the central meridian. This was accounted to pass through Lanka and Ujjain but they deflected it for some strange reason to the N. W. Among the Arabs, some, after the example of Ptolemy, took their first meridian from the Fortunate Isles, others from the W. Coast of Africa making a difference of 10°. According to the first computation the 90° fell on Nishapur in Khorāsān, and to the second on the town of Shaburgān about a day's march W. of Balkh. See Reinaud, *Geography*, I, ccxliv. This difference of 10° may be constantly observed in comparing Abul Fazl's longitude with the authorities of Abulfeda.

each other and with the equator. A climate increases in length as it approaches the equator; moreover its first parallel will be longer than its second. It is demonstrable from (experiment with) spheres that every parallel circle increases as it nears the equatorial line. The length of the first parallel of the first climate is said to be 11,856 miles approximately, and the length of its second parallel 11,230, while the length of the last parallel of the seventh climate is 1,627 *farsakh*. But every climate, like the longitudinal extension of the earth from west to east, is divided into an equal number of degrees of longitude, and not more or less in proportion to its length. The latitude of each belt varies.

There are two reasons given for the selection of seven as this number. The first is that ancient sages have verified by experience that each tract of superficial area was specially connected with one of the planets, as for instance, the first climate with Saturn. For this reason the inhabitants of that zone generally are dark-skinned, curly-haired, long-lived and indolent in action. The second climate, according to the Persians, had an affinity with Jupiter, but according to the Romans, with the Sun. The third climate, in the opinion of the former, with Mars, in that of the latter, with Mercury. The fourth, with the Sun, as the first mentioned suppose, but with Jupiter according to the second opinion. Both concur in ascribing the fifth to Venus. The sixth is allotted by the first to Mercury, by the second to the Moon. The seventh, the former connect with the Moon, the latter with Mars. The second opinion is that in former ages a single monarch ruled the whole habitable earth. With far-seeing and prudent policy he divided it severally among his seven sons.

The word *climate* may be taken in two senses, *viz.*, the ordinary sense in which men commonly speak of a tract of country as a climate, such as Rome, Turān, Irān and Hindustān; and the true signification already explained. In

the latter meaning India is an aggregate of the first, second, third and fourth climates.

The beginning of the first climate is defined by general opinion to be north of the equator. Its latitude according to accurate information is 12° 42′ 2″ 39‴. Its longest day is 12 hours and 45 minutes. Its centre has a location according to concurrent testimony, where its longest day is 13 hours. Its latitude is 16° 37′ 30″. Twenty large mountains and thirty considerable rivers are comprised in it, and its population are generally black in colour.

The beginning of the second climate has a latitude of 20° 31′ 17″ 58‴. Its longest day consists of 13 hours fifteen minutes. The longest day at its centre is 13 hours, 30 minutes. Its latitude is 24° 40′. It includes 27 mountains and 27 rivers. The colour of the inhabitants of this zone is between black and wheat colour.

The beginning of the third climate has a latitude of 27° 34′ 3″ 33‴. Its longest day is 13 hours, 45 minutes. Its day at the centre is of 14 hours and the latitude 30° 40′. It comprises 33 mountains and 22 rivers, and its inhabitants are generally of a wheat colour.

The beginning of the fourth climate has a latitude of 33° 43′ 17″ 36‴. Its longest day, 14 hours, 15 minutes. At the centre the longest day is of 14 hours, 30 minutes. Lat. 36° 22′. It includes 25 mountains and 22 rivers; the colour of its inhabitants is between wheat colour and a fair skin.

The beginning of the fifth climate is in Lat. 35° 0′ 19″ 5‴. Longest day, 14 hours, 45 minutes. Longest day at centre, 15 hours. Lat. 41° 15′. Colour of inhabitants fair. Has 30 mountains and 15 rivers.

The beginning of the sixth climate is in Lat. 43° 29′ 58″ 8‴. Longest day, 15 hours, 15 minutes. Longest day at centre, 15 hours, 30 minutes. Lat. 45° 21′. Has 11

mountains 40 rivers. Colour of inhabitants fair inclining to tawny and with tawny hair.

The beginning of the seventh climate is in Lat. 47 58′ 59″ 17‴. Longest day, 15 hours, 45 minutes. Longest day at centre, 16 hours. Lat. 48° 52′. Its mountains and rivers as in the sixth climate. Colour of inhabitants ruddy and white. Its extreme parallel according to general opinion is in Lat. 50° 31′ 31″ 54‴. The longest day 16 hours, 15 minutes.

The differences in latitude of these climates are determined by the increase of half an hour in the length of the longest day. From the last parallel to the furthest inhabited point is not included in a climate on account of the paucity of its inhabitants. Some suppose the northern-most parallel of the seventh climate to be the extreme of the habitable world. According to others, the parallel of 50° 20′ is inhabited, but they do not include it in this climate; and there is an island called Thule in Lat. 63°. From the severity of the cold the inhabitants pass their days in heated chambers. In Lat. 63° 30′ is habitable land the dwellers wherein are Scythians as recorded by Ptolemy. In Lat. 66° a tract has been discovered the inhabitants of which resemble wild animals, as mentioned [29] by him in the Geographia. The remaining portion of the quarter of the globe is according to some, a tenantless waste, while others regard it as simply unknown country. In Lat. 54° and a fraction, the longest day is 17 hours; in Lat. 58°, 18 hours; in Lat. 61°, 19 hours; in Lat. 63°, 20 hours; in Lat. 64° 30′, 21 hours; in Lat. 65° and a fraction, 22 hours; and in 66° 23 hours, and in the latitude, equal to the complement of the sun's greatest declination from the equator, 24 hours. In Lat. 67° the day increases by one month, in Lat. 70°, 1¾ months; in Lat. 73° 30′, three months; in Lat. 78° 30′, four months; in Lat. 84°, five months, and in the Lat. 90° which is the extremity of the

earth, the day is said to be of six months, and the other six months is night. But it is more correct to say that a year is one nycthemeron. If the day be reckoned from sunrise to sunset, the day there would be seven nycthemera longer than the nights, but if it be calculated from the dawn of light and the disappearance of the fixed stars, to the occultation of light and the reappearance of the stars, the day there would be seven months and seven days and the remainder (*of the year*) night. Again if the day be counted from the dawn of morning to the evanescence of twilight, this day would be of nine months and seventeen days and the complement of the year would be the night.[36]

To lend an interest to this work a table of the various climates with other details is here introduced.

Tables for the ascertainment of the Longitudes and Latitudes of places of the inhabited quarter of the globe from the Latitude of the Equator, according to the learned, especially of places beyond the limits of the seven climates to the 60th Degree of Latitude.

PLACES BEYOND THE CLIMATES, ADJOINING THE EQUATOR.

NAMES OF PLACES.	LONGTUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
The Equator ...	12	...	...	...	The lat. is taken at 12° N. of the true Equator. V. p. 66.
The Island of Tirufai ...	12	35	15	...	
Shore of the Atlantic ...	11	...	...	...	

[36] The following table, from Ukert, showing the climates of Ptolemy (Geog. I, 23) is taken from the Dict. of Antiq. for purpose of comparison with Abul Fazl's account.

Climate.	Parallel.	Longest Day.		Latitude.		Passing through.
		h.	m.			
	1	12	0	0°	0′	
I	2	12	15	4	15	Taprobane.
	3	12	30	8	25	Sinus Avalites.
II	4	12	45	12	30	Adule Sinus.
	5	13	0	16	27	Meroe.
III	6	13	15	20	14	Napata.
	7	13	30	23	51	Syene.
IV	8	13	45	27	12	Ptolemais in Egypt.
	9	14	0	30	2	Lower Egypt.
V	10	14	15	33	18	Middle of Phœnicia.
	11	14	30	36	0	Rhodus.
VI	12	14	45	38	35	Smyrna.
	13	15	0	40	56	Hellespont.
VII	14	15	15	43	41	Massilia.
	15	15	30	45	1	Middle of the Euxine.
VIII	16	15	45	46	51	Sources of the Danube.
	17	16	0	48	32	Mouth of the Borysthenes.
IX	18	16	15	50	4	Middle of Palus the Macotis.
	19	16	30	51	40	Southern Britain.
X	20	16	45	52	50	Mouths of the Rhine.
	21	17	0	54	30	Mouths of the Tanais.
XI	22	17	15	55	0	The Brigantes in Britain.
	23	17	30	56	0	Brittania Magna.
XII	24	17	45	57	0	Caturactonium in Britain.
	25	18	0	58	0	South of Brittania Parsa.
XIII	26	18	30	59	30	Middle of ditto.
	27	19	0	61	0	North of ditto.
XIV	28	19	30	62	0	Ebudes Insulae.
	29	20	0	63	0	Thule.
XV	30	21	0	64	30	Unknown Scythian Tribes.
	31	22	0	65	30	Unknown Scythian Tribes.
XVI	32	23	0	66	0	
	33	24	0	66°8′40″		
XVII	34	1 month about		67°	15′	
	35	—		69	30	
XVIII	36	—		73	20	
	37	—		78	20	
XIX	38	—		84	0	
	39	—		90	0	

PLACES BEYOND THE CLIMATES, ADJOINING THE EQUATOR.

NAMES OF PLACES

Island of Qumbulah (Madagascar), Long. 21, Lat. 8.—Qumr, according to Yaqut. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 64.

Sinus Avalites, Long. 12·30, Lat. 8·25.—The Gulf of Aden.

Ghānah, gold mines, a town in the Sudan, Long. 30, Lat. 10.—Said by Ibn Sayd to be on the Niger, gold dust exported. M. Cooley in his *Negroland*, p. 44 locates it near Timbuctoo. Abul Fed. *Geog.* Reinaud II, I, 21. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 139.

SOUTH OF THE EQUATOR.

Gogo, Long. 44, Lat. 10·15.—On its W. Ghānah: on the E. Kanem. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 172.

Sofālah of the Zanj country, Long. 52, Lat. 2·30.—In the Mozambique country, S. of the Zambesi. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 469.

Middle of the Lake of Koura, Long. 80, Lat. 4.—According to the *Resam Al Mamour*, its centre is placed in 53½ Long, Lat. zero. Left bank 52 Long., right bank 54. Ibn Sayd makes the Egyptian Nile flow out of its N. quarter, the Nile of Madakshon from the E. and the Nile of Ghanah (Niger) from the W. On its E. and S. a mountain called Almaksam. Reinaud, Abul F. II, I. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 916-921 (under *al-Nil*.)

Jimi on the Nile, Long. 63·15, Lat. 9·11.—The text has the min. of Lat. 401! According to Ibn Sayd, it is in 53 Long., Lat. 9·3—capital of Kanem country and called by Maqrizi, *Aldjema*. Reinaud, *Geog. Abulf*, II. I.

Saharta, Long. 64, Lat. 6.—A dist. of Abyssinia, Long. 54, Lat. 5, but the 1st climate of Ibn Sayd begins from the Equator and terminates at 16·27 N. Lat. (Now called Tigre. *Ency. Islam*, I. 119.)

Jarmi, capital of Abyssinia, Long. 65, Lat. 6.—Probably Jumi, identified with Axum, formerly Axuma. Rein. *ibid*. *Ency. Islam*, i. 119.

Zaghāwah, Long. 66, Lat. 2.—The Long. varies from 54 to 60 and the Lat. from 1 to 11½ in three tables given by Abul F. The people of Zaghāwah are subject to the Kanem and their country is 20 marches from Dongola. For Kanem, *Ency. Islam*, ii 712-715.

Hadyah, Long. 66, Lat. 2.—Long. 57·3 N. Lat. 7, a town of Abyssinia S. of Vefat or Aufat. *Ency. Islam*, i. 119.

Zailah, Long. 71, Lat. 8.—Ibn Sayd 66 Long., 10·55 N. Lat. Kanun-ul-Mumtanih and Kitāb-ul Atwal, 61 (A port on the African coast of the Gulf of Aden. *Ency. Isl.*, iv. 1198.)

Makdishu, Long. 72, Lat. 2.—Now called Magadoxo on the littoral below Somaliland. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 165.

Aden, Long. 76, Lat. 11.

Barbera, Long. 78, Lat. 6·30.—In the Gulf of Aden.

Sinus Adulicus, Long. 12·15, Lat. 12·30.—*Adoulikos Koltos*, Annesley Bay. The text has confounded this with the Sinus Avalites, but Ukert's Table of climates shows what is intended. Adulis, the modern Zulla is placed by Ptolemy, Long. 67, Lat. 11·66. *Cosmograph*, Fol. Venet, 1486.

Shibām, capital of Hadramaut, Long. 81·15, Lat. 12·30.

Mirbāt, between Hadramaut and Omān, Long. 82, Lat. 12.—It is situate in the littoral of El Shehr and is the port of Dhafar. The mountains of Dhafar are famed for the incense produced there.

Island of Serandip (Ceylon), Long. 130, Lat. 12.—Atwal and Qānun, Long. 12, Lat. 10.

Island of Socotra, of India, Caret.—Atwal, Long. 74·30, Lat. 12. Qānun Long. 66·30, Lat. 9. Abul F. Long. 74·30, Lat. 9.

Mountains of Qāmerun produces Lignum Aloes. Long. 130, Lat. 10.—According to Reinaud (Introd. Abulf. ccclxxxvii) this is Kāmrup in Assam, called by the Arabs Camround and famous for its aloes.

Island of Lāmri, of India, produces the wood *baqqam*. Long. 130, Lat. 9.—The Lambri of Marco Polo (Rein. II. I. 131). Baqqam is the Caesalpinia found in most parts of India of which Roxb. gives 18 kinds. It is a kind of Brazil wood.

Island of Kalah, of India, Long. 140, Lat. 8.—Called by Abulf. the port of all the regions between Oman and China. Exports tin called by its name, *i.e.*, *kalai*, which Reinaud says may be from the Malay *Kala*. Walckenaer places Kalah in Malacca in the province of Keydah opposite the island of Sumatra. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 669, under *Kalah* (fully discussed).

Island of Mahārāj, of India, Long. 150, Lat. 1.—A large island in the Green Sea (Indian Ocean). Abulf. II, II, 132. Ibn Sayd says that the Mahārāja are in clusters of numerous

islands, the largest of which is the seat of royalty, most probably Borneo. The Arabs extended India as far as the Java Archipelago, v. Reinaud, I, cccxxxi.

Yamakoti, Long. 176, Lat. 5.

Sila, in China, Long. 80, Lat. 8·5.—Extreme of Eastern China. Abulf. Reinaud, II. II, p. 124 ; according to Reinaud, Corea.

Gangdizh, on the shore of the Eastern sea, Long. 180.

Iram, "adorned with lofty pillars" (*Qurān* 89) said to be in Yemen. See Sale's *Koran* for the story of this paradise of Shaddād b. 'Ād. It was said to have been fashioned after the paradise of Adam, with walls of gold and columns of ruby and emerald. *Ency. Islam*, ii, 519-520.

The First Climate

Shore of the Ocean, Long. 20, Lat. 16·33.—The Atlantic Ocean is meant, Greek *Okeanos*.

Island of Mādunah, Long. 23, Lat. 36·27.—Perhaps Madura off Java. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 103.

Amalltu *variant* Amantu, Long. 28·5, Lat. 20·14.

Barisā, Long. 32, Lat. 20·35.—According to Abulf. a considerable town of Takrour, north of the Niger. Edrisi mentions it as a village formed by some nomad clan, ten days march north of the Lemlem country. Rein. II. I. There is also a Berisa on the Red Sea below Port Mornington.

Island of Suli, Long. 38·30, Lat. 28.—I find mention of only one Suli, a village watered by the An-Nahrouān canal from the Tigris, Abulf. II, 70.

Island of Sawakin, Long. 58·30, Lat. 17.—*Jazirah* signifies not only an island, but a peninsula or tract from which the sea has retired. Ibn Batutah II, 161, describes his landing here from Jeddah on his way to Yemen. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 184 under *Sawakin* (better known as Suakim), a sea-port on the west coast of the Red Sea.

Turrah, Long. 49·20, Lat. 19·40.—A small town in Africa. This is all Yaqut's information.

Dunqulah (Dongola), Long. 68, Lat. 14·33.—*Ency. Islam*, i. 1072.

Tiiz in Yemen, caret—Abul Akul Long. 64·30, Lat. 13. Ibn Sayd, Long. 70, Lat. 14·30, by induction Long. 65·30, Lat. 13·40. A castle in the mountains dominating the

coast ; residence of the princes of Yemen. Abulf. II. I, 121. It is called *Hisn Tiz*. See also Niebuhr *Desc. de l'Arab*, p. 209. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 624 (under Ta'izz).

Darqalah. Long. 68·40, Lat. 14·30.—The proximity of location of this and the Dongola above, suggests the inference that these represent Old and New Dongola which in the map appear to be 60 or 70 miles apart.

Bajah (Beja) of the Berber country, Long. 65, Lat. 14.—This must refer to the El Beja between the Shatt Meldir and Shatt Gharnis in the province of Constantine, as the Bajah or Bejah W. of Tunis occurs in the 3rd Climate. Abulfeda places this according to the Atwal, in Long. 55 N., Lat. 2, and adds that it is beyond the 1st Climate in the Berbera country.

Buldarah, in the Sudan, Long. 68, Lat. 17.

Island of Dahlak, Long. 71, Lat. 14.—An island in the Red Sea, opposite Massawa. *Ency. Islam*, i. 893.

Mārib, of Yemen, Long. 78, Lat. 14.—Capital of the Tobbas of Yemen, now in ruins. It is situated at the extremity of the Hadramaut chain. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 280.

Mahjam, of Yemen, Long. 74·45, Lat. 16.—A small fortified town on the frontier between Tehāmah and Yemen. 25 miles north of Hudaida. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 144.

Zabid, ditto, Long. 74·20, Lat. 14·10.—On the Tehāmah of Yemen, its principal maritime port according to Albiruni, but its port is a place called Ghelfeca at a distance, in varying accounts, from 15 to 40 miles, Abulf. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 1183.

Hisn Dimlaut, do., Long. 74·40, Lat. 14·5.—Dumluat, according to Yaqut, N. of Aden in the Yemen hills, proverbial for its strength, v. Abulf.

Sharjah, of Yemen, Long. 74·40, Lat. 16·50.—A small town in Yemen at a little distance from the sea.

Janad, ditto, Long. 75·30, Lat. 14·33.—North of Hisn, Tiiz, half a day's march. Here is a mosque built by M'aāb b. Jabal, one of the companions of Muhammad who died of the plague in Syria, A.H. 19. Abulf. 123. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 144, 1155.

Jublah, ditto, Long. 74·30, Lat. 18·30.—Between Aden and San'aa, in the mountains ; it is E. of Tiiz and a little to the north, Abulf. 122.

Hisn Ba'dān, ditto, Long. 75·30, Lat. 38·40.—A township in Yemen. Yaqut. See Niebuhr *Desc. de l'Arab*, p. 208.

Najrān of Yemen, Long. 76, Lat. 19.—Territory occupied by the Hamdān tribe, 10 marches from San'aā. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 823.

San'aā, capital of Yemen, Long. 76, Lat. 14·30.—*Ency. Islam*, iv. 143-146.

Damar in Yemen, Long. 70, Lat. 38·30.—In the Atwal, Long. 67, Lat. 13·30, in the Qānun, Long. 66, Lat. 14·20, 16 parasangs from Dhafār. (Zafar in *Ency. Islam*, iv. 1185.)

Sirrain, do., Long. 76·47, Lat. 20.—The min. of Long. in the text are wrong. There are two places of this name, one on the sea shore near Mekka, and the other one of the dependencies of San'aā ; the latter is meant v. Niebuhr, 238. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 1155.

Hali-ibn-Yāqub, do., Long. 70·20, Lat. 18·30.—Deg. of Lat. omitted in text 19 parasangs, S. of Sirrain. Abulf. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 238.

Khaiwān, do., Long. 70·21, Lat. 15·20.—Formerly residence of the Himyarite kings. The ruins of an ancient palace still to be seen. Abulf. II, I, 128. Niebuhr, 229, Yāqut.

S adah, do., Long. 70·20, Lat. 16.—16 parasangs from San'aā, a flourishing town. Abulf. 128. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 33.

Dhafār, do., Long. 70·30, Lat. 18·20.—Yāqut gives Long. 78, Lat. 15, and says there are two of the name, one near San'aā, a seat of the Himyarite kings ; the other, well-known, on the shore of the Arabian Sea on El Shehr. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 1155 gives Dofār.

Jurash, a town of Omān on the sea coast, Long. 70·50, Lat. 17.—Yāqut and Abulf. place it in Yemen, abounding in palm trees, its staple manufacture the dressing of leather.

Suhār in Oman, Long. 84, Lat. 19·20.—Well-known, on the sea coast of Oman. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 504-506.

Extremity of the province of Mahrah in Yemen, Long. 85, Lat. 18.—In the Atwal, Long. 73, Lat. 16, a dependancy of Yemen, their language apparently the Himyarite dialect, famous for its camels called Mahriyah. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 138-144.

Island of Rāmj in the Indian Ocean, Long. 104, Lat. 15.—Properly, Labij. These islands are probably those of the Java Archipelago, and are the same as those called Maharāj above

mentioned. Abulf. Guyard II, II, 126, and index to Lābij. [There is a *Labij*, the capital of a Sultanate in S. Arabia, north-west of Aden, *Ency. Islam*, iii. 5. J.S.]

Tānah on the Indian Ocean, Long. 102, Lat. 19·20.—Thanah, Bombay.

M'abar in India, Long. 102, Lat. 17·20.—Coromandel. Ibn Sayd gives the Long. 142°. Abulf. II, II, 121.

Kaulam in India, here pepper and brazil wood in great abundance, Long. 102, Lat. 18·30.—Ibn Sayd, Long. 132, Lat. 12. Atwal, Long. 110, Lat. 13·30. This is Quilon in the Travancore State.

Zaitun on the frontier of China, Long. 154, Lat. 17·6.—Tseou thoung or Tsiuan-tcheou. Abulf. II, II, 123. It was visited by Ibn Batutah (IV, 269), called by the translators Thsiuan-tchoufou.

Sufārah, China, Long. 104·55, Lat. 19·20.—There are but two of this name in Abulf., one in Africa below Zanzibar, the other in India, a flourishing port known for its fisheries and pearls, five marches from Sindān.

Sindān in China, Long. 114·20, Lat. 19·50.—In Abulf, another reading is said to be Sindāpur, placed by one authority at 3 days' march from Tānah on the frontier between Guzerat and Malabar. Another account places it within 15 parasangs of Mansurah. Yāqut places it between Daybul and Mansurah.

Khānku in China, Long. 150, Lat. 14.—This is on the Hangtcheou. Abulf. II, II, Guyard, but the Long. is 162, according to Qānun and Atwal.

Khānju, do., Long. 162, Lat. 14.—According to Abulf. both these towns are situated on the river, as the Arabs believed that all the rivers of China were ramifications of a single stream. If this be the Yang-tsze-kiang, the towns of Hangkow and Hwang-choo seem to answer this description, as Abulf. says that Tājah (Taichow) is to E. of Khanjow. Their identification is not attempted by Guyard.

Sandābil in China, a city of the first magnitude, Caret.—Not mentioned by Abulf., but this is evidently a corruption of *Khānbāligh*, a well-known name of Pekin, already mentioned in Vol. II, p. 118, see De Guig, *Hist. des Huns*. III, 147. Yāqut

describes Sandābil in terms that leave no doubt as to its identity. It is the *Cambalu* of Marco Polo. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 148.

Samandān, ...

'Allāqi, said by some to be in the 2nd climate. . . . The Atwal gives the Long. 58, Lat. 26. *Qānun*, Long. 55, Lat. 27. Ibn Sayd, Long. 63, Lat. 20·3 ; a town in the Beja country on the Red Sea littoral. The mountain of 'Allāqi contains a gold mine. It is 12 marches E. of Assouan. See D'Herbelot.

Sofālah of India, here is found a bird that talks better than a parrot. Of this town Gildemeister says, (*De Reb. Indicis*, p. 45) "Huc pertinet urbs Sufāra de cujus situ omnis interiit memoria ; ex sola nominum serie colligi potest eam Barog (Broach?) et Tanam quarendam. McCrindle says that Dr. Burgess has satisfactorily identified it with Supara, 6 miles north of Bassein.

Shahnaj . . . The text suggests Shanju.

Kāa, between Oman and Hadramaut . . . Mentioned by Yāqut as a pilgrim's station on the road to Mecca after leaving 'Aqabah.

Lānjuyah, a large island near the Zanj country, the vine here bears thrice a year . . . Lānjuyah, according to Yāqut is a large island, capital of the Zanj kingdom, frequented by ships from every port, now deserted, the inhabitants who are Muslims having moved to another island called Tambatu. He also mentions the fruitfulness of its vines. This is the island of Zanzibar, which in Custs' map (*Modern Language of Africa*) is marked Ungujah.

Alanjah, one of the towns of north Africa, has an emerald mine . . . I find no other trace of this name, but it is again referred to under the 2nd Climate as an emerald mine. The *Nuzhat ul Mushtāq* says that near Assouan south of the Nile, there is a mountain with an emerald mine and this gem is found alone here.

Shilā (or Shablā)—A district called Shilha is marked in Cust's map of North Africa, opposite the Canaries and stretches towards the Mediterranean.

Qulzum on the Red Sea littoral.—The ancient Clysma. See Niebuhr *Desc. de l'Arab*, p. 357. Abulf. gives the location according to the Atwal, Long. 54·15, Lat. 29·30. Qānun, Long. 56·30, Lat. 28·20 and places it in the 3rd Climate.

Bakil in Yemen, here a tree grows from which they extract a poison. . . . The text has Bakbal, which is an error. Niebuhr (p. 225) treats of the allied clans of Hashid and Bakil at some length and gives their romantic origin. Yāqut speaks of this tree without naming it, and says it is as much or more prized and guarded by the people there than the balsam by the Egyptians. It was in special request for removing crowned heads, and the chiefs of the Bani Najah and their ministers are distinguished by having been the frequent subjects of experiment as to the deadly effects of its poison.

Ka'ārah.—A village in Yemen, in the neighbourhood of Damar. Yāqut.

Takrur.—Name of a town, capital of a district of the same ; the Long. 17, Lat. 3·30. Ibn Sayd. Situated on the banks of the Niger. D'Herbelot places it to the W. of and 2 days' journey from Sālah on the same river and 140 days journey from Sejelmāsah, now Tafilet. The Takrur country corresponds, according to Reinaud, with the region of which Timbuctoo is the principal town. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 632.

Rāmani.—Yāqut gives a village of this name two leagues distant from Bokhara, now in ruins. Reinaud mentions an island called Alramni said to be near Ceylon which produced elephants and brazil wood and inhabited by cannibals, said by Abu Zayd to be among the Zabij island, *i.e.*, Java Archipelago. *Geog. Abulf.* I. CDVI.

Qalhāt, in Yemen.—A port on the coast of Oman, visited by ships from India and one of its best towns, not older than the 5th century of the Hijra, Yāqut. It is marked in Niebuhr's map of Oman, p. 265. *Desc. de l'Arab.*

Mu'allā, in Yemen.—A small town of Hijaz. Yāqut.

Madīnat-u't-Tayyib, Yemen.—Medinah is mentioned by Niebuhr as applied to Sana'a in Yemen, but I do not find the following epithet. Sana'a has already been given, and the Medinah *par excellence* comes in the next climate, with a similar epithet somewhat differently written. For the holy Medina of the Prophet, *Ency. Islam*, iii. 83.

Sahar, in Yemen.—Niebuhr gives the name with a different spelling *Shahr*, as a small coast town in Yemen in the province of Yafa' from which incense is exported. Abulf. places it between Aden and Dhafar.

THE SECOND CLIMATE

Sus al Aqsa, Long. 15·30, Lat. 22.—Sus the remote, was so named from its situation at the extreme of Mauritania. It was a town according to D'Herb. at the foot of mount Atlas and was also called Taroudant, but Abulf. makes the latter the capital of Sus. It would cover the extent now known as Morocco. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 568.

Lamtah, do., called also Nawa, Long. 17·30, Lat. 27.—Lamtah and Lamtunā are two Berber tribes in the south of Morocco. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 14-15. The home town of the former is called *Nul* (?=*Nawa*.)

Dar'ah, do., Long. 21·6, Lat. 27·10.—Ibn Sayd says it stands on the river D'arah. Idrisi says it stands on the side of the desert of Lamtunā.

Andaghast, do., Long. 25, Lat. 26.—A town in the midst of the Sahara inhabited by Berber Moslems, the supremacy belonging to the Sanhaja tribe. Another account makes it a large tract of which the capital goes by the same name and is situated on the mountains S. of Sejelmāsah and 40 marches distant. Major Rennel supposes it to be the modern town of Aghades, N.W. of the Lake Tchad.

Tākhmābah, Long. 32·15, Lat. 25·15.—I do not find this name. The map marks a district and town as Tagama directly S. of Aghades.

Qus, in Upper Egypt, Long. 61·30, Lat. 24·30.—The text has *Qurs* incorrectly. The ancient Apollinopolis Parva, on the Nile directly north of Karnak. It is described by the Yākut as a large and flourishing town.

Ikhmim, do., Long. 61·30, Lat. 26.—A supposed corruption of the ancient Egyptian name Chemnis, the Panopolis of the Greeks. The Chem or Pan of this city was an Icthyphallic god, having been a site of Panic worship, and it was celebrated for its temple of Perseus.

Aqsur, do., Long. 61·40, Lat. 24.—According to Yāqut in the Thebaid on the east bank of the Nile above Qus. Preceded by the Arabic article, the transition to *Luxor* is natural.

Isnā, do., Long. 62, Lat. 28·30.—Yākut gives the Long. 54·24 and Lat. 24·40. The modern Esneh, the ancient Latopolis, which name was derived from the fish Lato, the largest of

the 52 species that inhabit the Nile and which appears in sculptures among the symbols of the Goddess Neith, Pallas Athene, surrounded by the oval ring of royalty or divinity.

Ansinā, do., Long. 68, Lat. 28.—The ancient Antinoe, the ruins of which are still called by the Copts *Enseneh*. It was built by Hadrian in memory of his favourite Antinous to whom divine honours were paid as a local deity.

Uswān, Long. 66, Lat. 22·30.—The ancient *Syene* and commonly Assouan in the maps.

Ma'dan-i-Zamurrad, Emerald mine, mentioned under Alanjah, Long. 64·15, Lat. 21.

Taimā, in Syria, Long. 67·15, Lat. 25·40.—Atwal Long. 60, Lat. 30. Qānun Long. 58·30, Lat. 26, a small town between Syria and Wadi-al-Kura on the road of pilgrims from Syria and Damascus. According to Yāqut, here was the castle of the famous Samuel, son of Adiya, the Jew, from whose fidelity to his word has arisen the Arabic proverb "more faithful than Samuel". *Ency. Islam*, iv. 622.

Ma'adan-i-Zahab (The Gold mine).—Known as mountain in Yemen.

Aidhāb, Long. 68·40, Lat. 21·40.—A port on the Red Sea, near Suākin. It is mentioned by Ibn Batutah in his Travels, Vol. II, 160. Abulfeda calls it the rendezvous of pilgrims and merchants embarking for Jeddah. He gives the Long. 58, Lat. 21.

Allāqi, Long. 68·40, Lat. 27·15.—Mentioned under the 1st climate.

Qusair, Long. 69, Lat. 26.—Kosseir, a port on the Red Sea opposite "the Brothers" on the African side.

Qatif, in Bahrein, Long. 74·40, Lat. 22·35.—Well-known, on the Persian Gulf, in the province of al Hasā.

Al Yambu, Long. 74·40, Lat. 26.—Ibn Sayd, Long. 64, Lat. 26; a small town west of Medina in the littoral of Hijāz, commonly written Yembo.

Juhfah, in Hijāz, Long. 74·40, Lat. 22.—Formerly a large village, now in ruins; on the road to Medina from Mecca, four stages from the latter town. Yāqut.

Medina the Pure, in Hijāz, Long. 75·20, Lat. 25·50.—Called also Medina the Prophetic.

Khaibar, in Hijāz, Long. 70·20, Lat. 25·20.—Well-known in Hijāz.

Juddah in Hijāz, Long. 70·10, Lat. 21·15.—Commonly called Jeddah.

Mecca, the Glorious, Long. 70, Lat. 21·40.

Tāif, in Hijāz, Long. 70·30, Lat. 21·20.

Furu in Hijāz, Long. 70·30, Lat. 26.—A large village between Mecca and Medina, four nights' journey from the latter. Yāqut.

Faid in Hijāz, Long. 78·10, Lat. 25.—The text is in error in the minutes of Lat. and gives an impossible figure; the Lat. in Atwal is 26·50 and another authority gives 27 in Abulf. Gladwin likewise reads 27. Faid is in Nejd and not in Hijāz.

Hajar in Hijāz, Long. 81·10, Lat. 22.—In Yemāmah, and its chief city. Here are the tombs of those who fell fighting against the impostor Musaylimah. Abulf. Yāqut says that it formerly bore the name of Yemāmah.

Island of Tuqālābis off Hijāz, Long. 81, Lat. 27·12.—Untraceable, the name reads like a corruption from the Greek, and may be either Sucabia (now Shushuah) at the mouth of the Gulf of Aqabah, or Timagenis the modern Mushābea. Ptolemy places this in Long. 66, Lat. 29·15.

Island of Suli, off Hijāz, Long. 81, Lat. 25·15.—See this name in the 1st Climate. It may be the ancient Sela, off Moilah or Muweilah on the Hijāz coast.

Lower extremity of the Egyptian Sea, of Hijāz, Long. 81·30, Lat. 21.—Presumably any part that corresponds with the location.

Yemāmah, Long. 81·5, Lat. 21·30.—*Ency. Islam*, iv. 1154, *al-Yamama*, a district in Central Arabia.

Ahsā, in Bahrein, Long. 88·30, Lat. 22.—The word signifies, according to Yāqut, water absorbed by the earth and penetrating to hard soil where it is retained. The sand is removed by the Arabs and the water is taken up. It also means sand heaped over rocky ground to which the rain percolates through the sand.

The Sea of Bahrein, Long. 83·30, Lat. 24·15.

The extreme point of Bahrein, Long. 84·20, Lat. 25·15.

Ma'adan-i-Zahab, Long. 67·15, Lat. 21·5.—See above.

Island of Awāl, Long. 86, Lat. 22.—One of the islands off Bahrein near Qatif at one day's sail. Two days would be required to traverse it either in length or breadth. It is the best of the pearl fisheries and contains 300 villages. Abulf. This

island is not marked in the maps under this name. But its position in Abulfeda seems to mark it as the I. of Sumak in the Bahrein Gulf. In Istakhri's peculiar geographical map, it is located as one of 3 large islands in a sea which no imagination can shape into the semblance of any waterway of the world.

Island of Silāb, Long. 88·30, Lat. 25.—I do not trace the name.

Hormuz, Long. 92, Lat. 25.

Jiraft, Long. 98, Lat. 27·30.—A flourishing town in Kirmān; a rendezvous for merchants from Khurāsān and Sijistān, 4 days' march from Hormuz. Abulf. I do not find it under this name in Keith Johnstone.

Daibal, Long. 102·31, Lat. 24·20.—Or Debal. For the celebrated port in Sind, see Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.* 297. Its position is still disputed and is likely to remain so.

Tiz, a town on the Makān coast. Long. 83, Lat. 24·5.

Birun in Makrān, Long. 84·30, Lat. 24·5.—This is placed by Ibn Haukal between Debal and Mansurah. Abulf. Reinaud II. II. 112.

Mansurah, Sind, Long. 105, Lat. 26·40.—The ancient Muhammadan capital of Sind, see Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.* 271.

The Idol (temple) of Somnāt, India, Long. 107·10, Lat. 22·15.

Ahmadābād, of Gujrāt, India, Long. 108·30, Lat. 23·15.

Nahrwālah, *i.e.*, Pattan, Gujarat, Long. 92·5, Lat. 28·30.—Now in the Gaikwar's territory.

Amarkot, birthplace of His Majesty, Long. 100, Lat. 24.

Mando, Capital of Mālwah, Long. 95·35, Lat. 25·5.

Ujjain, Long. 110·50, Lat. 28·30.—From this town was reckoned the longitude of the Hindus. Albiruni, *India*, 1004, corrupted to Arin by the Arabs.

Bahroch (Broach), Long. 116·53, Lat. 27.

Kambayat (Cambay), Long. 109·20, Lat. 26·20.

Kanauj, Long. 116·50, Lat. 26·35.

Karrah, Long. 101·30, Lat. 25·36.—See Vol. II under Subah of Allahabad.

Surat, India, Long. 110, Lat. 21·30.

Saronj, India, Long. 114·59, Lat. 27·22.

Ajmer, India, Long. 111·5, Lat. 26.

Qartia? India, ... —Probably a mistake for *Merta* in Marwār. (J. S.)

Benares, India, Long. 119·15, Lat. 25·17.

Mahurah, on both sides of the river, Long. 116, Lat. 27.—*Qānun*, Long. 104, Lat. 27·15. Atwal, Long. 106, Lat. 27. A town of the Brahmans on both sides of the Ganges between Kanauj and the Ocean. Abulf. This is probably Mathurah (Muthra).

Agra, India, Long. 115, Lat. 26·43.

Fathpur, India, Long. 115, Lat. 26·41.

Gwalior, India, Long. 115, Lat. 26·29.

Mānikpur, India, Long. 101·33, Lat. 25·5.—Usually joined to *Kara*, as *Korah* is to Allahabad.

Jaunpur, India, Long. 119, Lat. 26·36.

Sonārgaon, India, Long. 101·50, Lat. 22·2.

Panduā in Bengal, Long. 128, Lat. 25.

Lakhnauti, in Bengal, Long. 128, Lat. 26·30.

Fort of Kālinjar, Long. 116·30, Lat. 25.

Ajodhya, Long. 116·32, Lat. 25·50.

Shergarh, ... There is a *Shergarh*, 16 m. n. of Mathura [J. S.]

Muner, Long. 121·31, Lat. 26·16.—In the Patna district (*Maner*).

Illahābās, Long. 118·25, Lat. 26.

Bhilsa, Long. 98·2, Lat. 24·31.

Ghāzipur, Long. 104·5, Lat. 25·32.

Hājipur, Patna, Long. 120·46, Lat. 26·5.—The text has an impossible figure for the degrees of Long.

Lakhnau, Long. 116·6, Lat. 26·30.

Dukam, ... —Dogam, a mint-town of the Mughal emperors for copper coins, near Bahraich in Oudh. [J. S.]

Daulatābād, Long. 101, Lat. 25.

Etāwah, Long. 99·55, Lat. 26·5.

Awadh, Long. 116·25, Lat. 26·55.

Deogir, Long. 111, Lat. 25.

Fathpur, Long. 100·50, Lat. 25·55.

Dalmau, Long. 102·5, Lat. 24·35.

Kālampur, ...

Korah, Long. 100·5, Lat. 26·15.—See under Allahabad, Vol. II.

Usyut, Upper Egypt, Long. 51·5, Lat. 22·10.—(If Assuan, written in Arabic also as Uswan, *Ency. Islam*, i. 492. J. S.)

Biskarah, in Mauritania, Long. 34·25, Lat. 27·30.—On the Jedi river, S.E. of Algiers. *Ency. Islam*, i. 732 (*Biskra*).

Najiram, Long. 87·30, Lat. 26·40.—A small town between Sirāf

and Basrah situate on the mountains near the sea. Yāqut says he had often visited it. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 823-825 gives a *Najran* in Yemen. Not this.

Najd, the region between Hijāz and Irāq.

Māyah, ...

Khalih? . . . . . —Unintelligible variants in text.

Yanju, capital of China, Long. 125, Lat. 22.—Yang-tcheou, according to Reinaud.

Mānchu, in China, Long. 127, Lat. 39.

Narwar, in India, Long. 98·5, Lat. 25·33.

Chinapattan, Long. 100·10, Lat. 18·5.—Chinnapattanam is marked in K. Johnstone near and north of Seringapatam. Also the old local name of Madras town.

Haldārah? . . . . . .

Bārām? . . . . . .

Tibbet, Long. 114, Lat. 27·30.—This name is marked, doubtful in text.

Taktābād, ... —Var. Naktābād.

Hasābah? . . . . . —Var. Hālsar?

Salāyah, ... —Var. Salāmat.

Awilah? or Rawilah? . . . . . .

Tayfah? . . . . . .

Kashmir? . . . . . —In the text marked doubtful.

Kalisah or Kaliksa, ...

Malibar, *ie.* Mabar . . . . . This name has preceded in the 1st Climate and its location given. These repetitions are frequent among Eastern Geographers and Reinaud notices the laxity of Edrisi in this particular, I. CCCXV.

Maqruqin? . . . . . .

Nadimah? . . . . . .

A'yinba? . . . . . —Probably Yanbo, already preceded.

Batn Marrah, Long. 77, Lat. 21·55.—Properly *Batn Marr*, near Mecca.

Qift, Upper Egypt, Long. 61·18, Lat. 24.—Copt or Koft, or Keft in K. Johnstone, a short distance below Qus, on the Nile.

Armant, Do., Long. 51·5, Lat. 24.—Erment, the ancient Hermonthis. It stands slightly south-west of Luxor.

Island of Qais Arbicised form of Kais: in the Persian Gulf, Long. 70, Lat. 28.—*Ency. Islam*, ii. 649.

Island of Lār in the Persian Gulf, Long. 88·30, Lat. 25.—An

island now called *Abu Shu'aib*. The Greeks praised the pearl fisheries of Lār. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 17.

Lahsā? . . . . . .

THE THIRD CLIMATE.

Asafi, North Africa, Long. 2, Lat. 30.—Popularly called Safi (*Ency. Islam*, iv. 56 under *Safi*). A few miles south of Cape Cantin in Morocco, on the Atlantic Ocean.

Fās, Do., Long. 18, Lat. 32.—Fez.

Island of Jarbah, Do., Long. 39, Lat. 32.—Called Jerba in Keith Johnstone, an island in the Gulf of Cabes (Syrtis Minor) off the Tunis Coast. *Ency. Islam*, i. 1036.

Sejelmāsah, Long. 25, Lat. 31·30.—Yāqut places it 10 days journey from Fez to the S. See *Ency. Islam*, iv. 404, under Sidjilmāsa, which was the capital of *Tafilālt* (iv. 603).

Marākash, Long. 21, Lat. 29.—Morocco.

Tādelā, Mauritania, Long. 22°, Lat. 30′.—Tadla, between Morocco and Fez.

Telemsān, Long. 24, Lat. 33·40.—See *Ency. Islam*, iv. 801 under *Tlemcen*: "In Arabic *Tilimsan*. The old town was called both Tlemcen and Agadir. 1-30 W. Long. of Greenwich, and 34-53 N. Lat. Named *Pomaria* by the Romans. Modern name *Tagrart*". (J. S.)

Mediterranean Coast, Mauritania, Long. 25, ...

Biskarah, Long. 32, Lat. 30·35.—This name has already occurred with a different location in the 2nd Climate. The name has a variant Selah, in the text.

Tāhart-i-Ulya, Long. 35·30, Lat. 29.—Upper Tahart. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 610(under *Tahert*).

Tāhart-i-Sufla, Long. 36·30, Lat. 29.—Lower Tahart; Yāqut says that these two towns face each other and lie 5 miles apart, and he calls the Upper the ancient, and the Lower, the modern, on the eastern border of the modern province of Oran (in Algeria).

Satif, Africa, Long. 37, Lat. 31.—Satif, south-west of Constantine.

Mesilah, Long. 38·40, Lat. 30·25.—Pronounced also Emsila. In the maps Msila in the province of Biskarah, a town founded by the Fatimite Caliph Qāim-billāh A.H. 315 (A.D. 927) who gave it the name of Muhammadiyah. Abulf. II. I. 191.

Bajah, Do., Long. 39·5, Lat. 31.—Situate according to Abulf. between Bugie and Tunis, at one march distant from Thabarca, and 5 from Qairawān. The river Maguyla flows between it and Bone. This fixes its position as the Beja of Keith Johnstone, in the province of Tunis.

Kairawān, Do., Long. 41, Lat. 31·40.—This is not to be confounded with the ancient Cyrene, as Gibbon notices has been done by one eminent geographer.

Mahdiyah, Long. 32, Lat. 32·30.—Founded by the Mahdi 'Ubaydullah the founder of the Fatimite Dynasty, (v. Suyuti's *Hist. of the Caliphs*. Jarrett, p. 3 et seq.). It is situate on the coast below Monaster.

Tunis, Long. 42·30, Lat. 38·31.

Lower extremity of the Egyptian Sea, Egypt, Long. 44, Lat. 30·22.

Middle of Syria, Long. 44·35, Lat. 33·38.

Island of Rhodes, Long. 44·30, Lat. 36.

Susah, Africa, Long. 44·40, Lat. 32·30.—On the Gulf of Hammamet, north-west of Monaster.

Atrābulus, Africa, Long. 44, Lat. 32·30.—Tripoli.

Tuzar, Africa, Long. 46·30, Lat. 29.—Province of Tunis on the Shatt Kabir.

Zawilah, Africa. Long. 49·40, Lat. 30.—In the Fezzan. This was the name also of a quarter in the city of Mahdiyah and of Cairo. Abulf. v. De Sacy *Chrest. Arab.* I. 495.

Kasr-i-Ahmad, Africa, Long. 51·25, Lat. 33·30.—On the border of the Barkah country according to Ibn Sayd, on the east of the province of Africa proper. It is but a small village serving as a store for goods of Arab merchants. The desert intervenes between this and Barkah. Abulf.

Barkah, Africa, Long. 52·45, Lat. 32.

Tulmaitha, Long. 44, Lat. 38·10.—Situate at the foot of the mountains of Cyrenaica on the sea-shore. The ancient *Ptolemais*.

Madinah-i-Surt, Long. 57, Lat. 31.—*Sort* in Keith J. is a district on the littoral of the Gulf of Sidra, the *Syrtis Major*: Abulf. quoting Ibn Sayd makes it a town, formerly one of the capital cities of the country but destroyed by the Arabs. The Fatimite Caliph Al Mui'zz constructed reservoirs in the desert for use on his journeys from Sort and Fayyum.

Akabah, northern extremity of Egypt, Long. 39, Lat. 30.

Bahnasa, Long. 61·32, Lat. 28·35.—This village stands on part of the site of the ancient Oxyrynchus which received its name from a fish of the sturgeon species (*accipenser sturio* Linn.) which was an object of religious worship. There remain some broken columns of the ancient city and a single Corinthian column without leaves or volutes, partly buried in the sand, probably of the age of Diocletian. It became the site of an episcopal see. *Geog. Dict.* Smith.

Iakandariyah, Long. 61 54, Lat. 30·58.—Alexandria.

Rashid, Long. 62·20, Lat. 31.—Rosetta.

Misr, Long. 63, Lat. 30·20.—Cairo.

Dimyāt, Long. 68·50, Lat. 31·25.—Damietta.

Fayyum, Long. 68·50, Lat. 29.—The canal which connects, or connected it with the Nile, is said by Abulf. to have been constructed by the patriarch Joseph, to whom a great number of the ancient monuments have been ascribed.

Qulzum, Long. 66·3, Lat. 29·30.—Niebuhr places the ruins of the ancient Klisma, a little to the north of Suez. v. Tab. XXIV, *Descp. de l'Arab.*

Tinnis, one of the Egyptian isles, Long. 64·30, Lat. 30·40.—An island in Lake Tinnis (Lake Menzaleh) a little south of Port Said.

Ghazzah, frontier of Palestine, Long. 66·10, Lat. 32.—Gaza.

Arish, Long. 66·15, Lat. 26·36.—It is on the littoral between Palestine and Egypt and marked by Ibn Khaldun, (*Proleg.* 110) as on the extreme frontier of Egypt. Edit. Quatremere.

Bait'ul Muqaddas, Long. 66·30, Lat. 31·50.—Jerusalem.

Ramlah, Long. 66·50, Lat. 32·10.

Kaisariyah, Long. 66·15, Lat. 32·30. —Cæsarea.

'Ammān, a dependency of Balqa, Long. 66·20, Lat. 31·3.—Rabbath Ammon, the ancient capital of the Ammonites (*Deut.* iii. 11). It was besieged by Joab and taken by David (2 *Sam.* xi. 1. xii. 26-31). Its destruction denounced by Jeremiah (xlix. 3. *Ezech.* xxv. 5). It was restored by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who gave it the name of Philadelphia. *Geog. Dict.* W. Smith.

'Askalān, Palestine, Long. 66·30, Lat. 32·15.—Ascalon.

Yafa, Palestine, Long. 66·15, Lat. 32·40.—Jaffa.

Karak, Long. 66·50, Lat. 31·30.—Kerak Moab is the district cor

responding to the country of Moab. The chief town of the same name is marked in Keith Johnston.

Tabariyah of the Jordan, Long. 68·15, Lat. 32·5.—Tiberias.

Baisan, Long. 68, Lat. 32·50.—Beth-San, or Scythopolis, in the *Judges*, LXX. i. 27.

It was a city of the Manassites, locally situated in the tribe of Issachar. Placed by Josephus at the S. extremity of Galilee, who calls it the chief city of the Decapolis. Ptolemy reckons it one of the cities of Coelesyria. *Dict.* Smith.

'Akqa, coast of Syria, Long. 68·20, Lat. 33·30.—Acre.

Sur, coast of Damascus, Long. 68·35, Lat. 32·40.—Tyre.

Hajar, Long. 68·30, Lat. 28·30.—This is probably Hajar Shughlān, a fortress belonging to the Knights Templars, in the mountain of Lokkām, near Antioch, overlooking the lake of Yaghra. Yāqut.

Saidā, littoral of Damascus, Long. 68·55, Lat. 33.—Sidon.

Balb'ak, of Damascus, Long. 70, Lat. 38·50.

Damascus, capital of Syria, Long. 70, Lat. 33·30.

Hit, Syria, on the Euphrates, Long. 78·20, Lat. 33·15.—Not in Syria (Shām) as Abul Fazl writes, but in Arabian 'Irāq.

Hillah, in 'Irāq, Long. 79, Lat. 32.—There are several of the name; the Hillah of Bani Kailah, between Wāsit and Basrah; the Hillah of Dabais b. Afif ul Asadi, between Basrah and Ahwāz, and the Hillah of Bani-l-Marāk near Mausil. The Hillah of the text is on or near the ruins of Babylon.

Kufah, on a branch of the Euphrates, Long. 79·30, Lat. 31·30.—The ruins of this once famous town alone are left.

Arbār, 'Irāq, Long. 79·30, Lat. 33·5.

Ukbarā, Do., Long. 79·30, Lat. 33·30.—On the Tigris, ten parasangs from Baghdad.

Baradān, on the Tigris, Long. 79·50, Lat. 33·30.—In the map, near a small affluent of the Tigris. The text has *Bardān*, I follow the orthography of Yāqut.

Baghdad, Long. 80, Lat. 33·25.

Madāin-i-Kisra, opposite stood the palace of the Khusraus, Long. 80·20, Lat. 33.—The ancient Ctesiphon, described by Strabo, as the winter residence of the Parthian kings, and by Tacitus "sedes imperii". See its description in Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. 24.

Hajar, of Hijāz, Long. 80·30, Lat. 28·30.—This name occurs in the 2nd Climate with a different location. Yāqut mentions three others, but of no significance.

Bābil, 'Irāq, Long. 80·55, Lat. 32·15.—Babylon.

Nuamāniyah, Do., Long. 81·20, Lat. 33.—Between Baghdad and Wāsit. It is the chief town of the Upper Zāb. Abulf.

Qasr Ibn i Hubayrah, Do., Long. 80·30. Lat. 32·45.—One letter (*m*) is omitted in the text of the minutes of latitude. This town is on the Euphrates having Karbala a short distance directly to the west on the desert. It takes its name from Yazid-b-Omar-b. Hubairah, governor of 'Irāq, in the time of Marwān al Himār. Abulf.

Jarjarāyā, 'Irāq, Long. 80·30, Lat. 33·3.—Near the Tigris between Baghdad and Wāsit.

Famu's Silh, Do., Long. 80·45, Lat. 32·40.—*m* omitted in min. of Long. on the W. of the Tigris, 7 parasangs from Wāsit. It was here that the espousals of the Caliph Mamun with Burān took place.

Jalulā, Do., Long. 87·10, Lat. 33·30.—Deg. of Lat. wrongly printed in text. It was here that Yezdajird was defeated in 16 A.H. and fled to Rai. It is both a town and a river according to Yāqut, the river being named from the multitude *Jad* of the slain. The Jalulā is probably the present *Dyalah*. See my Transl. *Hist. of Caliphs*, p. 135, and 231 for the note above.

Wāsit, Do., Long. 81·30. Lat. 32·25.

Hulwān, Do., Long. 82·55, Lat. 34.

Basrah, Do., Long. 84, Lat. 33.

Ubullah, Do., Long. 84, Lat. 30·15.—At the mouth of the Tigris canals of the same name which leads to Basrah, four miles in length.

Ahwāz, in Khuzistān, Long. 85, Lat. 31·3.—On the river Kārun.

Tustar, Do., Long. 84·30, Lat. 31·30.—Now Shuster.

Arjān, Do., Long. 84·30, Lat. 30·32.—Or arabicised Arrajān, 60 parasangs from Suk-ul-Ahwāz and 60 from Shirāz and one day's march from the sea. Meynard. *Dict. de la Perse*. On the frontier of Fārs on the Khuzistān side. Abulf.

Ashar Mukram in Khuzistān, Long. 84·35, Lat. 31·15.—Eight parasangs from Tustar. It was called after Mukram-b-ul M'aza despatched by Hajjāj-b. Yusuf against Khuzād-b. Bās ;

his stay in this town gave it the name of the Camp of Mukram. Abulf.—Yāqut.

Island of Suqutra, off Khuzistān, Long. 84·30, Lat. 33.—Socotra.

Hisn i Mahdi, in Khuzistān, Long. 85·15, Lat. 30·15.—According to Yāqut and Ibn Haukal, the waters of Tustar, Daurak and Ahwāz unite near the fort and form a large river that disembogues in the sea. 'Azizi makes it 11 parasangs from this to Ubulla.

Siniz, Persian Gulf, Long. 84·45, Lat. 32.—The 5 in minfl of Long. omitted in text:—A small town almost in ruins in the Ahwāz district; from this to Jannābah the road runs along the sea coast. Abulf.

Abbadān, Do., Long. 106·30, Lat. 30.—At the mouth of the Tigris.

Rām Hurmuz, in Khuzistān, Long. 85·45, Lat. 31.—Omitted 5 in text. The town is marked in Keith Johnston.

Isfahān, Persia, Long. 86·40, Lat. 22·25.

Kāzrun, Do., Long. 87·30, Lat. 29·55.

Shushtar, Do., Long. 86·20, Lat. 21·30.—This is the same as Tustar which is the Arabic form of the name (Yāqut). Abul Fazl has given it a different Long. and Lat. to Tustar above; it is probably a copyist's interpolation.

Shāpur, Do., Long. 87·55, Lat. 30.—The ruins of this town above Kisht and near Kazrān are marked in K. J. The word is Sābur in Yāqut, a corruption he says of Shāhpur. It is also a district, and Sābur was one, but not the largest, of its towns. It was built by one of the monarchs of this name of which there were three, the captor of Valerian, (A.D. 240), Sapor II (310), Sapor III (385).

Umān, Do., Long. 67·20, Lat. 21.—No such name occurs in Faristān, and indeed no other than the east coast of the Arabian Peninsula of which according to Yāqut the Long. is 34·30, Lat. 19·45.

Naubandajān, Long. 107·55, Lat. 30·10.—According to Yāqut a town of importance in the district of Sābur, and said by Ibn Faqih to be its chief town. He distinguishes it from the town Shāhpur or Sābur, but Guyard (II. II. 95. n.) makes them the same. Yāqut states that Naubanjī was a fort in the city of Naubandajān. The former nan is in Keith J., the latter not.

Jannābah, known as Gandābah, Long. 87·25, Lat. 30.—In K. J. *Gunāwa*, on the Persian Gulf.

Abarkuh in Fārs, Long. 87·20, Lat. 31·30.

Firozābād in Fārs, Long. 87·30, Lat. 28·10.

Shirāz in Fārs, Long. 88, Lat. 29·36.

Sirāf in Fārs, Long. 89·30, Lat. 29·30.

Shabānkārah in Fārs, Long. 89, Lat. 28·23.—The name of a Kurdish tribe and their country, . . . bounded by Fārs, Kirmān, and the Persian Gulf. (*Ency. Islam*, iv. 240. J.S.).

Istakhr in Fārs, Long. 88·30, Lat. 30.—Persepolis.

Yezd in Fārs, Long. 89, Lat. 32.

Hisn-Ibn Umārah in Fārs, Long. 94, Lat. 30·20.—According to Abulf. doubtful whether in Fārs, or Kirmān; now in ruins. The route from Sirāf, along the sea coast is across wild mountains and deserts. [P. 36.]

Darābjird in Fārs, Long. 90, Lat. 28·15.—This name is derived from *Darāb* = Darius and *Jird* arabicised form of Persian *Gird*, circuit, enclosure, town. Darāb is the name of the town in K. J.

Bāfd, Kirmān, Long. 82, Lat. 29.—Marked in K. J.; lead mines in its vicinity.

Sirjān, Kirmān, Long. 90·30, Lat. 29·20.—Ibn Haukal calls it the largest city of Kirmān.

Kirmān, Long. 91·30, Lat. 30·5.

Tabas Kilaki, Khurāsān, Long. 92, Lat. 33.—A town in the desert between Naisābur, Isfahān and Kirmān. It is divided in two, one being called T. Kilaki and the other T. Masinān, but they form properly but one town. A celebrated silk of this name is exported. Abulf.

Zarand of Kirmān, Long. 92, Lat. 30·40.—According to Ibn Haukal, it exports a stuff for linings known as *Bitānah*; equiv. Pers. *astar*.

Bardsir, of Kirmān, Long. 92·30, Lat. 30.—In Abulf. Bardasir, Bardashir Kawāshir, between Sirjān and the desert, two marches from Sirjān, the name a contraction, it is said, of Ardeshir (Babegān) sec. *Dict. de la Pers.* 90.

Khabis, of Kirmān, Long. 93, Lat. 30.—Marked in K. J.

Bam, Long. 94·8, Lat. 28·30.—One of the principal towns and has three large mosques. Marked in K. J.

Tabas Masinān, Khurāsān, Long. 92, Lat. 33.—See above under Tabas Kilaki.

Khuwāsh, desert of Sistān, Long. 94·40, Lat. 33.—Pronounced by the inhabitants *Khāsh*. A town in Sijistān on the left of a traveller going towards Tustar (Bost?) at one day's march from Sijistān, watered by stream and canals and well wooded with palm trees. Yāqut. This direction is obscure and the town is not in the maps. The Sijistān, above-mentioned must be Zaranj.

Zaranj, ancient town of Sistān, Long. 97, Lat. 32·30.—Capital of Sijistān and called also by its name. Yāqub-b-Leith as Saffār, founder of the Saffāride dynasty had a castle here. Rām Shahristān on the Helmand, was the capital before Zaranj, but the river having changed its course and abandoned the town, the inhabitants left it and built Zarang at a distance of 3 farsakh. See these names in the *Dict. dela Pers.* or in Yāqut.

Kij, of Mekrān, Long. 99, Lat. 23·30.—Principal town of Mekrān and 5 days' march from Tiz, its chief port. *Dict. dela Pers.*

Jāliq, of Mekrān, Long. 99, Lat. 30.—An error probably for *J̌āliqān*, but the latter is placed by Yāqut in Sijistān, and by some authorities in the territory of Bast. There is no Jāliq traceable.

Khāltān Mekrān, Long. 99, Lat 28·30.—Not traceable.

Ram, Long. 99, Lat. 33·35.—This name so occurs in Abulf. and corrected by Reinaud to Zamm. The latter is placed by Ibn Haukal on the borders of Khurāsān, but reckoned as belonging to Māwarannahar. Yāqut makes it a small town on the road to the Oxus leading from Tirmaz and Amol. De Slane makes Zemm to mean a cluster of Kurd villages. Ibn Khaldun I. 133 n.

Bust in the Garmsir of Qandahār, on the Helmand, Long. 100, Lat. 33.—The stages from Sijistān to Bust or Bost are given by Ibn Haukal (Ouseley, p. 209).

Takitābād?, Long. 101·5?, Lat. 33.

Rukhkhaj of Sistān, Long. 103, Lat. 32·50.—In Abulf. *Arrukhkhaj* with the Arabic article, the ancient *Arachosia*, comprehending the present provinces N.E. of Baluchistān, Cutch, Gandāva, Qandahār, Sewistān and the S.W. of Kābulistān v. *Dict. Geog.* Smith.

Sarwin, Sistān, Long. 101·55, Lat. 28·15.—Abulf. and Yakut have *Sarwān*. It is two marches from Bust.

Maimand, originally of Zabulistān, now of Qandahār, Long. 102·40, Lat. 33·20.—This name is written *Mimand* in Abulf. and Yāqut. The min. of Lat. are omitted or misprinted in the text.

Ghaznah, Zabulistān, Long. 104·20, Lat. 33·35.

Ribat Amir, Long. 105, Lat. 34.—Not traceable.

Qandahār, Long. 107·50, Lat. 38·20.

Nahlwārah, India, Long. 108·20, Lat. 28·30.—See p. 59 where this is written as Nahrwalah but with a different location. The name was originally Anhilpur (v. Vol. II) and *Anc. Geog. India*, p. 320.

Multān, India, Long. 106·25, Lat. 29·40.

Lahāwar (Lahor), India, Long. 109·20, Lat. 31·15.

Dahli (Delhi), India, Long. 114·38, Lat. 28·15.

Tānesar, India, Long. 94, Lat. 30.

Shāhābād, India, Long. 94, Lat. 30·12.

Sambal, India, Long. 105·30, Lat. 28·35.—This must be in the Sambalaka of Ptolemy, in Rohilkand. See McCrindle. *Ptol.* p. 133.

Amroha, India, Long. 95·15, Lat. 29.

Pānipat, India, Long. 108·10, Lat. 28·52.

Baran, India, Long. 94·15, Lat. 28·48.—Vol. II. Bulandshahar.

Bāghpat, Long. 94·30, Lat. 28·12.—Vol. II.

Kol, Long. 95·2, Lat. 28·20.—Aligarh.

Himālya Mons, Long. 95, Lat. 31·50.

Kot Kror. . . . . —Lat. 21.—In Dera Ismail Khan district; a pilgrimage centre.

Siālkot, India. Long. 109, Lat. 33.

Sultānkot, India. . . . . Lat. 28·30.

Jhelam India, Long. 90·35, Lat 33·15.

Rhotās, India, Long. 90·30, Lat. 38·15.

Fort of Bandnah, ... Lat. 33·10.—Should be read as *Nandanah*, a fort and a district of the Sind Sagar Doab (Panjab), the fort was north of the junction of two spurs of the Salt Range. (J. S.)

Parashāwar (Peshawar), India, Long. 83·40, Lat. 38·28.

Farmul, India, ... Lat. 32·15.—Kabul being presumably counted in Hindustan. See Vol. II.

Sunnām, India, Long. 110·25, Lat. 30·30.—Sunam town in Karmgarh tahsil of Patiala State.

Sirhind, India, Long. 111·33, Lat. 30·30.—So spelt in every MS.

Rupar, India, Long. 93·40, Lat. 31.—See Vol. II. Subah of Lahor for this and following name.

Māchhiwārah, India, ...

Pāel, India, Long. 98·5, Lat. 30·15.—v. Vol. II.

Ludhiānah, India, Long. 98, Lat. 30·55.

Sultānpur, India, Long. 94·25, Lat. 32.

Kalānur, where the accession of His Majesty took place, *Akbarnamah*, tr. ii. 5 *sq.*

Desuhah, India, ...—v. Vol. II.

Parsaror, near Dera Ghazi Khan, Long. 87, Lat. 30.—Pasrur, in Sialkot district.

Amnābād, India, Long. 91·15, Lat. 32.—In the Sarkar of the Rechnau Doab.

Sudharah, India, ... Vol. II.

Defhnah?, India, ... —Var. *Dalfiah*, *Difhah*. ...

Bherab, India, ... —Bhera, town in Shahpur dist., Panjab.

Khushāb, India, Long. 84·20, Lat. 33·20.

Hazārah, ...

Chandniwat . . . . . .

Atak, Benares, founded by His Majesty.

Hardwār, Manglāur and the fort of Galer? ancient cities, ... Vol. II.

Charthāwal, Long. 94, Lat. 29·15.—Vol. II.

Kairānah, Long. 94·30, Lat. 29·15.—Vol. II.

Jhinjhānah, Long. 94·30, Lat. 29·15.—Vol. II.

Baghrah, near Muzaffarnagar, Long. 85·30, Lat. 29·30.—Spelt *Baghra* in Vol. II.

Chahat, near Muzaffarnagar, Long. 90, Lat. 32.—[North of Ambala City.]

Bangash, near Muzaffarnagar, Long. 87·5, Lat. 38·15.—I find no other name, but the Tuman of Bangash which is scarcely applicable here.

Doralah, in Muzaffarnagar, ... —Vol. II.

Nahtaur, near Muzaffarnagar, ... Vol. Do., 291.

Kaithal, near Muzaffarnagar, Long. 93·50, Lat. 29·59.

Rohtak, near Muzaffarnagar, Long. 98·50, Lat. 29.—Do. 287

Jhajhar, Long. 94, Lat. 28·15.—Vol. II, p. 286.

Māhim, Long. 93·20, Lat. 28·50.—Do. 243.

Haibatpur Pati, in the Panjab, Long. 92, Lat. 31·20.

Khizrābād, in the Panjab, Long. 94·15, Lat. 30·20.—The text is in error in the degree of Long.

Sadhurāh, in the Panjab, Long. 94·20, Lat. 30·25.—Do., Do.

Safidan, Do., Long. 98·15, Lat. 29·25.—In Vol. II it is written *Safidun*.

Jind, Do., Long. 93·25, Lat. 29·15.

Karnāl, Do., Long. 95·4, Lat. 29·15.

Hānsi Hisār, Do., Long. 112·15, Lat. 12·45.—Do., pp. 294-295.

Sahāranpur, Do., Long. 94·15, Lat. 30.

Deoband, Do., Long. 94·47, Lat. 29·15.

Ambālah, Do., Long. 98·55, Lat. 29·25.

Bhumah, Do., ... —Do. 291, where it is written Bhuriah.

Hatnāwar, Do., ... —Do. 104.

Sampat, Long. 89·55, Lat. 29.—I do not find this name.

Here the reference to India ceases.

Sanjar? . . . . —Var. Janhah. The only approach to this name in Abulf. is the ancient Sangarius, the present Sakaria, which flows into the Black Sea, E. of Constantinople, called also the river of Angora from its passing near that town; Long. 54, Lat. 41 in the *Resm-ul-Māmur*. *Abulf*. II. 64.

Aghmāt, extreme W. of Mauritania, Long. 11·30, Lat. 28·50, N. of the Daren Mts. and the capital of the country before Morocco and S.E. of it. Abulf. II. I. 188. [South of Marrākush. *Ency. Islam*, i. 182. J.S.]

Hadiyān? . . . . —Var. Tadela, already mentioned.

R'ah . . . . . —Var. Ruqah; var. Darah mentioned elsewhere.

Riyāsah? . . . . .

Maufālut, Upper Egypt, Long. 62·20, Lat. 27·40.—On the Nile a little N. of Usyut.

Fustāt, Do., Long. 63, Lat. 30·10.

Abu Tij, Do., Long. 62·30, Lat. 28.—On the west bank of the Nile in the Usyut territory, abounding in the poppy plant, 24 miles from Usyut and Ikhmim (Abulf.) Reinaud considered the name pronounced by the Arabs *Abu Tig*, to be probably a corruption of *Apotheke*, pointing to a Greek origin.

Uehnemain, Do., Long. 62·45, Lat. 28.—The 4 in min. of Lat. omitted in text; marked Eshmoom in K. J. It is in the dual form of an Arabic noun, meaning the two Uehmune, so named, Reinaud supposes, from its greater importance, there being other towns similarly designated. It was the ancient Hermopolis Magna and there are still some striking remains of its former magnificence. The principal deities worshipped were Typhon and Thoth. The former represented by a hippopotamus on which sat a hawk fighting with a serpent. Thoth, the Greek Hermes, the Ibis-headed god, was with his accompanying emblem the Ibis and Cynocephalus or ape, the most conspicuous among the sculptures on the great portico of the temple. This portico was a work of Pharaonic times. v. *Geog. Dict.* Smith. [P. 38.]

Munyah, Do., Long. 63, Lat. 28·45.—Min. of Lat. in the text 5 for 45, called also Munyat-ul-Khusaib, but in K. J. as Miniet Ibn Khaseeb. Yāqut however carefully points its orthography.

Qābis, Africa, Long. 42·40, Lat. 32.—Cabes in the Gulf of that name. A town in S. Tunisia, under *Gabes* in *Ency. Islam*, ii. 124. In Ptolemy *Gakape*, in the Regio Syrtica. In its neighbourhood were warm mineral springs the *Aquæ Tacapitanæ*, now El Hammat el Khabs v. *Geog. Dict.* Smith.

Susah, coast of Africa, Long. 44·10, Lat. 32·40.—N. of Monaster, and direct S. of Tunis. It was from here that the Moslem fleet set sail for the expedition against Sicily. Abulf. II. 199. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 568 under *al-Sus*.

Safāqus, Do., Long. 45·30. Lat. 31·50.—Rein. II. 200. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 238 under *Sfax*.

Ghadāmis, in the Jarid country, Long. 49·10, Lat. 29·10.—Or Ghudāmis, on the borders of the Tripoli and Algerian territory to the extreme south. Yāqut describes the process of tanning here as incomparable, skins becoming as soft as silk. The *Beled el Jarid* in K. J. is marked considerably above Ghudāmis, W. of the Shott Kabir.

Nābulus, of Jordan, Long. 67·30, Lat. 32·10.—Nābulus in Samaria, the ancient Neapolis, supposed to be identical with Sichem of the Old Testament. Traditions of Jacob's well and Joseph's tomb still survive, and its connection with the adjacent sacred Mount of Gerizim and identification as the city

of Samaria where Philip preached, distinguish its remarkable history. See Smith's *Geog. Dict.*

Salt, of Jordan, Long. 63·10, Lat. 32·3.—Text has Long. 68 for 63. *Es Salt* or Ramoth Gilead, but in the *Geog. Dict.* the site is said to be uncertain. Eusebius describes it as 15 miles W. of Philadelphia. *Ibid.*

Azr'āāt, (the two 'Azrās) of Damascus . . . . . —The name is incorrectly spelt and should be *'Azrā*. There are two villages of the name in the Ghutah of Damascus, both marked in K. J.

Sarkhad, Do., Long. 70·20, Lat. 32·15.—A fortified town and tract near the Hauran country, according to Yāqūt. In K. J. Sulkhad or Salcah.

Hal? . . . . . —A note in the text considers this an error for *Hillah* already mentioned.

Qādisiyyah, in Iraq, Long. 79·25, Lat. 21·45.—Cadesia with Hirāh and Khawarnak, says Abulf., are all three on the borders of the desert on the W. and 'Irāq on the E. This famous field determined the fate of Persia under the Caliphate of Omar.

Sarsar, Do., Long. 79·55. Lat. 33·20.—Between Baghdad and Kufah and at 3 parasangs from Baghdad. There are two, an Upper and a Lower. Abulf. II. II. 75.

Hirah, Do., Long. 79·27, Lat. 31·30.—The text has Khirah for Hirah. *The misprints or errors in Lat. and Long., the degrees and minutes of which are expressed in the notation of Arabic letters, are too frequent for further notice.* Hirah is one parasang from Kufah. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 314.

Basā of Fās, Long. 89·15, Lat. 29.—Known in earlier times as *Basā-sir*, a town in Fārs, 4 days' journey S.E. of Shirāz, was the most important town in the district of Darābjird. (*Ency. Islam*, ii. 80). J. S.

Dārā . . . . . —In Abulf. this is in the 4th Climate, a small town at the foot of Mt. Maridin in Mesopotamia. There is another of the name in the mountains of Tabaristān. Abulf.

Ghaznah . . . . . —This has already been mentioned.

Tib, in Khuzistān, Long. 83, Lat. 32.—Between Wasit and Ahwāz. Abulf.

Qurqub in Ahwāz, said by some to be in 'Irāq, Long. 84·43, Lat. 33.—Seven parasangs between Qurqub and Tib and ten between it and Sus. Abulf.

Jubbi, Khuzistān, Long. 84·35, Lat. 30·50.—Jobba in Abulf., and Jubbah in Yāqut. There are several of this name given by Yāqut; a cluster of villages between Damascus and Ba'albak: a village in Nahrwān; a village in the Khurāsān dist. and also a place in Egypt the birth-place or home of the grammarian Sibawaih. Jubbi is the relative adjective and not the name.

Khansā, China, Long. 174·45, Lat. 29·30.—This in Abulf. is *Khānkou* or properly *Khānfou*, a port of China on the river. According to Guyard, Khansa is Hang-tcheon-fou, the Kinsay of Marco Polo. II. II. 122; visited by Ibn Batutah II. 284.

Salā, Mauritania, Long. 14·10, Lat. 33·30.—Now *Salee* or Sla, in K. J. on the W. coast.

Samairam, near Isfahan, ... —In Yāqut *Sumairam*, a town halfway between Isfahān and Shirāz.

Bam, ... —Already preceded. (*Ency. Islam*, i. 640, in the province of Kirmān.)

Balnān? . . . . . —Bailamān (*Ency. Islam*, i. 594), not traced.

Balzam, ... —The text suggests Palermo, which seems plausible as the simple omission of the dot over the *r* would effect the change, but the name is in strange company, and Abulfeda places it in the 4th Climate.

Baizā, Fārs, Long. 83·15, Lat. 30.—According to Yāqut a well-known city called *Dār Safed*, the white city, Arabicised into Baiza, the white, on account of its citadel which was seen at a long distance; Istakhri describes it, as the largest town of the district of Istakhar and called the White. Its Persian name was Nasāik; it was nearly as large as Istakhar and was 8 farsakhs from Shirāz.

Jausen or Jusain? . . . . . .

Kinah? . . . . . .

Jor, in Fārs, ... —*Ency. Islam*, ii. 113 (under *Firuzābād*). Long. 78·30, Lat. 31 according to Yāqut who places it at 20 farsakh from Shirāz, pronounced by the Persians *Gur*. It is said that Malik Azdu-d Daulah bin Buwaih used to make frequent excursions of pleasure to it and the people used to say that he had gone to *Gor*, *i.e.*, the grave. The ominous sound induced him to change the name to Firozābād. The original city is ascribed to Ardeshir-b.-Bābak, who gave it the name of Ardeshir Khurrah.

Damindān, in Kirmān, ... —The name of a large town in Kirmān with mines of iron, copper, gold, silver, and ammoniac and tutty in a mountain in the vicinity. This mountain is called Dumbāwand, lofty and volcanic. It contains a huge cave in which is heard the sound of rushing waters. When the vapourous smoke is thick around its sides, the people of the town assemble to obtain the sal ammoniac which is deposited, of which 1/5 is taken by the Sultan and the rest divided amongst the people pro rata. Yāqut from Ibn u'l Fakih. This must not be confounded with the mountain of Dumbāwand on the frontiers of Rayy of which marvellous legends are recorded by Yāqut.

Sabqah, ... —I do not trace this name. (? *Saqqiz* in Kurdistan, *Ency. Islam*, iv. 82, J. S.)

S'alabah, ...

'Ain-ush-Shams, Egypt, ... —Long. in Abulf. varying according to different authors between 53·30 and 61·50 and Lat. between 29·30 and 30·20; said to be the residence of Pharoah, of which some ruins still remain, among them the needle of Pharoah, at half a day's journey from Cairo. Abulf. II. 167. This is the famous Heliopolis, with the semitic names of *Beth Shemesh* and *On* (*Genesis*, xli. 45. Ezech. xxx 17).

'Ain Jārah, ...—Said by Yāqut to have been a small village near Aleppo with which a gross legend is connected, but the position is obscure.

Kadwāl? . . . . . .

Kafartāb . . . . . —Atwal, Long. 61·30, Lat. 34·45, placed by Abulf. in the 4th Climate. Yāqut locates it in the desert between Aleppo and Marrah; there are no wells and it is dependent on rain water.

Kafartuthā, ... —Atwal, Long. 66·35, Lat. 37, in the 4th Climate in the Diyār Rabiah. Yāqut places it at 5 farsakh from Dārā in Mesopotamia. Also the name of a village in Palestine.

Najdah? . . . . . .

Kawārah? . . . . . .

Marbut, ... —Mentioned by Yāqut as one of the villages of Alexandria without further particulars.

Dalna? . . . . . —The text suggests Dalna.

Daskarah, in 'Irāq, Long. 81·3°, Lat. 38·40′.—In the environs of Baghdad or according to another account, a large village in its dependency on the road to Khurāsān and called *Darkarat-ul-Malik*; contains marvellous ancient ruins. Abulf. Yāqut gives two of the name, one a large village W. of Baghdad, and another on the road to Khurāsān near Shahrābād and called Darkarut-ul-Malik, on account of the frequent residence there of Harmuz son of Sapor, son of Ardeshir, son of Bābek. Two others are also mentioned by Yāqut one, opposite Jabbul, between Nuamaniyah and Wāsit, and a fourth in Khuzistān.

Manf, Egypt, Long. 63·20°, Lat. 30·20′.—Memphis. The text has Minf. Yāqut points the word *Manf*, which is doubtless correct, the *Noph* of the Old Testament. Its antiquity is unquestionable, but Yāqut's authority, an undistinguished 'Abdur-Rahman, makes it the first city peopled after the Flood. Its first settlers were Baisar, son of Ham, son of Noah, with his family 30 in number, and their colony called *Māfah* from a Coptic word signifying 30, and turned by the Arabs into *Manf*.

Murjān? . . . . . .

Nāsarah, Palestine, ... —Nazareth.

Maghrārah or Maghrawah, ...

The Fourth Climate.

Tanjah, a dependency of Fez, on the Atlantic, Long. 18°, Lat. 35′. —Tangier.

Q'asr i 'Abdul Karim, Mauritania, Long. 18·30°, Lat. 37·40′.—A town 4 marches from Ceuta, N.W. of Miknessa, built on the river Luccos. The chief town of the province was formerly Al Baara, but on its destruction the castle of 'Abdul Karim took the rank of the capital and was known as the castle of Ketāma. Abulf. Reinaud observes in a note that Abdul Karim is a branch of the Berber tribe of Ketāma and this castle was also surnamed *Al Qasr al Kabir*. This name is retained in K. Johnston, as applying to the modern town of Luxor.

Qurtubah, capital of Andalusia, Long. 18·30, Lat. 35.—Cordova.

Ishbiliyyah, Andalusia, Long. 18·15, Lat. 36·50.—Seville.

Sabtah, Mauritania, Long. 19·15, Lat. 35·30.—Ceuta, anciently Lepta. The deg and min. of Long. are inaccurate in the text and seem generally to have been entered without discrimination or care and impossible localities assigned.

Jazirat al Khadrā (the Green Isle) Andalusia, Long. 19·15, Lat. 35·50.—Algeciras. The epithet of the 'isle' was given to it, says Ibn Sayd, from an island in the vicinity. It is now joined to the continent. The epithet of "the island" is also given to Mesopotamia and the difference by which the relative adjectives of these localities is distinguished is, that the former is *Aljaziri*, the latter *Aljazari*. Abulf. II. 347.

Mārida, Spain, Long. 28·15, Lat. 38·15.—Merida, the ancient Augusta Emerita, built by Publius Carisius, legate of Augustus, in B.C. 23, who colonised it with the veterans of the 5th and 10th legions whose term of service had expired (*emriti*) at the close of the Cantabrian War. It became the capital of Lusitania and one of the greatest cities in Spain. *Geog. Dict.*

Tulaitulah, Do., Long. 10·40, Lat. 35·30.—Toledo, the ancient Toletum, (Ptolemy) according to an old Spanish tradition it was founded in 540 B.C. by Jewish colonists who named it *Toledoch, i.e.*, mother of people. *Geog. Dict.*

Gharnātah, Do., Long. 21·40, Lat. 37·30.—Granada.

Jayyān, Do., Long. 21·40, Lat. 38·50.—Jaen.

Almariyyah, Do., Long. 24·40, Lat. 35·50.—Almeria.

Medinatu'l Farj, Do., Long. 25, Lat. 36·40.—Now Guadalajara, *Wāda-l-Hajārah*, the river of stones, *Amnis lapidum* of Rodericus Toletanus. Gayangos. *Mahom. Dyn .in Spain*, I. 319. The name in the text signifies the city of the opening or gap' which Reinaud supposes to convey the meaning of frontier city. This meaning of *farj* is borne out by Belazuri v. Gildemeister. *De Reb. Indicis*, p. 37.

Mālaqah, Do., Long. 26, Lat. 37·30.—Malaga, the ancient Malaca.

Mān'ah, *var.* Maltah, ... —Gladwin has here *Malta*, with the degrees of Long. and Lat. which are absent from the text; perhaps a misscript for *Minorca*.

Island of Yābisah, Mediterranean, Long. 36·62, Lat. 38·30.—Iviza, anciently Ebusus.

Island of Mayurqah, Mediterranean, Long. 34·7, Lat. 38·30.—Majorca, Balearis Major.

Bunah, Africa, Long. 28, Lat. 28·50.—The modern Bona on the coast of Constantine province in the vicinity of the ancient Hippo Regius.

Island of Sardāniyah, Africa, Mediterranean, Long. 41, Lat. 88.

Capital of the Island of Sicily, Long. 45, Lat. 38·10.—Palermo.

Balraghdāmis, Mediterranean, Long. 49·10, Lat. 39·10.—Barghadema is the nearest approach to the name in Abulf. but the Lat. is 57 and Reinaud considers the country between the Oder and Dnieper to be meant, but the text mentions it in the Mediterranean.

Island of Shāmus, Mediterranean, Long. 52·40, Lat. 38·10.—Samos.

Island of Ikritish, Do., Long. 55, Lat. 36·40.—Crete.

Island of Qubrus, Do., Long. 62·15, Lat. 34.—Cyprus.

Island of Rudis, Do., Long. 61·40, Lat. 36.—Rhodes, mentioned elsewhere.

Island of Hamariyā, Do., Long. 64·15, Lat. 38·35.—I suspect this to be Morea ; in Abulf. *Lamoreya*, but the location does not correspond as to Lat. and Long.

Island of Saqliyah, Do., Long. 65, Lat. 36.—Sicily. Thus in the text but according to Yāqut, the orthography is Siqilliyyah.

Atheniyah the city of philosophers, Greece, Long. 63·40, Lat. 57·20.—Athens.

Jarun, Long. 66·30, Lat. 30·35.—An old castle in ruins opposite Constantinople. Reinaud gives its Long. 50 and Lat. 45 and writes the name *Alferoun*, suggesting a better reading. *Alfedoun*, II. 39. Guyard doubts whether the Arabic article before Jarun is admissible (II. II. 142) and his objection is well founded.

Tarsus, Long. 68·40, Lat. 35·50.

Bayrut, Asia Minor, Long. 69·30, Lat. 34.

Ayās, Armenia, Long. 69, Lat. 36·40.—In the Gulf of Iskanderun.

Azanah, Do., Long. 69, Lat. 36·50.

Masisah, Do., Long. 69·15, Lat. 36·45.—The ancient Mopsuestia.

Bars Birt, Do., Long. 69·23, Lat. 37.—One march N. of Sis between little Armenia and Carmania. A strong citadel on a hill commanding the country.

Arraboloe Syria, Long. 69·40, Lat. 34.—Tripoli.

Baghras, Do., Long. 70, Lat. 35·43.—The ancient Pagrae near the Syrian gates on the Syrian side of the Pass. Through these gates, the *Assirion pylai* of Arrian, Alexander passed and

recrossed turning back to meet Darius at Issus. Arr. I, VI, VIII.

Bab Sikandarunah, Do., Long. 70, Lat. 36·10.—Alexandretta or [illegible]

Lādhakiyyah, Do., Long. 70·40, Lat. 35·15.—Latākia.

Hims, Do., Long. 70·15, Lat. 34·20.—Hems.

Shughr Bakās, Do., Long. 71, Lat. 35·30.—Two strong fortresses within a bow shot of each other, half way between Antioch and Fāmyah. The former name occurs in K. J. supposed to have been Seleucia ad Belum.

Suwaidiyyah, Do., Long. 71, Lat. 36.—The ancient Seleucia.

Malatiyyah, Do., Long. 71, Lat. 37.—Properly Malatyah, according to Yāqut, and is in Asia Minor not Syria proper.

Shaizar, Long. 71·10, Lat. 34·50.—A corruption of *Kaisāreia* or Cæsarea Phillipi. In his remarks on Hamāth, Shaizar is said by Abulf. to be remarkable for the number of its norias.

Antākiah, on the Roman frontier, Long. 71·26, Lat. 35·40.—Antioch.

Sarmin, dependency of Aleppo, Long. 71·50, Lat. 35·50.—One march south of Aleppo between it and Ma'arrah.

Qinnasrin, Long. 72, Lat. 35·30.

Halab, one of the chief cities of Syria, Long. 72·10, Lat. 35·8.—

Syria, Long. 72·15, Lat. 37·30.—Anciently

Hisn Mansur, Do., Long. 72·25, Lat. 37.—Near from Mansur-b-Ja'unah-b. al Hārith al 'Āmiri, to whom intrusted its construction under Marwān, the Asa.

Saruj, Long. 72·40, Lat. 36·3.—In Mesopotamia, now in ruins, in the environs of Harrān: it is marked in K. J.

Mambij, Long. 72·50, Lat. 36·30.—Hierapolis, a name given by Seleucus Nicator in substitution of Bambyke, as it was called by the natives, being the chief seat of the worship of the Syrian goddess Astarte. It is the *Mabog* of Pliny. See its history in Smith's *Geog. Dict.*

Raqqah, Diyār Muzar, Long. 73, Lat. 36.—After the great inundation of Arim, famous in Arabian history, which is assigned to a period shortly after the death of Alexander the Great, eight tribes were forced to abandon their homes, from some of which arose the kingdoms of Ghassān and Hira. About this time also occurred the migration of colonies led into Mesopotamia by Bakr, Muzhar and Rabi'ah, the eponymous

chiefs of the three provinces still named after them. Diyār Bakr, Diyār Muzhar and Diyār Rabi'ah. See Sale. Prel. Dis. 7.

Harrān, Long. 73, Lat. 37·40.—Anciently Carrhæ, the Haran or Charran of *Genesis*; xi. 31. xxiv. 10. v. *Geog. Dict.*

Qaliqalā, Armenia, Long. 73·45, Lat. 38.

Mārdin, Diyār Rabi'ah, Long. 74, Lat. 37·50.

Mayyā Fāriqin Diyār Bakr, Long. 74·15, Lat. 38.—The capital of Diyār Bakr. Here is the tomb of Saifu'ddaulah b.-Hamdān.

Hattākh, Do., Long. 74·30, Lat. 37·45.—Close to Mayyā Fāriqin. Yāqut.

Qarqisiyā, Do., Mudhar, Long. 74·40, Lat. 36.—The ancient Circesium, situated on the Euphrates and Khābur, near Raqqah. Marked in K. J.

Jazirah, Ibn Omar, Mesopotamia, Long. 75·30, Lat. 37·30.—Marked in K. J.

Nasibin, Diyār Rabi'ah, Long. 75·20, Lat. 37·40.—The capital of Diyār Rabi'ah. Its roses have the peculiarity of being white, no red roses are found there. Ibn Batutah quotes Abu Nawas in praise of it. Vol. II. 141. *Travels.*

Makisin, Mesopotamia, Long. 75·32, Lat. 35.—On the Khābur, 7 parasangs from Qarqisiyah and 22 to Sinjar. Abulf.

Sinjār, Diyar Rabi'ah, Long. 76, Lat. 36.

Ma'arrat-un-Nu'amān, Syria, Long. 71·44, Lat. 35.—The name is from Nu'amān-b-Bashir a companion of Muhammad, who died while his father was Governor of Emesa and was here buried. It had been previously named Dhāt-ul-Qusur, "possessing palaces", and it is also said that Nu'amān is the name of a mountain overlooking it. Ibn Batutah, I. 144.

Irbil, a large city with a strong fortress, a dependency of Mausil, Long. 69·30, Lat. 36·8.—Arbila, now Erbil, Yāqut gives the Long. 69·30, Lat. 35·30, describes it as a large city with a strong fortress two days' march from Mausil of which it is a dependency. This name must be pronounced Irbil and not Arbil which he says is not admissible (*Ency. Islam*, ii. 521-).

'Ānah, Mesopotamia, Long. 76·30, Lat. 34.

Madinah i Balad, Diyār Rabi'ah, Long. 76·40, Lat. 37·30.—A small town on the W. of the Tigris, 6 parasangs from Mausil, Abulf. It is commonly written *Balad*, simply.

Mausil, Mesopotamia, Long. 76, Lat. 36·50.—Mosal in the maps.

Arjish, Armenia, Long. 76, Lat. 38·30.—A fortress situated on the N. of the Lake of Van, identified with the ancient Arsene.

Hadithah, on the Euphrates, Long. 77·20, Lat. 38·35.—There are two of the name (meaning New town), one in Mesopotamia below 'Ānah and another Mausil. The former is here meant. (It is marked in K. J.). The latter follows.

Amid, Diyār Bakr, Long. 77·20, Lat. 36·12.—The present town of Diyār Bakr.

Hadithah, on the Tigris, Long. 77·20, Lat. 86·15.

Naushahr, 'Irāq, Long. 71·30, Lat. 36·35.—This is a Persian name, synonymous with *Hadithah* (Villeneuve), but I do not trace it in Abulf. or Yāqut.

Tikrit, Mesopotamia, Long. 71·25, Lat. 34·30.

Sāmarra, 'Irāq, Long. 79, Lat. 84.—Originally *Surramān rān, viz.*, "rejoiceth him that seeth it," built by the Caliph Al Mu'atasim-billāhi in 218 A.H. (A.D. 833). See Jarrett's *Hist. of the Caliphs* (Siyuti) 330, for its origin.

Salmās, Azarbijān, Long. 72, Lat. 37·40.—Situated on the extreme West of Azarbijān at 7 parasangs from Khowayy. Abulf.

Khowayy, Azarbijān, Long. 79·42, Lat. 37·40.—12 parasangs N.W. of Marand ; 21 miles from Salmās.

Urmiyyah, Do., Long. 29·45, Lat. 37.—Or Urmiyah, on the borders of the lake of the same name.

Irbil, capital of Shahrazur, Long. 78, Lat. 39·20.—*Ency. Islam*, ii. 521-523 (the name of many places in Mesopotamia). The district or hill country called by the geographers Jabal, is part of Persian 'Irāq, and according to Ibn Haukal is its distinguishing feature. The inhabitants are all Kurds. Shahrazur according to Yāqut is a large town in the mountains between Irbil and Hamadān, the chief of a cluster of towns and villages comprised under the same name. (See also Ibn Khaldun, De Slane I. 145).

Marand, Azarbijān, Long. 80·43, Lat. 37·50.—N.E. of Tabriz, the ancient Maranda.

Shahrazur, one of the towns of the Jabal, Long. 80·20, Lat. 35·30. —The town was named after Zu-l-Zohāk who founded it. Yāqut.

Ardabil, Azarbijān, Long. 80·30, Lat. 38.—Yāqut visited it in A.H. 617 (A.D. 1220) and remarks the extraordinary fact,

that notwithstanding its good air and many streams, not a fruit tree was to be seen in or near it in the plain on which it stands. Fruit has to be brought from a day's journey the other side of the hills and no fruit tree will thrive there. According to the *Qànun* the Long. is 73·50, and the Atwal 72·30 and both make the Lat. 38.

Aujān, Azarbijān, Long. 81·30, Lat. 37·20.—A small town of little importance, and little noticed by Abulf. In the *Dict de la Perse* it is said to have received from Ghazān Khan the name of "the City of Islam".

Nakhchuwān, in Arrān, Long. 81·45, Lat. 37·49.—Anciently Naxuana on the N. bank of Araxes. In Armenian tradition, it is connected with the first habitation of Noah and his landing from the ark. *Geog. Dict.*

Kasr-Shirin, Azarbijān, Long. 81·50, Lat. 36·40.—Near Qirmisin, between Hamadān and Hulwān on the Baghdad road. It was named after the beautiful Shirin wife or mistress of Khusrau Parwiz. The legend of its building is told by Yākut who says that this monarch was famed for three incomparable treasures, his horse Shabdiz, his mistress Shirin and his minstrel Balahbaz.

Saimarah, in the Jabal district, Long. 81·50, Lat. 34·40.—See under Shahrazur for Jabal.

Marāghah, Azarbijān, Long. 82, Lat. 37·20.—The old capital of Adharbāijān, (*Ency. Islam*, iii. 261-). The name of this town was originally *Afrāz Haroz*. The army of Marwān, Governor of Armenia and Azarbijān under Hishām the Umayyad Caliph here encamped in one of his expeditions. The stable litter of the cavalry and beasts of burden covered the plain and the animals constantly rolling themselves about in it (*tamarrugh*), it received the name of the "village of Marāghah" and subsequently Marāghah only), (Yāqut).

Tabriz, Azarbijān, Long. 82, Lat. 37.—Tauris, the seat of the royal residence of the Tartar dynasty of Hulagu till its transfer to Sultāniyyah, the new capital founded by Khudābandah. Abulf. See its history in D'Herbelot.

Ardabil, Azarbijān, Long. 82·25, Lat. 37·20.—A note to the text says that this name occurs twice in every MS. and that here Dabil in Armenia is probably meant. Abulfeda gives the

Long. 72·40, Lat. 38 (*Qānun*) and Long. 70·20, Lat. 37·25 (Atwal) and calls it the capital of Interior Armenia.

Mayānah, Azarbijān, Long. 82·30, Lat. 37.—Two days march from Marāghah, in K. J. Miana.

Kirmisin, or Kirmān Shāh in the Jabal dist., Long. 83; Lat. 34·30.—Kermānshāh in K. J.

Dainawar, Do., Long. 83, Lat. 35.—*Ency. Islam*, i. 976. "In the middle ages one of the most important towns of Jibāl (Media) now in ruins". Correct spelling *Dinawar* N.W. of Hamadān, near Kirmisin.

Hamadān, Māh-ul-Basrah, Long. 83, Lat. 36.—*Ency. Islam*, ii. 241 under *Hamadhān*. Hamadān (or dān) with its districts formed what was called the Māh of Basrah, as Dinawar and its dist. formed the Māh of Kufah. The word *Māh* is derived from the same name as *Media* (Māda) according to Lagarde and Olshausen (Guyard II. II. p. 163, n.) and employed by geographers in the sense of province. Hamadān with Nahāwand and Qumm forms the Māh-ul-Basrah.

Zanjān, Jabal dist., Long. 83, Lat. 36·30.—The most northern of the Jabal villages, on the borders of the Azarbijān.

Muqān, borders of Arrān, Long. 83, Lat. 38.—Two marches distant from Derbend according to Ibn Haukal, but Abulfeda states that the town exists no longer and the name is applied to a tract of country bordering the Caspian, visited as winter quarters by Tartar hordes.

Sohraward, Jabal dist., Long. 83·20, Lat. 36.—Near Zanjān, a little town inhabited by Kurds, Abulf.

Nuhāwand, Māhul-Basrah, Jabal dist., Long. 83·15, Lat. 34·20.—*Ency. Islam*, iii. 911 under *Nihhāwand*, a town in the old province of Hamadhān, on the road from Kirmānsāh [to Isfahān.] [J. S.]

Bimānshahr, of Hamadān, Long. 84·30, Lat. 37·30.—A mere village. Abulf. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 170 mentions a Bimashahr (not *Bimanshahr*) among the former most important places of Gilān.

Burujird, Do., Long. 84·30, Lat. 36·20.—18 parasangs from Hamadān in the Jabal dist., produces saffron. Abulf.

Abhar, Jabal dist., Long. 84·30, Lat. 36·55.—The text has incorrectly *Ubhar*. Yāqut correctly places it between Qazwin and Zanjān and Hamadān, the last forming the apex of the

triangle of which the base is Qazwin and Zanjān, almost equally bisected by Abhar. *Ency. Islam*, i. 69.

Kutam, Gilān, Long. 84·40, Lat. 37·20.—At one day's march from the sea, said to have been a considerable town, but it is not marked in the map. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 170 mentions it. [P. 41.]

Karaj, Jabal dist., Long. 74·45, Lat. 34.—It is a town half way between Hamadān and Isfahān—called also *Karaj-i-Abi Dulaf*, having been founded by this general of the Caliph Al Mamun. Abulf. Yāqut.

Sāwah, Do., Long. 85, Lat. 36·15.—Situate W. of Rayy, and S. of Tālaqān and 12 parasangs from Qumn.

Qazwin, Do., Long. 85, Lat. 36·30.

Sultāniyyah, Do., Long. 85, Lat. 36·30.—In Azarbijān. Its ruins are marked on K. J. It is immediately south of Zanjān, a town founded by Khudābandah son of Arghun, 12th of the Ilkhān dynasty. *Ency. Islam*, iv 548.

Abah or Awah, Jabal Dist., Long. 85·10, Lat. 34·40.—In K. J. Avah at the foot of the Karaghan Mts., 27 parasangs north-east of Hamadān.

Qumn, Do., Long. 84·40, Lat. 34·45.—Kum in K. J. directly S. of Teherān. The inhabitants are all Shiahs and Yāqut amusingly describes the attempt of a Sunni Governor to find any one named Abu Bakr in the whole town. A wretched tatterdemalion was at length produced after a long search as the only specimen the climate could grow of that name. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 1117.

Jarbādqan, Do., Long. 85·35, Lat. 34.—Between Karaj and Hamadān. There is another of the name between Astarābād and Jurjān.

Kāshān, Do., Long. 86·12, Lat. 36.—A smaller town than Qumn and in its vicinity. Its houses mostly constructed of mud and their inhabitants Shiahs. Abulf. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 786.

Natanz, Do., Long. 86·30, Lat. 38·13.—A small town 20 parasangs from Isfahan. Abulf.

Dumbāwand, Do., Long. 86·20, Lat. 35·35.—Demavend in K. J. It marks the frontier of Rayy. *Ency. Islam*, i. 937, under *Demawend*.

Rayy, Do., Long. 86·20, Lat. 35·53.—The ancient Rhagæ, in Media. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 1105

Kālār, in Dailam, Long. 8·50, Lat. 36·35.—With Kālār is coupled in the text a corrupt name, perhaps, a miscript for *Salous* from which it is only a march distant. Kālār is a town S.E. of Lahrjan, which is S.E. of Resht.

Khuwar, Jabal dist., Long. 87·10, Lat. 35·40.—A dependency of Rayy between that town and Simnān.

Tālaqān, Long. 85·45, Lat. 36·30.—Between Qazwin and Abhar, not to be confounded with the Tālaqān of Khurāsān.

Hausam, Gilān, Long. 85·10, Lat. 37·10.—In the Jabal district beyond Tabaristān and Dailam is all the information in Yāqut.

Dailamān (Isfahān) . . . . . —Yāqut describes it as one of the villages of Isfahān in the Jurjān territory.

Dasht, Do. . . . . —A village of the Isfahān district—also a small town in the mountains between Irbil and Tabriz populated by Kurds. Yāqut.

Lahajān, Gilān, ... —Atwal, Long. 74, Lat. 36·15. The Safid Rud flows into the sea near Lahijan. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 170.

Wimah, town of Dumbāwand, ... —Do. 77·20, Lat. 36·10 *Qānun*, Long. 76·35, Lat. 36·20. A small town between Rayy and Tabaristān. Abulf.

Amul, Tabaristān, ... —Atwal, Long. 77·20, Lat. 36·35. Capital of Tabaristān.

Dāmaghān, Qumis, ... —Atwal, Long. 78·55, Lat. 36·20. The largest of the towns in Qumis territory according to Ibn Hauqal called by Yāqut.

Simnān, Capital of Qumis, ... —Atwal, Long. 78, Lat. 36. *Qānun* Long. 79, Lat. 36.

Biyār, Mazandarān, ... —A picturesque town between Baihaq and Bistām, two days' march from the latter. *Dict. de la Perse.*

Sāri, Do., Long. 88, Lat. 37.—Also written and more commonly *Sāriyah*. Its derivation from *Sari* "Travelling by night" according to Yāqut, but the reason is not evident. It lies 3 parasangs from the sea and 18 from Amul.

Bistām, Qumis, Long. 89·30, Lat. 36·10.—A town in Khurāsān, on the slopes of the Alburs mt. During the Khalifate it was the second city of the Qumis district (after the capital Damaghān). Famous for its apples and Saints' tombs. *Ency. Islam*, i.

Astarābād, Māzandarān, Long. 89·35, Lat. 36·50.

Jurjān, Capital of its province, Long. 90, Lat. 36·50.—Its ruins alone are marked in K. J. *Ency. Islam*, i. 1065, modern Persian *Gurgān*, the ancient Hyrcania.

Furāwah, Khurāsān, Long. 90, Lat. 39.—On the frontier of Khwārizm ; it is called Ribāt Furāwah, a fort constructed by Abdu'llah b. Tāhir in the Caliphate of Mamun. Abulf.

Sabzawār, ... —Long. 91·30, Lat. 36·15. The chief town of the canton of Baihaq a position previously held by the town of Khusraujird.

Isfarāin or Mihrjān, Khurāsān, Long. 91·40, Lat. 36·55.—In the environs of Naisābur half way to Jurjān. The name of Mihrjān is said to have been given to it by Khusrau Kubād, father of Nushirwān, on account of the beauty of its climate and the freshness of its air. (Abulf.). Abu'l Qāsim al Baihaqi according to Yāqut, says that the ancient form of the name was Isbarain, from *isbar*, a buckler, and *'Ain* custom, on account of the traditional usage of this weapon of defence from the time of Isfandiyār.

Abaskun, Māzandarān, Long. 89·55, Lat. 37·10.—The text has Abisgun, situated on the borders of the Caspian ; 24 parasangs from Jurjān. *Ency. Islam*, i. 6.

Mazinān, frontier of Khurāsān, Long. 90·35, Lat. 36.—On the extreme frontier of Khurāsān bordering on 'Irāq.

Turshiz, Long. 90·15, Lat. 35.—*Ency. Islam*, iv. 974. The text has turned the Lon. into a series of 3 figures and marked the town as unknown. A reference to Yāqut would have shown that *Turshish* or Turaithith, celebrated for its savants and devotees, is a town and district dependent on Naisābur. The Persian orthography of the name is correctly represented in the text, (v. *Dict. de la Perse*, 390 n.). In the *Zinat-ul Majālis*, it is said that in one of its boroughs called Kashmir, is a cypress celebrated for its beauty and height and said to have been planted by Gushtāsp the sage, and alluded to by Firdausi in his *Shāh Nāmah*, (Mohl. t. IV, p. 364). It was uprooted by the order, it is said, of the Abbaside Mutawakkil, who was certainly capable of the barbarity.

Naishābur, one of the chief cities of Khurāsān, Long. 92·30, Lat. 36·20.—Yāqut writes *Naisabur*—vulg. Nashāur.

Tus, Khurāsān, Long. 92·30, Lat. 34·20.

Mashhad, it adjoins Nuqān, Long. 92·33, Lat. 34·29.—*Ency. Islam*, iii. 467. Known as Meshed. It stands on the ruins of Nauqān and takes its name from the Mausoleum (*Mashhad*) of Ali, son of Musa-ar-Ridha, and is too well-known for description.

Tun, Long. 92·30, Lat. 34·30.—Town of Kohistān near Qain. *Dict. de la Perse.*

Nuqān, not the Nauqān of Mashhad, Long. 92, Lat. 38.—This must be the Nuqān in the environs of Naisābur.

Qāin, Khurāsān, Long. 93·20, Lat. 37·30.—The capital of Kohistān. *Kayn* in K.J.

Zuzan, Kohistān, Long. 93·30, Lat. 35·20.—Between Herat and Naisābur.

Buzjān, Khurāsān, Long. 94, Lat. 36.—A small town 4 marches from Naisābur.

Marw, Shāhjahān, Do., Long. 94·20, Lat. 37·40.—*Ency. Islam*, Suppl. 146-149, (where *Shāhjahān* is shown as a mistake for *al-Shāhijān*).

Herāt, Khurāsān, Long. 94·20, Lat. 34·30.

Sarakhs Do. Long. 94·30, Lat. 37·8.

Bādaghis Do. Long. 94·30, Lat. 34·20.—A dependency of Herāt, the chief town or towns of the canton being Bamun and Baun that adjoin each other.

Marw-ar-Rud, known as Murghāb, Long. 94, Lat. 36·30.—The word signifies a white flint that gives fire, and *rud* is a stream, (the *Murghāb*). The town is 4 days' march (Abulf.) says five) from its more celebrated namesake. The relative adjective of this name is *Marwarudi*, and that of the other is *Marwazi*, to distinguish them.

Mālīn, of Herāt, Long. 94·30, Lat. 34·35.—Name of a cluster of villages at 2 parasangs from Herāt, and called at Herāt, Mālān (Yāqut.)

Bushang, Long. 95·40, Lat. 36·3.—Bushanj in Yāqut, a picturesque town, 10 parasangs from Herāt. According to the *Dict. de la Perse*, the Persian name is *Fushanj* deriving its origin from the son of Afrasiāb. *Ency. Islam*, i. 802. under Bushandj ("or Fushandj"), a town south of the Hari Rud below Herāt, a day's journey from that city.

Baghshur, Khurāsān, Long. 96·25, Lat. 36.—A small town between Herāt and Marw-ar-Rud. Yāqut passed by this in A.H. 616 and it was then nearly in ruins. The name of Bagh is also

given to this town and the relative adjective *Baghawi* formed from it, not quite according to grammatical rule. Yāqut.

Qarinain, Marw Shāhjahān, Long. 97·25, Lat. 36·55.—Situated on the Marw river, formerly called Barkadir, but changed to Qarinain, (dual of *Qarín*, the two neighbours) because it was joined to Marw-ar-Rud from which it is 4 marches dista-

Dandānqān, Do. Long. 97·30, Lat. 37.—A small locality two marches from Marw in the Sarakhs direction. Its cotton is said to be of excellent quality and it produces silk.

Sharmaqān, Long. 104, Lat. 36·41.—By the Persians called Jarmaqān, a small town in the Isfahān dist. four marches from Naisābur, in the Khurāsān hills.

Tālaqān, Khurāsān, Long. 98, Lat. 36·30.—Not to be confounded with the Tālaqān between Qazwin and Abhar in the Jabal dist. This one is said by Yāqut to lie between Balkh and Marw-ar-Rud, at three days' march from the latter. It is not marked in the maps. Another Tālaqān is in Badakshān near Qunduz below the spurs of the Hindu Kush.

Fāryāb, Long. 99, Lat. 36·45.—The text omits the tens in the min. of Lon. but similar errors are almost too numerous to notice. Fāryāb is a well-known town of Jarjan, 6 marches from Balkh, 3 from Shubrukān and 3 from Tālaqān. Zahir Fāryābi was from this town.

Balkh, capital of Khurāsān, Long. 101·40, Lat. 36·41.

Bāmiān, Zābulistān, Long. 102, Lat. 34·35.

Halāward, Long. 101·40, Lat. 37·30.—A town of Khuttal, a province of Khurāsān in Transoxiana of which the chief towns are this and Lāwakand. Khuttal is comprised between the Waksh Badakhshān rivers.

Balāsāghun, Long. 101·30, Lat. 37·40.—This is placed by Abulf. in the 7th Climate. A frontier town of Turkestan across the Jaxartes, near Kāshghar, (Abulf.) in whose times it was in the hands of the Tartars. De Guignes, speaks of Malikshāh, son of Alp Arslān, in 1089, as taking Samarqand and passing on to Ouzkend, compelling the king of Kāshghar to read the Khutba and mint the coin in his name and forcing tribute from the princes of Taraz, Balasgoun and Isfijāb

Siminjān, Tukhāristān, Long. 102, Lat. 36.—A small locality in Tukhāristān wedged in it between Balkh and Baghlān in the defiles, inhabited by a branch of the Bani Tamim. It is 2

marches from Balkh to Khulm and 5 on to Anderabah by Siminjān. Yāqut.

Qubādiān, territory of Balkh, Long. 102, Lat. 37·45.—A pleasant spot full of orchards, Abulf.; the town and district are marked in the survey map, across the Oxus directly N. of Khulm.

Walwālij, in Tukhāristān, Long. 102·20, Lat. 36.—The capital of Tukhāristān according to Abulf. which was anciently the kingdom of the Ephthalites (Hayātilah), 4 parasangs from Tāikān.

Saghānyān, Transoxiana, Long. 102·40, Lat. 38·50.—Pronounced Jaghānyān in Persian; the name of the town is extended to the country about it, larger than Tirmiz but not so rich or populous. Abulf.

Taiqān, Tukhāristān, Long. 102·50, Lat. 37·25.—In the environs of Balkh. It is separated by a distance of 7 parasangs from Khuttal. Abulf.

Anderāb, Khurāsān, Long. 103·45, Lat. 36.—Between Ghaznah and Balkh, the road by which caravans enter Kabul. Adjacent is the mountain of Panjhir with its mines of silver.

Badakshān, Long. 104·40, Lat. 37·20.

Kābul, Long. 104·40, Lat. 34·30.

Banjhir, Kābulistān, Long. 104·40, Lat. 34·30.—Properly Panjhir, Yāqut, see Vol. II.

Lamghān, Do., Long. 104·50, Lat. 34·3.

Karwez, Badakshān, Long. 105·20, Lat. 36.—The text is corrupt and the place unknown. Gladwin writes Gardiz, but this Tumān is S. of Kābul and S.E. of Ghazni. I would propose *Kunduz*. [H. S. J.] I cannot accept Qunduz (*Ency. Islam*, ii. 1117), "a town and district in N. Afghanistan, bounded by Badakshān, Tash Kurghān, the Oxus and the Hindu Kush. The town is the trade centre of a considerable district which produces the best horses in Afghanistan." The place seems to be *Karzwān*, close to Gharjistān in Afghan Turkestān, as given in A. Hamid Lahori's *Pādishāh-nāmah*, ii. 622. [J. S.]

Jirm, Badakshān, Long. 104·20, Lat. 36.—*Ency. Islam*, i. 552, "the frontier town of Islam, on the trade route *via* Wakhān to Tibet." (J. S.)

Kishmar, Long. 93·40, Lat. 36·15.—I read *saj* for *Sah* of the text for deg. of Long. and *yh* for min. of Lat. These alterations which the similarity of the letters and the constant inaccuracies

of the text justify, will bring this town approximately to the location of *Tarshiz* (p. 86) of which it is a neighbour. (H. S. J.) *Turshiz* in *Ency. Islam*, iv. 974, the capital of the district of Busht in the province of Nishābur. In the vicinity was the village of Kishmar, where according to tradition, Zoroster planted a cypress tree. (J. S.)

Source of the Mihrān (Indus), Long. 125, Lat. 36.

Sarfatain, ... —From this name to the end, the degrees of Long. and Lat. do not occur in the principal MSS. Many of the names are repetitions of those preceding and very corrupt.

Jisr, ... —A place near Hirah, the scene of a battle between the Persians and the Arabs in A.H. 13, in which the latter were defeated. The word signifies a bridge, which was thrown across the Euphrates by which the Arabs advanced to the attack. Yāqut. *Ency. Islam*, under *Djisr*.

Harrān, ... —Preceded.

Qarādah, ...

Fārhān, ...

Malān? . . . . . .

Abrakhis? . . . . .

Audmiyyah? . . . . . .

Qarmāsin, ... —Preceded as Qirmisin.

Dauraq, ... —This is mentioned by Abulf. as a dependency of Khuzistān, 10 parasangs from Bāsyān and 18 from Arrajān, in the 3rd Climate.

Diyār Bakr, ... —Preceded.

Qarinain, ... —Do.

Ninawā, ... —Nineveh, the lat. of this place is the same as Mausil, which it faces on the opposite bank of the Tigris, Lat. 36·30, Long. 67. Abulf.

Palangān? . . . . . .

Qaisar, ... Atwal. Long. 60. Lat. 40. Qaisariyyah in Asia Minor, capital of the Ottoman Sultans, concurrently or alternately with *Iconium*. Abulf. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 660-661

Bijāyah, Mauritania, ... —Placed by Yāqut on the sea-shore on the borders of Africa proper and the Maghrib or N.W. Africa, three days' journey from Mīlah. It is the modern Bougie. *Ency. Islam*, i. 766.

Balansia, ... —Valencia, Long. 20, Lat. 38·6 Abulf.

Sāmus, ... —Samos, preceded as Shāmus.

Ayās, ... —Do.

Irqah, Syrian coast, ... —*Erek*, Long. 60·15, Lat. 34, a small town defended by a citadel, 12 miles S. of Tripoli, a parasang from the sea, the most northern part of the Damascus territory.

Raqbah? . . . . . —(Is it a mistake for *Raqqa*, the capital of Diyār Mudar on the left bank of the Euphrates, anciently called Kallinikos? *Ency. Islam*, iii. 1108. J. S.)

Sahyun, Qinnasrin, ... —Long. 60·10, Lat. 35·10, celebrated as one of the strongest fortresses of Syria, W. of Laodicea (Lādikiyeh) and one march from it (Abulf.). It is *Sajūn* in K. J.

Hārim, of Aleppo, ... —Long. 60·30, Lat. 35·50, a small town 2 marches W. of Aleppo, and one from Antioch, Abulf. It is marked in K. J.

Fāmyah, (Apamea), ... —Long. 61·8, Lat. 35, district of Shaizar, pronounced also with a prosthetic Alif. Another Fāmyah, a town situate on the Famu-s-Silh near Wāsit, Abulf.

Shaizar, ... —Has preceded. [P. 43]

Hamāt, Syria, ... —On the Orontes between Emessa and Qinnasrin, Long. 61·55, Lat. 34·45 (Abulf.) Epiphaneia ; the location of Ptolemy is Long. 69·36, Lat. 30·26. It is supposed to be identical with *Hamath* (2, *Sam.* viii, 9, *Kings*, viii, 65. Is x, 9) called also *Hamath* the Great. It was called Hamath in St. Jerome's day (see Smith *Geog. Dist.*) Abulf. says it is remarkable like Shaizar for the quantity of its norias [bucket water wheels] even among the Syrian cities.

Marash, a fortress of Syria, ... —Atwal, Long. 61, Lat. 36·30. One of the two fortresses, the other Hadath, on the Syrian frontier. They were both captured by Khālid, A.H. 15, Marash dismantled and its inhabitants driven out. Abdulf. *Annals*, I. 227. De Sacy in his *Chrest. Arab*, says, that its ancient name was Germanicia corrupted by the Syrians into Baniki, I. 130.

'Aintāb, dependency of Qinnasrin, ... —Long. 62·30, Lat. 36·30. It is 3 marches N. of Aleppo, and at no great distance is the ruined fortress of Doluk, which name frequently recurs in the history of the wars between Saladin and Nur-u'ddin. Doluk or Delouc as he writes it, De Sacy identifies with the ancient Doliche, (*Chrest. Arab*, III. 109), but this name was

applied (Doliche or Dolichiste, a long island) to the present Kakava S. of Lycia by Ptolemy, Pliny and Alexander in his *Periplus of Lycia*. There is no other Doliche mentioned in the *Geog. Dict.*

Hisn Kaifa, island in the Euphrates, ... —It is a town and fortress of considerable size, overlooking the Tigris between Amid and the Jazirat-i Ibn Omar of Diyār Bakr. Yāqut says the river there is crossed by a bridge, the largest he had ever seen of a single span, flanked by two smaller ones. Amid is now Diyār Bakr. The location in the text is strangely in error. It is marked in K. J. as Hosn Kefa.

Siirt, Diyār Rabi'ah, ... —Long. 68, Lat. 37·20, a town situate on a hill N.E. of the Tigris, one day's march and a half from Mayyāfāriqin, and 4 from Amid, to the south of which Siirt stands. Abulf.

Hisnu-t-Tāq, Sijistān, ... —Long. 80·30, Lat. 34·40, a fortress on a high mountain near an elbow formed by the Helmand in Sijistān. Abulf.

Milinj? (Mayānij, Mayānah), ... —Has preceded, (p. 82).

Karun? . . . . . .

Gilān, ...

Jawain, ... —The district dependent on Naisābur of which Azādhwar is the chief town. It is called by the Persians Kowān or Gowān, Abulf. II. II. 191.

Jājram, (between Naisābur and Jurjān), ...

Jām, in the Naisabur territory, ...

Farjistān? . . . . . .

Maru? . . . . . , (? Merv).

Karaj i Abi Dulaf, ... —Has preceded.

Nasā, Khurāsān, ... —Long. 82·8, Lat. 38, in Khurāsān on the confines of the desert, 67 parasangs N. of Sarakhs. Yāqut gives the origin of its name from the abandonment of the town by the male population on the advance of the Muhammadans. Seeing no men, but only women, they exclaimed. "These are women, let us go and fight elsewhere," and the name *Nisā* or Nasa was thus commemorated. He places it at 2 days' journey from Sarakhs; 5 from Marw; 1 from Abivard and 6 or 7 from Naisābur.

Abiward, Khurāsān, ... —Abivard in K. J

Shahristān, frontiers of Khurāsān, ... —This is another name for Isfahān, which followed the ancient name of Jayy. It fell into ruin and was replaced by Yahudiyyah, a mile distant from Shahristān and two from Jayy. The name of Yahudiyyah arose from the tradition that Nabuchadnezzar, after the destruction of Jerusalem transported its inhabitants to Isfahān. Jayy-Isfahan fell into decay, but the Jewish quarter prospered. This tradition according to Guyard is to be found in the *Talmud*, v. Abulf. H. II. 160. There is a long article in Yāqut on this city.

Iskalkand, Takhāristān, ... —Atwal Long. 92·20, Lat. 36·30. A small town of Takhāristān. The prosthetic *alif* is sometimes dropped and the word pronounced without it. Abulf.

Fārabr or Firabr, on the Oxus, ... —Atwal Long. 87·30, Lat. 38·45. On the Oxus towards Bokhara. Abulf. According to Yāqut, it is a small town between the Oxus and Bokhara, and one parasang from the river ; formerly called Ribāt Tāhir b. 'Ali.

Farmyab . . . . . .

Tamghāj, ... —This is the name of Northern China. Abulf., II, III, 230 n. According to D'Herbelot, Tangag or Tamgaz (his transliteration of names defied even the penetration of Gibbon) is the name of a race of Turks or Turkomans, the same nation as the Gaz., who took prisoner Sultan Sanjar the Seljuk.

Khuttlān, Transoxiana, ... —The name of a group of places beyond Balkh, a district distinct from Waksh, but under one and the same government. Its capitals are Halāward and Lāwakand, Abulf. II. II. 228. It has been previously mentioned.

Waksh, Do., ... —Atwal Long. 90·30, Lat. 38·20, a town of the Saghāriyān dist. in Transoxiana.

Shumān, in Saghānyān, ... —Abulf. of this latter mention has been made.

Maimanah and Chikhtu . . . —Abd. Hamid Lahori in his *Pādishāh-nāmah*, ii. 622 gives *Maimanah* and *Chichaktu* as close to Gharjistan and Karzwān, in Afghan Turkestān. For Ghardjistān. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 141. [J. S.] The text baffled Jarrett.

THE 5TH CLIMATE.

Ushbunah, Spanish Peninsula, Long. 36·45, Lat. 42·40.—Also called Lashbunah. Lisbon.

Shantarin, Do., Long. 18·10, Lat. 42·45.—Ancient Scalabis, now Santarem. After the fall of the empire, it received the name of St. Irene, from St. Iria, who there suffered martyrdom. Reinaud.

Centre of the Isle of Cadiz, Long. 21·2, Lat. 48·50.

Madînah i Walid, Do., Long. 21·52, Lat. 29·20.—Valladolid.

Mursyah, Do., Long. 28, Lat. 43.—Murcia.

Madinah i Sālem, Do., Long. 29·10, Lat. 39·20.—Medina Celi.

Dānya, Spain, Long. 31·30, Lat. 41·30.—Denia, anciently Dianium or Artemisium from a temple of Diana that stood on a lofty promontory of the E. coast of Hispania Tarraconensis.

Tutelah, East, Do., Long. 30·30, Lat. 43·55.—Tudela.

Saraqustah, Do., Do., Long. 31·30, Lat. 42·30.—Saragossa, Cæsar Augusta.

Turtushah, Do., Do., Long. 31·30, Lat. 40.—Tortosa, Colonia Julia Augusta Dertosa.

Jazirah-i-Mayurqah, Mediterranean, Long. 34·10, Lat. 39·40.—Majorca, see p. 77, a different location given.

Haikal, known as Haikal-i-Zuhrah (Temple of Venus) N. Spain, Long. 34, Lat. 43.—Port Vendres, Templum Veneris.

Barshalonāh, country of the Franks, Long. 34·30, Lat. 42.—Barcelona, ancient Barcino, traditionally founded by Hercules and rebuilt by Hamilcar Barcus who gave it the name of his family, G. D. Smith.

Arbunah, Spain or beyond it, Long. 36·15, Lat. 43.—Not Urbunah as in the text, but *Narbo Martins*, the Roman colony was founded in B.C. 118, D. E. The Arab geographers are divided as to its position whether in Spain or beyond it.

Tarraqunah, country of the Franks, Long. 33, Lat. 43·22.—Tarragona, Tarraco, a Phœnician colony, its name *Tarchon* said to mean a citadel, probably derived from its situation on a high rock above the sea, v. *Geog. Dict.*

Jenua, in Frankish territory, Long. 41, Lat. 41·20.—Anciently Genua, the orthography Janua to support the tradition of its foundation by Janus has no authority.

Rumiyah, city of the Pope, Long. 33, Lat. 41·21.

Rabuah? . . . . . .

Madinah i Tabarqah, Long. 55·12, Lat. 48·15.—On the Mauritanian coast, E. of Bona but this lat. does not harmonize with previous latitudes in Mauritania. Yāqut gives but one town of Tabbarkah and places it with accuracy near Beja and to the east of the town are the castles Benzert (Biserta).

Jazirah i ? Long. 58·50, Lat. 42·15.—The word is not pointed in the original and no indication is given.

Jazirah i, Sabālyā? Long. 55·15, Lat. 48·15.

Mansālyā, Long. 45·30, Lat. 45·1.

Middle of the Pontus Euxinus, Long. 35·15, Lat. 46·5.

Ayun Asfaras, Long. 36·45, Lat. 48·32.—I have little doubt that for *Asfaras* should be read *Bosporus* and the waters of this channel are here intended. The origin of the Thracian Bosporus attracted attention from the earliest times and it was the received opinion that the union of the Euxine and the Mediterranean was effected by a violent disruption of the continent in the deluge of Deucalion, v. G. D. Smith.

. . . . . The name in the text is without vowel points.

Maqābiz Borystānes, ... —I do not hesitate in the emdendation *Borysthenes* (Dnieper) and the mouths of the river are here intended. There may be ingenuity, but there is no profit in the discovery ; the whole list of Abul Fazl is the work of a scribe, not of a geographer. [P. 44]

Middle of Mānus? . . . . . Marmaros?

The extreme of the Yarqāhi territory? . . . . . .

? . . . . . The name is unpointed. Perhaps Istros.

Mouths of the Tanais, ... —The Don.

Mauza' Barnyā Nitas, ... —The second word is a corruption of *Palus Mœotis*, which occurs in Abulfeda in another similar form, as *Manitasch*, II, II, 143.

'Alāya, in Rum (Asia Minor), Long. 62, Lat. 39·30.—The ancient Coracesium, the boundary between Pamphylia and Cilcia. v. Ibn Batutah, II, 255.

'Ammuriyyah, Asia Minor, Long. 64, Lat. 43.—The ancient Amorium.

Akuryah, called also Anqarah, Do., Long. 64·40, Lat. 41·45.—In Abulf. Ankuryah. Now Ankara.

Maqedunyah, prov. of Constantinople, Long. 60·55, Lat. 41.—Macedonia.

Aqshahr, Asia Minor, Long. 65, Lat. 41·40.—The White City, 3 days' march, N.W. of Iconium.

Qunyah, Do., Long. 66·30, Lat. 41·40.—Iconium.

Qaisariyyah, Do., Long. 60, Lat. 15·40.—Cæsarea, originally Mazaca, afterwards Eusebeia, the residence of the kings of Cappadocia. The name was changed to Cæsarea by Tiberius. *G. D.*

Aqsarāi, Do., Long. 67·45, Lat. 40.—The White Palace, the ancient Archelais.

Siwās, Do., Long. 71·30, Lat. 40·10.—Sebasteia on the Halys; Pompey increased the town and gave it the name of Megalopolis; it was made the capital of Armenia Minor.

Tarābazun, Long. 78, Lat. 43.—Trebizonde. Anciently Trapezus, named probably from its situation on a table-land above the sea. Its annals are of historical interest from the time of Xenophon's retreat to its fall under Mahomed II in 1460.

Shimshāt, Long. 73·15, Lat. 40.—Samosata, the birth-place of Lucian. Its situation on the Euphrates gave it, great strategical importance and it was seized by Vespasian when Antiochus, king of Commagene, meditated an alliance with the Parthians to throw off the yoke of Rome. It contained the royal residence.

Malāzjird, Armenia, Long. 75, Lat. 39·30.—A small town near Arzun and N. of Bidlis. Abulf.

Akhlāt, Do., Long. 75·50, Lat. 39·20.—Now Aklat on Lake Van.

Bābu'l Hadid, Long. 76, Lat. 41.—Darband or the famous Iron Gates called the Gate of Gates, *Bābu'l Abwāb*. *Ency. Islam*, i. 940 under *Derbend*.

Arzanjān, Long. 73, Lat. 39·50.—In Armenia, between Siwās and Erzeroum at 40 parasangs from either. Abulf.

Arzan-ur-Rum, Armenia, Long. 76, Lat. 39·55.—Erzeroum.

Bard'ah, in Arran, . . . Long. 83, Lat. 40·30.—The capital of Arrān at the extreme of Azarbijān, nearly in ruins in Abulfeda's time. [Arran means *al-Ran* or Albania, a province between Shirwān and Ajarbaijān. Here the town of Partav was called by the Arabs *Bardha'a* while *Kāwḳlak* (Pliny's Cabalaca) called by the Arabs Qabala, was the largest town in Caucasia. *Ency. Islam*, i. 460. J. S.]

Shamkur, Do., Long. 83, Lat. 41·50.—A fortress near Bard'ah.

Khankarah? Long. 83, Lat. 38·40.

Arzandrum, Long. 79, Lat. 41·15.—Marked doubtful in the text, but it is evidently a replica of Arzan-ur-Rum, by an ignorant copyist

Taflis, Garjistan, Long. 83, Lat. 43.—Tiflis, or Taflis (Yāqut permits either vowel), capital of Georgia.

Bajlaqān, Arran, Long. 83·30, Lat. 39·50.—Situate in the defile of Khazarān, near Shirwān, six parasangs from Warthān.

Bākuyah, Shirwān, Long. 84·30, Lat. 40·50.—Bāku.

Shamākhi, Do., Long. 84·30, Lat. 40·50.—Now Shemākha in K. J.

Rumiya Kubra, Long. 85, Lat. 41·50.—This must be Medāin Kisra, which has already preceded in the 3rd Climate, but with a different location. The practical use of these tables is not very evident. *Madāin*, the ancient Ctesiphon had many names. Its name signifies 'Cities' and was formed of the union of seven, namely, Asfāpur (Jundisabur), Darzindān, Weh Jundikhusrau (Arab Rumiyah) and Nuniābād. Guyard, II, II, 76.

Bābu'l Abwab, Arran, Long. 89, Lat. 43.—This is the same as the Bābu-l Hadid or Darband. The difference in Long. is no doubt caused by the change in the 1st Long. and probably an error in the units both in the Long. and Lat.

Jazirah i Siāh Koh, in the Caspian, Long. 89, Lat. 43·30.—The Siāh Koh or Black mountain appears from the indications in Ibn Khaldun, (*Proleg.* I. 152, De Slane) to be the Caucasus. Abulf. places this island in the 6th Climate and this mountain in an island on the Caspian, and states that it is a range of mountain to the E. of the Caspian and circling round it to Darband. The eastern chain is called the Caucasus by Arrian V.

Hashtar Khān . . . . . —Astrakhan.

Agharjah . . . . . —Probably Georgia.

Kāth, Khwārizm, Long. 95, Lat. 41·36.—On the E. of Oxus, a large town according to Yāqut, most of the Khwārizm territory lying to the W. It is 20 parasangs from Kurkanj. Its meaning in the Khwarizm tongue is a wall or enclosure in an open plain which is comprised within no other surrounding.

Kurkānj Sughra, Do., Long. 94, Lat. 42·30.—So in the MSS. but changed to *Gurganj* by the editor. Yāqut confirms the orthography of the text. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 183 has *Gurgandj*, "a town in the northern part of Khwārizm". There are two

of the name, Kurkanj the Great, capital of Khwārizm (now Khiva) and Kurkanj the Less at 10 miles distance. The Persian form is *Gurganj*, the Arabic *Jurjaniyyah*. In 1216 it was a flourishing and populous town. Abulf.

Jurjāniyyah, Do., Long. 94, Lat. 42·45.—See note above. The labours of Abul Fazl were confined to transcribing without investigation. See *Ency. Islam*, ii. 183, under *Gurgandj*.

Kurkanj, the Great, capital of Khwārizm, Long. 94·30, Lat. 42·17.—The deg. of Lat. in the last 3 names are incorrect. Similar gross errors which give impossible figures are frequent.

Hāzārāsb, Do., Long. 95·20, Lat. 41·10.—A strong citadel on the W. of the Oxus, 6 parasangs from Kāth, Abulf.

Lamakshar, Do., Long. 94·30, Lat. 4.—A large village in which the famous commentator of the *Qurān* Abu'l Qāsim Mahmud-az-Zamakhshari was a native.

Darghān, Transoxiana, Long. 96, Lat. 40·30.—Marks the frontier of Khwārizm towards Marw, 24 parasangs from Hāzārāsb.

Bukhārā, one of the chief cities of Transoxiana, Long. 97·30, Lat. 39·30.—*Ency. Islam*, i. 776-783.

Baikand, a dependency of Bukhara now in ruins, Long. 97·30, Lat. 39.

Tāwawis, dependency of Bukhara, Long. 97·40, Lat. 39.—Seven parasangs from Bukhārā.

Jand, Turkistan, Long. 97·45, Lat. 43·30.—Placed by Abulf. in the 6th Climate. It is on the Jaxartes on the frontier of Turkistān, close to Yenghi-kent.

Nakhshab, called Nasf, Long. 98, Lat. 39.—The former is the indigenous, the latter the Arab form of the name. A town in the plain, 2 marches from the mountains towards Kash and a desert intervenes between it and the Oxus.

Samarqand, one of the cities of Transoxiana, Long. 99, Lat. 40.—Its position is defined in detail by Ibn Haukal. Ouseley, 260.

I'lāq, Bukhārā, Long. 99·10, Lat. 43·20.—Ilāq forms a district of Shāsh extending from Naubakht to Farghānah, according to Yāqut, and the town of the name in the environs of Bukhārā. Abulfeda makes it almost coextensive if not identical with Shāsh and its chief town Tunkat. I believe the word to signify summer station, in opp. to *Qishlaq*, winter station.

Kash, or Shahr-Sabz, Badakhshān, Long. 99·30, Lat. 39·30.—Yāqut places it near Nakhshab. Its situation is given by Ibn

Haukal. It is well-known by its name of *Shahr i Sabz* and lies directly S. of Samarqand. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 786.

Zāmin, dependency of Usrushnah, Long. 92·40, Lat. 40·30.—Pronounced also *Zamij*, on the Farghānah road to Soghd, a small locality in the environs of Samarqand, Abulf.

Isfijāb, of Shāsh, Long. 92·50, Lat. 43·35.—On the Turkestan frontier.

Usrushnah, a chief city of Transoxiana, Long. 100, Lat. 41.—Beyond Samarqand on the Jaxartes. Yāqut mentions it as a town which Istakhri denies, allowing it to be applied only to the territory. It is bounded on the E. by Farghānah, W by Samarqand, N. by Shāsh, Abulf.

Shāwakath, of Shash, Long. 100·30, Lat. 41·10.—No further notice in the geographers than the text affords.

Usbānikath, territory of Isfijāb, Long. 100·30, Lat. 40.—At one march distance from Isfijāb, 9 parasangs E. of Usrushnah.

Khojand, on the Jaxartes, Long. 100·35, Lat. 41·25.—7 marches to Samarqand and 4 to Shāsh, Abulf.

Khawāqand, of Farghanah, Long. 100·50, Lat. 62.—Or Khakand, vulgarly, Khokand.

Tunkat, a capital of Tāshkand, Long. 101, Lat. 43.—Capital of I'lāq, beyond the Jaxartes. Ibn Haukal says he had heard it pronounced also with the long *a*; Yāqut writes *Tankut*. It is marked in K. J.

Tirmidh, on the Oxus, Long. 101·15, Lat. 37·35.—The birth-place of the great Traditionist al-Tirmidhi.

Akhsikat, capital of Farghānah, Long. 101·20, Lat. 62·25.—Situate on the bank of the Jaxartes. It is mentioned by Baber in his *Memoirs*, as the strongest town in Farghānah.

Kāsān, a town beyond Shāsh, Long. 101·35, Lat. 62·15.—This district is described by Baber, *Memoirs*. In consequence of its gardens being sheltered along the banks of the stream, it was called "the mantle of five lambskins".

Qubā, Farghānah, Long. 101·50, Lat. 42·50.—A large town of Farghānah. It is the next largest to Akhsikat; the citadel in ruins, Abulf.

Farghānah, Long. 102, Lat. 62·20.—Now Khokand.

Rus, Long. 102·20, Lat. 43·20.—To what part of Russia this refers there is no indication. Abulf has a town 'Roussye' (Reinaud), its capital, but in the 7th Climate, Long. 57 32, Lat. 56.

Khotan, Long. 107, Lat. 40.—Extreme of Turkistān, celebrated for its musk, beyond Yuzkand and cis Kashghar. Abulf.

Chāch, or Shāsh, Long. 109, Lat. 42·30.

Tibbet, Long. 110, Lat. 40.

Khāju, N. of China, Long. 123·32, Lat. 42.—Caiyon of Marco Polo. Kwatcheou. (Guyard). Abulf. places it 15 days' journey from Pekin, between Khatā (N. China) and Kaoli, province contiguous to the Corea.

Sankju, Do., Long. 107, Lat. 40.—Sou-tcheou.

Sakhas? Long. 130, Lat. 29·10.

Mahri, of Khatā, Long. 140, Lat. 30.—Khata is N. China. I do not trace the name in Abulf., but Khuta, according to Yāqut is a town near Darband.

Nashawa or Nakjowan, in Arrān, Long. 101·30, Lat. 39.—Ancient Nuxuana, on the W. bank of the Araxes, already preceded in 4th Climate with a different location.

Kushānyah, in Soghd of Samarqand, Long. 98·20, Lat. 39·50.—The Kushān country is identified by M. St. Martin with Bactriana. *Hist. du Bas Empire*, III, 386 (Reinaud).

Yumān? . . . . . —Yunān?

Shāhar Nahās? . . . . . —City of brass!

Rakkān? . . . . . .

Kaos? . . . . . .

Abruq, ... —On this city Yāqut says 'It is a locality in the Bilād-ur-Rum, (Asia Minor), visited from distant parts by both Moslems and Christians. Abu Bakr al-Harawi who saw it, says that it is situated at the foot of a mountain, the entrance to it being through the gate of a fort. A subterranean passage leads to a wide space in the side of a hill with an aperture to the sky. In the middle is a pool round which are houses or chambers for the peasantry, whose fields are without. A church and a masjid are hard by for the needs of both religions. In the Crypt are several dead men with marks of spear and sword wounds. the bodies dressed in cotton garments. In another spot four bodies are buried with their backs against the wall and with them a boy whose hand is on the head of a very tall man, the face of the latter is sallow, the palm of the hand open as if he were about to take the hand of another, and the head of the boy leaning on his breast. By his side is a man with his upper lip cut

open, showing his teeth. They all wear turbans. The body of a woman suckling her child is near. Five other bodies are standing with their backs against a wall, and apart on an eminence is a couch on which are 12 men and a boy, whose hands and feet are stained with *hinna*. The Greeks claim them as their own people but the Muhammadans say that they are Muslims, slain in the wars of Omar b-ul Khattāb. Some pretend that their nails have grown long and that their heads are shaven. This is not the case, but their skins have dried and shrivelled on their bones without other alteration." I suppose this to be Prusa ad Olympium in Bythinia, the modern Brusa, but the history of this town affords no clue to the above narrative and Ibn Batutah, who describes it under the name of Barsi, (II. p. 321) makes no mention of a curiosity which would scarcely have escaped his notice. [Jarrett] Brusa, *Ency. Islam*, i. 768. [J. S.]

Ufsus, ... —Ephesus.

Bastah, dependency of Jaen in Spain, ... —Baeza.

Kubā? . . . . . .

Saksin, ... —The author of the *Kitab-ul-Atwal* mentions a town called Saqsin, Long. 162·30, Lat. 40·50. The people meant were the Saxons or Goths who shared the possession of the Tauric regions with the Khozas. Reinaud refers to M. d'Ohsson's *Hist. of the Mongols* for Sacsin, v, II. I. 286. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 82 (discussed).

Khuttlān, ... —Has preceded.

Mikhlāt? . . . . . .

Rum, ...

Shāmas, ... —The island of Samos, has preceded.

Shāyab? . . . . . .

Sintarah, West, ... —Thus in the MSS. but changed by the Editor to Santriyyah. The former signifies Cintra, of which the pronunciation on the middle age was Syntria, (Renaud, II. 244). There is also a Santriyyah to the W. of Fayyum, which cannot here be meant.

Qabrah, Spain, ... —Cabra in Andalusia.

Kastalul, ... —Castile, properly Kastilyun.

Surqah? . . . . . .

Murghzā? . . . . . .

Scotislah, ... —In Ibn Khaldun Skousya stands for Scotland, v. De Slane, I. 105.

Batalyus, Spain, Long. 29, Lat. 38·50.—Badajos, Pax Augusta.

City of Wālid? . . . . . —A corruption of Madinah-i-Walid (Valladolid) already preceded.

Mursia, ... —Murcia, preceded.

Danya, ... —Denia, preceded.

Sālem, ... —Medina Celi preceded.

Sarakustah . . . . . —Saragossa Do.

Nuqāb? . . . . . —Tukāt, Tokal? in Asia Minor.

Mush, Armenia, Long. 94·30, Lat. 29·30.—Ancient Moxoene, two marches from Mayyafāriqin and 3 from Khalāt. Abulf.

THE SIXTH CLIMATE [P. 46.]

Jalliqiyyah, capital of the kingdom of Gallicia, Spain, Long. 20, Lat. 46.—The capital of the Galician country according to Abulf. is Zamora.

Banbalunah, Spain, Long. 34·15, Lat. 45·15.—Pampeluna, or Pamplona, anciently Pompelo.

Burdāl, Frankish territory, Long. 30·15, Lat. 44·15.—Anciently Bardigala, Bordeaux.

Lumbardyah, Do., Long. 40·30, Lat. 43·50.—This location in Abulf. is that of Milan capital of Lombardy, which is here meant.

Benedeqyah, Long. 42, Lat. 44.—Not Bunduqyah as in the text, but Venetia.

Biza, N. of Spain, Long. 42, Lat. 47.—Pisa.

Borshān, Long. 50, Lat. 45.—"Name of the capital of the Borjans, noted for their valour, exterminated by the Germans, and no trace of them is left." Ibn Sayd quoted by Abulf. He places the town to the N. E. of Athens and extends the country as far as Constantinople. Reinaud's conjectures point to the Balgarians, but they were known as the Bulghars v. his references, II. 313. De Slane, however, interprets the word similarly, in *Prolog. Ibn Khaldun*, I. 161.

Abzou, belonging to Constantinople, Long. 59·45, Lat. 50.—This is Abydos, Abulf. II. 36.

Buzantya, *i.e.* Constantinople, Long. 59·50, Lat. 43.

Kastamunyah, Long. 65·30, Lat. 46·20.—Corrupted in the text to Kalsutah. It is Kastamuni in Anatolia, v. Ibn Batutah II. 342.

Sinub, on the Pontic coast, Long. 65, Lat. 47.—Sinope.

Hirqalah, Do., Long. 67·20, Lat. 46·20.—Heraclea Pontica ; now Ereklè.

Amāsyah, Do., Long. 57·30, Lat. 45.—Amasia S.E. of Sinope on the Irmak.

Sāmsun, Do., Long. 69·20, Lat. 46·40.—Still Samsun, anciently Amisus.

Furdhat-ur-Rum, Long. 74·30, Lat. 46·90.—For *Rum* I would read *Qarm*, *Furdhat* signifies a port. The meaning would then be a Crimean port, see *post* Kafa.

Sarir Allān, near Darband, Long. 83, Lat. 44.—Now Daghestān. The Sarir is said to be a territory of the Allān (Allains) the capital of which is located in Long. 74 (or 72), Lat. 43, but in Ibn Khaldun, I. 161, is Sinope.

Balanjar, capital of the Khazars, Long. 85·20, Lat. 46·30.—The passage relating to this name in Abulf. from Ibn Sayd is contradictory, placing the town on the S. of Darband, of Jorzān and then on the Volga. Reinaud believes it to have been situated between the Volga and the Caucasus. Some maintain that it is the same as Itil, a town taking its name from the Volga (Itil) and which stood where now is Astrakhan. Jorzān is probably the Khorzene of Strabo, R. [*Ency. Islam*, ii. 935, under *Khazar*. J. S.]

Kersh, on the sea of Azac (Azof), Long. 87, Lat. 46·50.—Kertch on the straits of Yenikale, v. *Travels* of Ibn Batutah, p. 355, II.

Yenghi-kent, Turkistan, Long. 96·30, Lat. 47.—Yeni-Kent, "the ruins of Djankent, about 14 miles S.W. of the modern Kazaliṇsk". (*Ency. Islam*, i. 419).

Tarāz, Turkistān frontier, Long. 99·50, Lat. 25.—Near Isfinjāb.

Fārāb, Do., Long. 98, Lat. 25.—Probably a repetition of *Fāryāb*, preceded in the 4th Climate.

Shālj, Taraz territory, Long. 100·30. Lat. 44.—A small town on the Turkistan frontier, Yāqut.

Almālik, Long. 102·20, Lat. 44.

Uzkand, Turkistān. Long. 102·50, Lat. 44.—Yuzkand in Transoxiana, both forms are correct according to Yāqut.

Kāshghar, one of the chief cities of Turkistān, Long. 106·30, Lat. 44.

Artan Kalorān? Long. 106, Lat. 46.

Katāligh, Long. 108, Lat. 44.—Probably for Khānbāligh. (Pekin) which follows lower down and has preceded in the first Climate under a third form.

Kurāqurum, mountain in Kohistan, ...
Khānbāligh, capital of China, ...
Abuldah? . . . . . .
Asht? . . . . . .
Antazakht, ...
Fartanah? . . . . . —Probably a corruption of Qurtubah, Cordova
Tatlyah? . . . . . —Tudela?
Aṣnut? . . . . . —Sinub? (Sinope)?
Sāmun? . . . . . —Sāmsun?
Kastamunyah, in Asia Minor, ... —Has preceded.
Tarābazun, ... —Do.
Jandah, ... —Genoa? [or Jānik, a province of Asia Minor, J. S.]
Samurah, Spain, ... —Zamora.
Lumbardiyah, ... —Has preceded.
Borshān, ... —Has preceded.
Balanjar, ... —Do.
Jābulisa, ... —Zābulistān?
Desert of Qipchāq, ... —The plain of Kipzac, says Gibbon, extends on either side of the Volga in a boundless space towards the Saik and Borysthenes and is supposed to contain the primitive name and nation of the Cossacks, CLXIV, v. Ibn Batutah, II, p. 536, who describes its character.

THE SEVENTH CLIMATE

Shant Yāqu, frontier of Spain, Long. 19, Lat. 49.—St. James of Compostella.

Saqji, near the Euxine, Long. 58·37, Lat. 50.—Now Isakdje on the Danube, Ilistria.

Aqja-Kirmān, Bulgaria, Long. 55, Lat. 50.—Now Akerman at the mouth of the Dniester.

Qarqar, in the As country, Long. 65·30, Lat. 50.—In the interior of the Crimea, now called Tchoufout-kale or fortress of the Jews from a colony of Caryate Jews, near the Chadir Dagh mountain. Reinaud, II, 319.

Kafā, port in the Crimea, Long. 67·50, Lat. 50.—The ancient Theodosia, a colony of the Milesians, v. Ibn Batūtah, II, 357.

Solghāt, *viz.*, Kirim, Long. 67·10, Lat. 50·10.—That is, that the name of the country Kirim was also given to Solghāt which Abulfeda calls the capital of the Crimea and bearing also its name, so that when the word Kirim is used by itself, it

signifies Solghāt. It still bears the name of Eski Kirym, Reinaud, n. p. 320, v. Ibn Batutah, II, 354.

Tirnau, in the Ulāk (Valak) country, Long. 57·30, Lat. 50.—Ternovo or Ternovaia in Wallachia.

Bulār, *i.e.*, Bulghār on the shores of the Itil Sea (Caspian), Long. 90, Lat. 50·30.—The actual position of this town was on the W. bank of the Volga, 135 versts S. of Kasan. From the fact of coins having been found bearing the name of Bolgar-aljadid or New Bulghar the existence of two towns has been supposed, and Erdmann, professor of O. Languages in the Univ. of Kasan, proposes or establishes a distinction between Bolar and Bulghar. Ibn Batutah passed three days in the town, II, 399.

Azaq, a port on the Sea of Azaq, Long. 75, Lat. 48.—Azof at the mouth of the Don.

Sarāi, capital of the Barakah country. —Ibn Batutah visited this town from Astrakhan (II. 446). The town was called Sera Barakah, the capital of Sultan Uzbec. This name is also given to the Prince by Abulf. The town stands on an E. branch of the Volga where the Tsarewka and Soloenka streams join that river. It was destroyed by Tamerlane in 1403. See Reinaud's notes and references on this name, II, 323.

Alukak, in the Sarai country, Long. 85, Lat. 49·55.—On the W bank of the Volga between Sarāi and Bulār at 15 marches from each. The horde of the Tartar prince of Barakah advances as far as this, but does not pass beyond, Abulf.

Nahād? Aral Sea, ... —Aral in *Ency. Islam*, i. 419.

Middle of the lake, the source of the Oxus, ... —This is either *Sarikol* on the Pamir tableland, the source of the northern Oxus which Wood discovered on 12th February 1838, or *Barkat Yāsin*, the source of the southern branch, traced in 1868 by the Mirzā an employee in the G. T. S. It is doubtful which of these two should rank as the chief source of the Oxus.

Bātik? . . . . . —? *Batiha*—the marshland. *Ency. Islam*, i. 675. [J. S.]

Bajnah? Turkistan, ...

Siqlāb, ... —Slavonia. The Saqlab peninsula, Reinaud considers to comprise the country between the Oxus and Dnieper.

but Norway, Sweden and Finland are included in it by Abulfeda, II, 314.

Mushqah, in the Slav country on the sea, ... —Ibn Sayd gives the Long. 43, Lat. 58·20. This country is also placed by Kazwini on the shore of the ocean, but it is probable, as Reinaud supposes, that Moscow is intended, its real position being unknown.

Tabr? . . . . . .

Kālak? . . . . . .

Sarikirmān, Bulghār and Turk country, ... —Long. 55, Lat. 5, east of Akerman, five days' march of Solghāt, Abulf. Sarou or Sari Kirmān is the Tartar name of the old town of Kherson, the cradle of Russian Christianity. Its ruins still called by the same name, are near Sebastopol.

Jābalq, extreme W. of Mauritania, ... —Jabulkā and Jabulsā are mythical cities placed at opposite sides of the mountain of Kāf, which is said to encircle the earth, but Jabulkā is generally placed at the extreme E. and Jabulsā to the W. They are employed in a religious sense to signify the first stages of a contemplative life, v. *Burhan-i-Qati'* or Vuller's *Lex.* and Yāqut, also Tabari *Chron.*, pp. 27, 36, I.

Shore of the Ocean, Long. 10, Lat. 34.

Mari Kirmān? . . . . . —Probably Sari Kirmān.

Sudāq, on the Euxine, ... —Long. 56, Lat. 51 A town in the Crimea, a rival to Kufā in trade; opposite Samsun in Asia Minor, Abulf. now Novo Shudāk.

Islands of Urdujard? . . . . . —In some MS. Rudjard.

Islands of Budan? . . . . . .

Islands of Quni, ... —Probably misscript for Thule. The Shetlands.

Nihānah? on the Ocean . . . . . .

Taniah, by some said to be on the Ocean, by others rising above the Ocean. . . . . .

Bor, a city near the regions of darkness.

Cupola of the earth, Long. 90 . . . . . .

Middle of the *Oikoumene*, Long. 90 . . . . . .

Middle of the sea of Manus? . . . . . Already preceded. Perhaps Marmora.

Extreme of the country of Barqāniyah, Long. 36·20, Lat. 51·20.—Brittany or Armorica, according to Reinaud is here intended

and Ibn Sayd's language reproduces that of the text, 'the extreme of the Bretagne country' which he places at Long. 9, Lat. 50·30.

Mouths of the Tānānis, Long. 36·55, Lat. 52·50.—Preceded, for Tananis, read *Tanais*.

Mouths of Tāmānish, Long. 37, Lat. 54·1.—Long. almost illegible. It is probably a repetition of the above.

Locality on the Niā Natis, Long. 37·55, Lat. 55.—Preceded: corruption of *Mānitash*, (Palus Mæotis).

Villages called Nablus, Long. 5·45 . . . . . —Deg. of Long. and Lat. illegible.

Country adjacent to Lesser Britain, Long. 18, Lat. 58.

Middle of Great Britain, Long. 17·20, Lat. 56.

Middle of Lesser Britain, Long. 29, Lat. 61.

Extreme point of Lesser Britain, Long. 29, Lat. 62.

Islands called Anudu, Long. 29, Lat. 6.—In some MS. Aluh or *Alwah*.

Islands called Thule, Long. 20, Lat 63.

Afam, in the Slav country, Long. 64 . . . . . .

Parts of the Slav country, ...

Uninhabited, ...

Extremest point of the world; here all the Zodiacal signs rise and set . . . . . Lat. 90.

To find the Distances of Places.[36]

[P. 48] The longitude and latitude of the given places are ascertained. The excess difference between each is multi-

[36] In his XXI Chap. of the *Indica*, Albiruni refers to several of his publications in which the method of finding the distances has been worked out. These are not repeated, but he gives the calculation of the *desāntara, i.e., difference between the places* according to the Hindu method as reported by Alfazāri, in his *Cānon*, *viz.*, "Add together the squares of the sines of the latitudes of the two places and take the root of the sum. This root is the *portio*. Further square the difference of these two sines and add it to the *portio*. Multiply the sum by 8 and divide the product by 377. The quotient is the distance between the two places according to a rough calculation. On this Albiruni remarks, "This method is found in the astronomical books of the Hindus, in conformity with the account of Alfazāri save in one particular. The here-mentioned *portio* is the *root* of the *difference* between the squares of the sines of the two latitudes, not the *sum* of their squares." I do not find the calculation mentioned by Abul Fazl, of this astronomer.

plied into itself and the products which are called squares (for the square of a number is that number multiplied by itself) are set down and the two squares added together and their square root extracted. This root is then multiplied into 56⅔ *Karoh* which is the extent of a degree according to the moderns, or into 66⅔ which is the degree according to the ancients, and the product is the distance of the two places from each other. As long as a variation in the extent of longitudes and latitudes arises, the excess is multiplied proportionately and the result ascertained; where the longitudes and latitudes are equal, the rule does not hold good. This distance is calculated on the straight line, but some discrepancy will occur from the curve in direction. Abu Raihān Biruni has calculated this approximately and added a fifth of the result found.

SINGULAR RESULTS ARISING FROM ACCIDENT OF LOCATION.

At the equator all the stars rise and set and the periods of both are equal. Night and day are constant in twelve hours each, and the movement of the celestial sphere is circular. In the first of Aries and Libra the sun is in the zenith and casts two shadows, and at these two periods where the temperature is equable over the greater part of the *oikoemeny*, at the equator the heat is excessive and the gnomon has no shadow. When the sun passes the first of Aries and inclines to the north, the shadow is thrown to the south, and when he passes the first of Libra and moves southwards, the shadow is cast to the north. The year has six seasons. Two summers, from the 1st° of Aries to the 15th° of Taurus, and from the 1st° of Libra to the 15th° of Scorpio; two winters, from the 1st° of Cancer to the 15th° of Leo, and from the 1st° of Capricorn, to the 15th° of Aquarius. At the change of the Sun into Cancer, the temperature rises in the climatic zones inclined from the equator, whereas at the equator it is the beginning of winter. It has also two springs, from the

16th° of Leo to the end of Virgo, and from the 16th° of Aquarius to the end of Pisces; and two autumns, from the 16th° of Taurus to the end of the Gemini and from the 16th of Scorpio to the end of Sagittarius. Avicenna and some learned men maintain that the equator is the most equable in temperature of all countries, because the seasons of cold and heat follow in close succession and the sun does not remain long in the zenith. Fakhr-Rāzi[17] and another school select the fourth climate and say that "although the sun's stay in the zenith is but for a short period, on the other hand he is never more remote than 23 degrees and a fraction, and we observe that in places where the greatest altitude of the sun is less than its altitude at the equator, as for instance at Khwarizm, where his altitude on the first of Cancer is 71° which is 5° lower than his altitude at the equator, the people are much inconvenienced by the heat, while at the equator it is the cold season. But as the altitude there is 5° greater, it follows that the winter of the equator should be hotter than the summer of Khwarizm; what then would its summer be? And the colour and appearance of the Ethiopians who are near the zone of the equator support this view." The partisans of each school maintain their several opinions at considerable length. The true resolution is this, that equability in the sense of approximate similarity of conditions is more apparent at the equator, and great heat on account of this assimilation, is to a certain extent unfelt, because the sensations caused by physical impressions succeeding each other rapidly have less force, while sensations directly antagonistic are more perceptible though disregarded in view of the equality in the constant proportions of heat and cold. In the first mentioned sense, therefore, Avicenna is correct, while in

[17] Abu Bakr, *Ency. Islam*, iii. 1134 under *ar-Rāzi*. Muhammad Ibn Zakariyyā ar Rāzi is known in the Schools of Medicine of the middle ages as Rasis, Rhazes or Rhazis, b. 864, d. 925 A.D., as distinguished in Philosophy, Chemistry and Astronomy as in Medicine.

the latter, the opinion of Ar Rāzi is tenable. Every place which has not the equinoctial and its pole directly in the zenith is accounted among climatic zones inclined from the equator, and these are specially differentiated in five classes. The first is in a latitude less than the greatest declination of the Sun from the equator: the latitude of the second is equal to the greatest declination: that of the third is greater than the declination but less than its complement *measured from the equator*: that of the fourth is equal to the complement: that of the fifth is greater than the complement but less than 90°. In the first, the sun is twice in the zenith, from the 1st of Aries to Cancer and from the 1st of Cancer to Libra and casts here also two shadows. In the second he is only once in the zenith, in Cancer. Here and in the remaining zones where the sun does not culminate, the shadow is thrown to the north. At the spot where the pole of the equinoctial is directly perpendicular it is 90° and the movement of the celestial sphere is like a mill. The year there forms a nycthemeron as has already been explained. There is no doubt that the fabled darkness[38] which is the tradition of the vulgar, refers to the gloom of these nights. The points of the east, west, north and south are not here distinguishable.

Some divide the *oikoemeny* into three parts. The first is from the equator to a position the latitude of which is equal to the greatest declination of the sun from the equator. The inhabitants of this region are called *Sudān* (blacks), because the sun shining directly above them, they are coloured by its rays and their hair is curly. Those who dwell proximate to the equator are called Zingis.[39] They are

[38] *Ency. Islam*, ii. 862, under *al-Khadir*. It is here that eastern fable locates the fountain of the water of life, which the mythical prophet, saint, or bard al Khidr is said to have discovered and tasted, and received his immortality.

[39] The inhabitants of Zanguebar, including the "Zingis" of Ptolemy near the entrance of the Red Sea and a large portion of inner Africa, v. Lane. *Lex.*

absolutely black and scarce resemble human beings. Those who live near the region of the greatest declination, are less swarthy and being of moderate stature and equable disposition are more of a class with the natives of Hindustan, and Yemen and some of the Mauritanian Arabs. The second is the region of which the latitude extends from the greatest declination to a quarter parallel with the Great Bear.[40] The colour of its inhabitants is inclined to fairness and as the sun does not shine perpendicularly above them and yet is never far removed, their bodies are fashioned in a naturally-adjusted mean, as the Chinese, the Turks, and the people of Khurāsān, Irāq, Persia and Syria. Of this race, those who dwell nearest to the south have a subtler intellect because they are nearer the zodiac and the orbits of the five planets, while those are of a more powerful build who inhabit the regions to the west. Proximity to the east produces a softness of frame and by such as these great deeds are never accomplished. The third region is parallel with the orbit of the Great Bear such as the country of the Sclavonians and Russians, and as it is distant from the Zodiac and little affected by the heat of the sun, the cold impels to hardihood, moisture is predominant, and natural living products do not mature. Their colour is fair, their hair red and worn long, their bodies sleek, their temper fierce and their disposition inclined to evil. Hermes,[41] the most

[40] According to the *Vishnu Dharma*, the orbit of the Great Bear lies under the pole: under it the orbit of Saturn: then that of Jupiter: next, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon. They rotate towards the east like a mill in a uniform motion peculiar to each star, some moving rapidly, others slowly. Albiruni criticises this statement with his usual intelligence. See *Indica*, Chap. XXVII, Sachau, p. 288.

[41] The Hermetic books are said by Fabricius to be the forgeries of a Jew or of a semi-Platonic semi-Christian writer of about the 2nd century after Christ. Hermes Trismegistus himself is a fiction of the Neo Platonists and was the offspring of the Oriental and Hellenic philosophies. He was the supposed mystic author of all knowledge and the author, on the authority of Manetho, of 36,525 books. His principal works published under this name are given in the *Class. Dict.* of Dr. W. Smith.

celebrated of the name, divides the earth into seven parts analogous with the seven spheres, one within the other. The first towards the south is the continent of India: the second, Arabia, Yemen, and Abyssinia: the third, Egypt, Syria and Mauritania: the fourth, Persia: the fifth, the Greeks, Sclavonians, Franks: the sixth, the Turks and the Khazars: the seventh, China, Khotan and Tibbet.

It is said that Noah apportioned the length of the habitable globe into three lots. The southern he gave to Ham, and this is the country of [50] the blacks and the Arabs: the northern to Japhet, where the fair-skinned, ruddy faced races dwell: the middle portion was assigned to Shem, inhabited by the wheat-coloured people. Feridun divided the breadth of his dominions into three parts; the eastern he gave to Tur: the western to Salm and the intermediate tract to Iraj. Some of the Greeks have made two sections of the habitable earth latitudinally from Egypt. The eastern they call Asia, the western which is the Mediterranean Sea, they subdivide into two, that on the south being named Libya, the country of the negroes, and that on the north Europe[42] where dwell the white and ruddy-complexioned races. Bisecting Asia from the angle between the east and north transversely in a southerly direction, they divide it into two segments, of which the inner is the less and the outer the greater. The middle is called Asia Minor and comprises the country of Irān, Hijāz, Yemen and Khurāsān. The outer is Asia Major, comprising China,[43] India and Sind. Some say that Hindu philosophers

[42] This tripartite division into Europe Asia and Libya was unknown to Homer, and the earliest allusions to it are found in the writers of the 1st half of the 5th century B.C., *viz.*, Aeschylus and Pindar and the logographers Hecataeus and Pherecydes; v. Art Asia, Smith *C. D.* Herodotus discusses it in Melpomene (42) with some wonder at the character of the division.

[43] This partition into A. Major and A. Minor was not made, according to a writer in the *Cl. Dic.* till the 4th century of our era. Asia Major (A. *y megaly*) was part of the continent E. of the Tanais, the Euxine, an imaginary line drawn from the Euxine at Trebizond to the Gulf of Issus and the Mediterranean. It in-

partition the habitable earth into a diagram of nine parts, *viz.*, the south (*dahkhin*) the Arabian country; the north (*uttar*), that of the Turks; the east, (*purab*), China; the west, (*pachchim*), Egypt and Barbary; the north-east (*īsān*), Khata and Khotan; the north-west (*bāyab*), the Greeks and Franks; the south-west (*nairit*) the country of the Copts and Berbers, Africa and Spain. The middle country was called *Madhya-desa*.[44] But this account is not found in this order in any Sanskrit work nor is it thus handed down by any of the learned of this country.

THE SCALE OF NOTATION.

	Units up to 9	...	...	Ekam.
	10 ,, 100	...	...	Dasa.
	100 ,, 1000	...	...	Sata.
	1,000 ,, &c.	...	...	Sahasra.
	10,000 ,, &c.	...	...	Ayuta.
	100,000	...	...	Laksh vulg. lakh
	1,000,000	...	...	Prayuta.
	10,000,000	...	...	Koti, vulg. Kror.
	100,000,000	...	...	Arbuda.
[51]	1,000,000,000	...	...	Abja.
	10,000,000,000	...	...	Kharba.
	100,000,000,000	...	...	Nikharba.
	1,000,000,000,000	...	...	Mahāpadma.
	10,000,000,000,000		...	Sanku.
	100,000,000,000,000		...	Jaladhi.
	1,000,000,000,000,000		...	Madhya.
	10,000,000,000,000,000		...	Antya.
	100,000,000,000,000,000		...	Parardha.

cluded Sarmatia Asiatica, with all the Scythian tribes to the E., Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Armenia, Syria, Arabia, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Media, Susiana, Persis, Ariana, Hyrcania, Margiana, Bactriana, Sogdiana, India, China. Asia Minor (A. *y mikra* Anatolia) was the peninsula on the extreme W. of Asia, bounded by the Euxine, Ægean and Mediterranean.

[44] He has omitted the S. E. The diagram will be found in Albiruni's *Indica*, Ch. XXXIX, 262, Sachau, with the authorities. Abul Fazl's ill-digested knowledge is heaped up indiscriminately without order or method and without heed or consciousness of the worthlessness of so much of it.

The Brahmans have not more than eighteen places of notation, the first being units, *Ekam*, and the rest proceeding by multiples of ten. All above units have a separate designation as above noted, thus differing from the Greek compounds of notation. An intervening number of this scale, for instance, fifteen, is included in the second, one hundred and [52] twelve, in the third place, and so on.[45] And further by the addition of eleven places *to the eighteen*, they reckon up to twenty-nine places and employing the terms of six of the series, the remainder are suffixed as compounds, as will be seen from what follows. Thus: Tens, hundreds, thousands, lakhs, tens of lakhs, krors ; krors tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, lakhs, tens of lakhs, krors of krors ; krors of krors tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands—nineteen places from the unit's place, and this illustrates the foregoing description. Krors or krors tens of thousands is 1,000,000,000,000,000,000, up to nine tens of thousands of krors of krors, and in a descending scale, nine thousand krors of krors and nine hundred so on to nine. Again, krors of krors lakhs, tens of krors of krors of lakhs, krors of krors of krors ; krors of krors of krors tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, lakhs, tens of lakhs, krors of krors of krors of krors,[46] which series proceeds in the manner above given

The Greeks have their scale of notation from one to nine, and the recurring ternary series they call a cycle. Thus from one to nine are units, from ten to ninety, tens, and from one hundred to nine hundred, hundreds. This is termed the first cycle. From one thousand to nine thousand are units of

[45] Read the 16th Chapter of Albiruni's India in connection with this reckoning. He says some maintain a 19th order called Bhuri. According to others the limit of reckoning is *koti* and starting from koti the succession would be koti, tens, hundreds, thousands, etc. Sachau has inadvertently reversed this order. Albiruni adds that *Dasa sahasra*, and *Dasa laksha* are used for the 5th and 7th orders respectively, as the terms *Ayuta* and *Prayuta* are rarely employed.

[46] 10,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000. Twenty-nine places from the units.

thousands, from ten thousand to ninety thousand are tens of thousands, and from one hundred thousand to nine hundred thousand are hundreds of thousands. This they call the second cycle. And thus at the end of each cycle the word "thousands" is added, as for instance, the third cycle begins with units of thousands of thousands, *i.e.*, a thousand thousand, followed by tens of thousands of thousands, *i.e.*, ten thousand thousand up to ninety thousand thousand. Next follows hundreds of thousands of thousands, *i.e.*, a hundred thousand thousand. The beginning of the fourth cycle is units of thousands of thousands of thousands, and so on throughout the remainder of the series. The designations in all are but three, *viz.*, tens, hundreds, thousands, and as to what is said in ancient books of this system being borrowed from the Greeks, the version above given certainly does not support it.

THE QUARTERS OF THE GLOBE.

The Hindus term a quarter *disā* and also *dig* and of these they reckon ten. Each of them they consider to be under a tutelary spirit whom they name *Dig-pāla* as will appear in the following table:—

[53] Sanskrit name of quarter.	English.	Regent.[47]
Purva ...	East ...	Indra.
Agni ...	South-east ...	Agni.
Dakshina ...	South ...	Yama.
Nairrita ...	South-west ...	Nairrita.
Paschima ...	West ...	Varuna.
Vāyaviya ...	North-west ...	Vayu.
Uttara ...	North ...	Kuvera.
Isāna ...	North-east ...	Isāna.
Urddhva ...	Above ...	Brahma.
Adhah ...	Below ...	Nāga.

[47] Indra is the Indian Jupiter: in Sansk. *Dyaush-pitar*, or that one among the many Jupiters which personified the firmament.

[54] Some assign a quarter to the interval between the upper and lower regions and thus reckon eleven. The regent of this is Rudra.

Agni is the god of fire, and one of the most ancient objects of Hindu worship who answers to the Vulcan of Egypt. Yama in the *Vedas* is the god of the dead with whom the departed spirits dwell. The S. W. regent is a demon or Rākshasa. Varuna is one of the oldest vedic deities, and like its derivative *Ouranos* a personification of the all-encompassing sky. The name also designates one of the lunar mansions. The god of the air, the Hindu Eolus is represented by Vayu and is associated in the *Vedas* with Indra, riding in the same car. Kuvera, as living in the shades and being the god of wealth, unites the characteristics of Pluto and Plutus. Isāna is a name of Siva or of one of his manifestations. The serpent-worshipping Nagas may boast of their connection with or descent from this regent of the nether world. Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion*, xi. 569, xii. 602–610 and Macdonnell and B. Keith's *Vedic Index*. [J. S.]

CHAPTER III.

ANIMAL LIFE.

This subject cannot be altogether omitted and shall be cursorily touched upon. In what relates to man, somewhat has already been set down. In distinguishing the finer shades observable in the measure of divergence in the dispositions of men in this region of the globe, investigation points to little discovery. Judges of character, generally, when considering the Hindu people, incline to the ancient opinion that each of them is a presentment of the race contained in the individual. One, from the eminence of his virtues will be beyond price; another will be dear at the basest coin. If regarded with the eyes of impartiality, the sincerely devout of this country are unlike the seekers of God in other lands and in warring with interior spiritual foes that wear the guise of friends, they are rarely to be matched. Their knowledge of affairs, capacity in execution, recklessness of valour, fidelity, especially in times of difficulty, their devoted attachment and disinterested service, and other eminent good qualities are beyond measure great. And yet there are many obdurate and pitiless spirits, devoid of gentle courtesy who for the merest trifle will rise to the shedding of blood, and marvellous are the tales told of these ravening fiends in the guise of angels.

The Hindu philosophers reckon four states of auspiciousness which they term *varna*.[1] 1. *Brāhmana*. 2. *Kshatriya* vulgarly, *Khatri*. 3. *Vaisya*, vulgarly *Bais*. 4. *Sudra*, vulgarly *sudra*. Other than these are termed *Mlechchha*. At the creation of the world the first of these classes was pro-

[1] The term in its primitive meaning signifies 'colour', the Aryans from the north priding themselves on their fair complexion, in contradistinction to the 'black skin' typical of the indigenous races. The term subsequently was applied to caste.—Hastings, *Encyclopædia*, iii. 230-239, Muir's *Sansk Texts*, i., and *Vedic Index* (under *Varna*.)

duced from the mouth of Brahma, a brief account of whom has already been given: the second, from his arms; the third, from his thigh and the fourth from his feet; the fifth from the cow *Kāmadhenu*,[2] the name of Mlechcha being employed to designate them.

The *Brahmans* have six recognised duties.[3] 1. The study of the Vedas and other sciences. 2. The instruction of others (in the sacred texts). 3. The performance of the *Jag*, that is oblation of money and kind to the Devatas. 4. Inciting others to the same. 5. Giving presents. 6. Receiving presents.

Of these six the *Kshatriya* must perform three, 1. Perusing the holy texts. 2. The performance of the Jag. 3. Giving presents. Further they must, 1. minister to Brahmans. 2. Control the administration of worldly government and receive the reward thereof. 3. Protect religion. 4. Exact fines for delinquency and observe adequate measure therein. 5. Punish in proportion to the offence. 6. Amass wealth and duly expend it. 7. Supervise the management of elephants, horses, and cattle and the functions of ministerial subordinates. 8. Levy war on due occasion. 9. Never ask an alms. 10. Favour the meritorious and the like.

[55] The *Vaisya* almost must perform the same three duties of the Brahman, and in addition must occupy himself in: 1. Service. 2. Agriculture. 3. Trade. 4. The care of cattle. 5. The carrying of loads.

From birth to the time of investiture with the sacred thread, these ten duties may be performed by all the three castes above-mentioned.

The Sudra is incapable of any other privilege than to serve these three castes,[3] wear their cast-off garments and eat

[2] 'The granter of desires,' said to have been produced at the churning of the ocean, belonging to the sage Vasishtha. Called also Kāma-duh, Savalā and Surabhi. Dowson.

[3] See these duties in the *Institutes of Manu*, I. 88. and ff., p. 12. Burnell's Trans.

their leavings. He may be a painter, goldsmith, blacksmith carpenter, and trade in salt, honey, milk, butter-milk, clarified butter and grain.

Those of the fifth class, are reckoned as beyond the pale of religion, like infidels, Jews and the like. By the intermarriages of these, sixteen other classes are formed. The son of Brahman parents is acknowledged as a Brahman. If the mother be a Kshatriya, (the father being a Brahman) the progeny is called *Murdhavasikta*. If the mother be a Vaisya, the son is named *Ambastha*,[4] and if a Sudra girl, *Nishada*. If the father and mother are both Kshatriya, the progeny is Kshatriya. If the mother be a Brahman, (and the father a Kshatriya) the son is called *Suta*. If the mother be a Vaisya, the son is *Mahisya*. If the mother be a Sudra, the progeny is *Ugra*. If both parents be Vaisya, the progeny is Vaisya If the mother be a Brahman, (which is illicit) the progeny is *Vaideha* but if she be a Kshatriya, which also is regarded as improper, he is *Māgadha*. From the Vaisya by a Sudra mother is produced a *Karana*. When both parents are Sudra, the progeny is Sudra. If the mother be a Brahman, the progeny is *Chandala*. If she be a Kshatriya, it is called *Chattā*.[5] From a Sudra by a Vaisya girl is produced the *Ayogava*.

In the same way still further ramifications are formed, each with different customs and modes of worship and each with infinite distinctions of habitation, profession, and rank of ancestry that defy computation.

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[4] These names and many other variations of the progeny of inter-marriages will be found in the tenth chapter of the *Institutes of Manu*. The management of horses and driving wagons, is therein said to be the occupation of Sutas, the practice of medicine that of Ambasthas; attendance on women, that of Vaidehakas; trade that of Māgadhas; killing fish that of Nishādas; carpentry of Ayogavas. Catching and killing animals that live in holes, is the occupation of Ksattars, Ugras, and Pukkasas.

[5] According to Burnell, (X. 306) the term is Ksattar. Sir W Jones writes Cshattri. Muir (*Sans. Texts*, I. 174), Kshattri.

The Brahmans, in regard to the study of the Vedas, are of four classes, and each occupies himself with the perusal of a special sacred work.[6] There are twenty ways of reading the *Rigveda;* the *Yajurveda* has eighty-six; the *Sāmaveda,* one thousand, and the *Atharvaveda,* five, and their several disciples fall into distinct categories. There may be also ten distinctions of Brahmans, according to their occupations. 1. Deva. 2. Muni. 3. [56] Dvi-ja. 4. Rājā. 5. Vaisya. 6. Sudra. 7. Bidālaka. 8. Pasu. 9. Mlechchha. 10. Chandāla.

The first named perform the *Hom*[7] for themselves, not for others, and give presents, but do not receive them, and learn, but do not teach. The second perform the *Hom* for others as well as for themselves and receive gifts and teach. The third class have twelve distinctive notes,—The six aforesaid and 7. Meekness. 8. Restraint of the five senses from things unlawful. 9. Unshrinking from austerities. 10. Attachment to the precepts of the Vedas. 11. Taking no life. 12. Attributing the possession of nothing to themselves. The fourth class perform the same offices as the *Kshatriya.* The fifth, those of the Vaisya. The sixth, those of the Sudra. The seventh class have the characteristic of cats,[8]

[6] According to Albiruni, Vyāsa divided the Veda into the four parts named below, and to each of his four pupils, he taught a separate Veda to be learnt by heart. They are enumerated in the same order as the four parts of the Veda: Paila Vaisampāyana, Jaimini, Sumantu.

[7] This oblation consists in casting clarified butter, etc., into the sacred fire as an offering to the gods, with invocations and prayers according to the object of sacrifice.

The three castes of the Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaisya, were called, *dvi-ja,* twice-born, from their title to investiture with the sacred thread which literally constitutes the second birth, but the term is particularly applied to the Brahmans, who maintain that their caste alone remains, the other three having been lost or degraded and it is generally accepted that the pure Kshatriya or Vaisya does not now exist. The intercourse and inter-marriage of various castes have produced the mixed castes called Varna-Sankara, see Dowson, [illegible].

[8] The Bidālaka, from Sansk.

go from door to door and mix with high and low. The eighth, like brutes[9] know not good from evil. The ninth follow the practices of the Mlechchhas (barbarians or non-Aryans), and the tenth are low outcasts and eat carrion.

The Kshatriya form two races, the *Surajbansi* (Solar dynasty) and the *Somabansi* (Lunar dynasty). The first mentioned are descendants of the Sun. It is said that by the volition of Brahma, *Marichi*[10] was created who begot *Kasyapa* (Muni), from whom the Sun (Vivasvān or Surya) sprung. From him was produced *Vaivaswata* from whose nose *Ikshwāku* came forth by a sneeze and from him the succeeding generations proceeded. Three princes of this race ruled the world and extended their dominion over the seven climes. These were Rājā Sagara,[11] Rājā Khatwānga, and Rājā Raghu.

The second race is descended from the Moon. From Brahma was born *Atri*, from whose right eye came forth the Moon (Soma) who begot Mercury (Budha) and from him proceeded the succeeding generations. Two princes of this race held universal sway, namely, *Rājā Yudhisthira* and *Rājā Satānika*. There are more than five hundred tribes of the Kshatriyas of whom fifty-two are preeminently distinguished and twelve are of considerable importance. At the present day, no trace of the true Kshatriya exists. Some of their descendants, abandoning the profession of arms, have taken

[9] The Pasu from Sansk.

[10] Abul Fazl's names and transliterations are incorrect. I substitute the true readings of the names as far as I am able to discover them.

[11] Notices of these three legendary princes will be found in Dowson. After Raghu the line practically loses its original name of the Surajbansi and is known as Raghubansi or Raghu-bansa from whom Rāma Chandra descended and whose epic the Raghu-vansa in 19 cantos was sung by Kālidāsa. Sagara was a king of Ayodhyā and his wife Sumati was delivered of a gourd containing 60,000 seeds which became embryos and grew. The anxious father placed them on milk but afterwards provided each with a nurse and at ten months' old they were all able to run about.

to other occupations and this class is known to the world by this name. Another body of them adopting the sword as their calling are designated Rājputs, and are divided into thousands of septs. I record the names of a few of the most renowned, that are now in His Majesty's service.

[57] 1. The Rāthor; there are several tribes of this clan in service. They number sixty thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand infantry. 2. The Chauhān are divided into several branches, *viz.*, Sungira, Khichi, Deora, Hādā, and Narbān.[12] The troops of the clan number fifty thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand infantry. 3. The Panwār. In ancient times, of this tribe was the royal dynasty in Hindustān, and it numbered many clansmen. At the present time their force consists of twelve thousand cavalry and sixty thousand foot. 4. The Jādon. Fifty-thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand foot. 5. Bhāti. 6. Jārejah. 7. Januhah, to which clan the Khānzādahs of Mewāt belong. 7. Gehlot. Twenty thousand cavalry and three hundred thousand foot. 8. Sesodia. 9. Chandrāwat. 10. The Kachhwāhah, who are celebrated among the Rājputs, and number twenty thousand cavalry, and one hundred thousand infantry. 11. The Solankhi. Thirty thousand cavalry and one hundred thousand infantry. 12. Parihāra. 13. Tonwar, for a time the sovereignty of this country rested in this tribe. They number ten thousand horse and twenty five thousand foot. 14. Badgujar. Ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot. Each of these tribes claim an ancestry traced back to hundreds of thousands of years, a source of splendid pride to the intelligent judgment and is indeed a theme far above the level of an idle tale to distract the mind.

The Vaisya and the Sudra are in the same way divided into numerous branches. For instance, there is one caste of

[12] Sherring gives the names of twenty-four branches, I. Chap. V The deeds of many of these famous clans are preserved by Tod in his *Rājasthān*.

the Vaisyas called *Banik*, more commonly termed *Baniyā*, (grain-merchant). The Persians name them *Bakkāl* and of these there are eighty-four divisions.

There are besides troops of astonishing sorcerers, cunning jugglers, [58] wonder-working magicians, and conjurers of such sleight of hand, performing such extraordinary feats that not the vulgar alone, but the acutest minds are deceived into a belief in their miraculous powers. For instance, one of them will say in broad day-light to one of the spectators: "I have just returned from heaven, and having there been assured of your honour and probity, I entrust my wife to your care." Then placing her in his charge, he takes a coil of rope of untanned hide, one end of which he holds in his hand, and flings the coil to such a height that the other end becomes invisible. By means of this he mounts up and is lost to sight. After a little time his limbs one after the other come falling from above, upon which the woman, after their national rite, burns herself in presence of the spectators and is consumed to ashes. In a brief space of time, the man himself reappears and claims his charge. The spectators relate to him what has happened which he affects to disbelieve, and hastening to the house of the person to whom he had entrusted her, calls to his wife from the door. She comes forth, giving thanks for his safety, and leaves the spectators in bewilderment. Again he will cut a man up into forty pieces, and cover him over with a sheet. Then at his summons, the man will appear unhurt and answer for his reality.[13]

[13] Similar performances are described by Ibn Batutah who witnessed them at an entertainment of the Viceroy of Khansa (Kinsay of Polo). Another witness to similar feats is Edward Melton, an Anglo-Dutch traveller who was present at a like scene in Batavia in 1670, where the limbs that fell successively were caught up and cast into a basket. The last fragment was the head and no sooner had it touched the ground than the man who had gathered up the limbs into the basket, turned them all out topsy turvy. Melton continues as follows: "Then straightway we saw with these

Or, he will place some grains of mustard seed in the palm of his hand, and by some incantation, will make it straight way shoot and bear leaves and fruit. In the same way they will produce mangoes and melons out of season. In short, the marvels of their sorceries, and snake-charming and the like, are beyond expression.

LANGUAGES.

Throughout the wide extent of Hindustan, many are the dialects that are spoken, and the diversity of those that do not exclude a common inter-intelligibility are innumerable. Those forms of speech that are not understood one of another, are the dialects of Delhi, Bengal, Multān, Mārwār, Gujarāt, Telingānah, Marhatta, Karnātik, Sind, Afghān of Shāl (between Sind, Kābul, and Qandahār), Beluchistān, and Kashmir.

FAUNA.

A summary description of the noblest of the animal creation having been given, I proceed to notice the lower types of animal life.

The Ban-mānus is an animal like a baboon, dark in colour, and in stature and face resembling a human being and

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eyes, all those limbs creep together again, and in short, form a whole man who at once could stand and go just as before without showing the least damage. Never in my life was I so astonished as when I beheld this wonderful performance and I doubted now no longer that these misguided men did it by the help of the Devil." The Memoirs of the Emperor Jahāngir furnish further testimony of similar performances by seven jugglers from Bengal. In one feat, a man is severed limb from limb and decapitated and reproduced from under a sheet. In the other the Emperor says, 'They produced a chain 50 cubits in length and threw one end of it towards the sky where it remained as if fastened to some thing in the air. A dog was brought forward and being placed at the lower extremity of the chain, immediately ran up and disappeared in the air. In the same manner, a hog, a panther, a lion and a tiger were successively sent up and all equally disappeared. At last they took down the chain and put it into a bag, no one discovering in what way the different animals were made to vanish. Yule's *Marco Polo*. (Ed. 1871), p. 281.

walks on two feet. Although it has no tail, its body is slightly covered with hair. One of these was brought to His Majesty from Bengal which performed the most astonishing antics. Elephants, lions,[14] leopards, panthers, tigers, bears, wolves and dogs of various breeds, and monkeys, lynxes, hyænas, jackals, foxes, otters, cats, white and tawny and even winged that will fly for a short distance, and other kinds of animals are numerous. *Sardul* is the name of an animal smaller than a dog but preys upon lions and other wild beasts. Through the encouragement of His Majesty, the breed of horses is as fine as those of Irāk and Arabia. The rhinoceres is a stupendous creature. He is twice the size of a buffalo and much resembles a horse in armour. His feet and hoofs are like those of an elephant, and his tail similar to a buffalo's, and he has a pastern-joint like a horse. On the point of his snout he carries a single horn and his hide is so thick that an arrow will not pierce it. Of this, breast-plates and shields and the like are made, and he is bold enough to charge a man on horseback. The black antelope, has two long horns and for beauty and swiftness is unrivalled among his kind. The deer, from which the musk is taken, is larger than the fox, and his coat is rough. He shows two tusks and protuberances in place of horns. They are common in the northern mountains. The Yāk approximates to the domestic cow but of its

[14] Lions are mentioned, according to Lassen, in the oldest Indian writings. They have now nearly disappeared, as they have from Persia, Syria, Asia Minor and Macedonia. Alexander found them in the Eastern Panjab. Lassen supposes the tiger to have advanced as the lion disappeared. The Indian hounds were famous and a Babylonian satrap had so many that four villages were specially taxed for their maintenance. They were considered worthy to be presented to Alexander the Great by king Sopeithes. See Lassen's note on this.

The winged cat is probably the flying squirrel which Mr. Routledge informs me is called by the natives *urti billi*.

Sardul in Sanskrit signifies a tiger, but here is perhaps meant some species of wild dog which in packs of 6 or 7 will hunt down the fiercest game.

tail is made the kūtās[15] or fringed tassel, and many they join together. There is also the civet cat.

The *Shārak*[16] is an astonishing talker, and listeners would not distinguish its tones from human speech.

The *Mynah*[17] is twice the size of the *Shārak*, with glossy black plumage, but with the bill, wattles and tail-coverts yellow. It imitates the human voice and speaks with great distinctness.

Parrots are of different colours, red, white and green and talk like human beings. At the present time, under His Majesty's patronage, animals of all kinds from Persia, Turkestān, and Kashmir whether game or other, have been brought together to the wonderment of beholders.

The *Koel*,[18] is like a mynah, jet black with crimson irides and a long tail. Romance sings of its loves as of those of the bulbul.

The *Papihā*,[19] is smaller than the Koel, with a shorter and slenderer tail. Its love is chanted in story. It is in full song in the beginning of the rainy season and has a peculiar

[15] See Vol. II, p. 172, n. 2, Vuller distinctly (*Lexicon*) names the Gāo Kutās as the Yāk Tibetanas or Bos grunniens.

[16] In Sansk. *Shārika*, Hind. *Shārik*, *Sārik* or *Sārak*. In Bengal the word is written and pronounced *Sālik* and applied to the common Mynah, the Acridotheres tristis, which is occasionally a fine talker.

[17] Eulabes intermedia, Jerdon. The Nepal Hill Mynah, found also in Assam, and about the Chittagong tracts, more or less with these characteristics. There are various species not easily distinguished by the inexpert.

[18] Eudynamys Orientalis, Jerdon. The Cuculus according to Linnæus. It is well-known throughout India. Its name is from its cry of *koil-koil* which increases in volume of sound as it goes on. The female lays its eggs in the nest of the common crow, generally only one and sometimes destroys the eggs of the crow at the time of depositing her own. The crows appear to be aware of the fact when too late and often pursue these cuckoos with great fury.

[19] Coccystes Melanoleucos, Jerdon. The piedchested cuckoo. It is found all over India, and is above of a uniform black with a greenish gloss. Jerdon unromantically describes it as very noisy with a high pitched metallic note, which would appear highly calculated to reopen any old wounds or cause a fresh one. It is best known in Hindu poetry under the name of *Chātak*.

note and its plaintive strain is heard oftenest at night, and makes love's unhealed wounds bleed anew. It is from its note that the word *piu* is taken, which in Hindi signifies 'beloved.'

The *Hārīl*[20] has green plumage with a white bill and crimson irides, smaller than the ordinary pigeon. It never settles upon the ground and when it alights to drink, it carries with it a twig which it keeps beneath its feet till its thirst is quenched.

The *Baya*[21] is like a wild sparrow but yellow. It is extremely intelligent, obedient and docile. It will take small coins from the hand and bring them to its master and will come to a call from a long distance. Its nests are so ingeniously constructed as to defy the rivalry of clever artificers.

The astonishing feats which the animals of this country can perform and their beautiful variety of colouring is beyond the power of my inexperience to describe. Former romancers have related stories in abundance of their extraordinary characteristics, but the writer of this work mentions nothing that he has not himself seen or heard from accurate observers.

I write of things within my ken,
Nor tell a twice-told tale again.

[20] Also *Hariyāl*, the Crocopus Phœnicopterus, or Bengal Green Pigeon, (Jerdon). The text is evidently in error, omitting the negative before the word 'settles', which stultifies the sense of what follows.

[21] Ploceus baya or common weaver-bird. Its long retort-shaped nest is a familiar sight in India. Jerdon says that it can be taught to pick up rings or such like articles dropped down a well or carry a note on a given signal. Mr. Blyth has seen it fire off a miniature cannon and apply the match five or six times before the powder ignited, which it finally did with a report loud enough to frighten all the crows in the neighbourhood, while the little bird remained perched on the gun without moving. In their breeding plumage, the old males have the crown of the head yellow, the rest of the upper plumage with the wings and tail, dull brown, edged with pale fulvous brown; the breast is bright yellow, but in the younger, pale rusty; while the females and the males in winter dress totally want the yellow head, the crown being brown with dark streaks.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Measures.[22]

	6 Atoms	=	1 *Marichi.*
	6 *Marichi*	=	1 *Khardal,* (Brassica nigra).
	3 *Khardal*	=	1 *Sarshaf,* (Brassica juncea).
	8 *Sarshaf*	=	1 Barley corn.
	4 Barley corns	=	1 Surkh (Abrus precatorius).
	6 *Surkh*	=	1 *Māshah.*
	4 *Māshah*	=	1 *Tānk.*
	2 *Tānk*	=	1 *Kaul.*
	2 *Kaul*	=	1 *Tolchah.*
	2 *Tolchah*	=	1 *Sukti.*
[60]	2 *Sukti*	=	1 *Pal.*
	2 *Pal*	=	Palm of the hand.
	2 Palms	=	1 *Anjali,* (two hands joined with the palms hollowed.
	2 *Anjali*	=	1 *Mānika.*
	2 *Mānika*	=	1 *Prastha.*
	4 *Prastha*	=	1 *Adhaka.*
	4 *Adhaka*	=	1 *Drona.*
	2 *Drona*	=	1 Surpa.
	2 Surpa	=	1 Khāri.

The *Khāri* of the present day is three times this measure.

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[22] See Vol. I, p. 16, n. and p. 36, for some of these measures and the weights that follow. The 15th Chapter of Albiruni deals with the metrology of the Hindus and may be compared with these measures. I append a very valuable note by Dr. Prain, Curator of the Herbarium, Royal Botanical Gardens, Calcutta, on the distinction between the kinds of mustard called 'Khardal' and 'Sarshaf' in the text and which remarkably confirms by actual experiment the accuracy of the weights. To Dr. King, the distinguished Superintendent of the Gardens, to whom I have already expressed my many obligations in the 2nd Vol. of the work, I am again indebted for the learned co-operation of Dr. Prain.

"Khardal" and "Sarshaf" are both names that are applied to BLACK-MUSTARD (BRASSICA NIGRA).

The former name is, *Watt* says, (in *Dict. Econ. Prod.* I, 521)

JEWELLER'S WEIGHTS.

These are based on the *Tānk* and the *Surkh*. A Tānk is equal to twenty-four *Surkh*, and the ordinary Miskāl is two *Surkh* more. The *Surkh* is divided into twenty parts, each part being termed a *biswah*. Formerly two and a half *biswah* were reckoned to one rice-grain, but the grains of that time were larger. His Majesty's foresight and sagacity have adjusted the proportion of two *biswah* to the grain. Each *Surkh* was equal to ten rice-grains. His Majesty in his wisdom directed that the grains should be made of the cat's eye stone and thus obviated the defect of currency. The standard weights kept ready for use are the following: the *biswah*, the rice-grain, ¼ and ½ of *Surkh*, 2 *Surkh*, 3 *Surkh*, 6 *Surkh* (which is ¼ of a Tānk), ½, 1, 2, 5, 10, 20, and 50 Tānk. Any other gradations may be compounded of these weights,

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applied, with a qualification, to WHITE MUSTARD; the latter apparently is not.

There is little doubt that by the lower unit of the two (KHARDAL) the seed of Black or true mustard is meant.

The question is as to the identity of the other unit.

Had "Sarshaf" been applied to both and "Khardal" restricted to black mustard, one would have felt inclined to say that white mustard (*Sinapis alba*) was intended. But it must be remembered that white mustard is an uncommon plant in Asia; and that Boissier only speaks of it as a plant of waste places and groves in Greece, Palestine and Taurus, (not even admitting it as a Persian species) and that its seeds, though much larger than those of *B. nigra*, do not suit the conditions required better than those of another species to be mentioned immediately. This is *Brassica juncea*—the well-known Indian mustard or *Rāi* which *is* cultivated in Persia, as it is in India, for its oil. The vernacular names given by Watt do not include "Khardal" alone or qualified, but apparently the "Sarshaf" appears (*e.g.*, in the Bengali name "Rai Sarisha") and this, therefore, seems to be the species that best suits the conditions; for *Abul Fazl* would be most probably referring to a well-known and common plant by his second word.

As regards the physical conditions, *Rai* seeds seem to suit very well, so far as the Calcutta Herbarium material goes. For in weighing 3 ripe seeds of *Brassica nigra* from Madeira against one ripe seed of India *Brassica juncea*, the scale shows very close approximation in weight; and 8 ripe seeds of *Brassica juncea* from India exactly balance a ripe grain of barley from Afghanistan, though a ripe barley-corn from Europe outweighs them.

and for the imperial service, weights of cat's eye up to 140 Tānks have been made of such brilliancy that they cannot be distinguished from gems.

Banker's Weights.

These are based on the *Tolchah*, the *Māshah*, and the *Surkh*.

Formerly 6 now 7½ rice-grains = 1 *Surkh*
8 *Surkh* = 1 *Māshah*
12 *Māshah* = 1 *Tolchah*.

The ordinary weights in use are ½, 1, and 4 *Surkh*: 1, 2, 4, 6, *Māshah*: 1, 2, 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, 200, 500 *Tolchah*. But in the imperial Exchequer, the gradations of weight kept ready are very numerous.

Other Trade-weights.

Formerly in Hindustān, the *ser* weighed 18 and in some places 22 *dām*. In the beginning of His Majesty's reign it was current at 28 and is now fixed at 30, each *dām* being 5 *Tānk*. In the transactions in coral and camphor the dām was reckoned at 5½ *tānk*, but the price of these articles having fallen, it is valued at five only. The weights in ordinary use are ⅛, ¼, ½ of a *ser*; 1, 2, 5, 10 *ser*; ½, 1 *man* which consists of 40 *ser*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LEARNING OF THE HINDUS

[*Editor's explanation*—Abul Fazl wrote his *Ain-i-Akbari* to serve as a popular summary of or general introduction to Hindu philosophy and science for the benefit of the Muslims, and not as a help to a deeper study. In a work of this type it is useless to reprint in 1947, Col. Jarrett's long notes and quotations (made in 1895) from works on Hindu philosophy by the earliest Orientalists and his parallels from Muslim philosophy, because his authorities have long been superseded by the works of more modern scholars, and these latter books can be easily consulted in our libraries, while the obsolete works cited by Jarrett are now extremely rare. Moreover, highly specialised and erudite monographs on the different branches of Hindu learning are now easily available, and the student wishing to follow the subject up further will be much better helped and more correctly guided by references to these modern special treatises than by the mere extracts from obsolete books which Jarrett gave in the 1st edition of his translation. I have therefore omitted most of his lengthy notes and quotations. The modern student of the subject is referred to the authoritative histories of Hindu philosophy by Radhakrishnan and S. N. Das Gupta, the Grundriss monographs, and (for a shorter study) to the two best Encyclopædias, the *Encyclopædia of Islam* and Dr. Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. Jadunath Sarkar.]

Throughout the wide extent of Hindustan there are three hundred and sixty systems of philosophy and conduct. By such means is the warfare with the malice of the spirit carried on, and the hand of violence extended against the deceits of our internal foes. The desire unto evil leadeth to perdition

and the worship of the Lord exalteth the heart. The writer of his work has mixed with many of the leaders of thought and has made himself acquainted to some extent with the discussions of the different schools. A considerable body do not rise beyond the experience of sight and hearing. They consider argument as idle discussion and accept no proof other than tradition of the past. Another school profess acceptance of demonstration, but from interior blindness remove not the rust of doubt. Another sect urge on the swift and light-paced dromedary of vision to the halting-place of truth in some questions, and from self-esteem imagine that they have likewise attained the same goal in others. And yet another body submit their intellects to those who affect stoicism and indifference, and in pursuit of their desire, lend to what is not the deceptive gloss of what is. Volumes would not contain the full tale of these. Who thinks to break his fast at the board of the parasite? But for the benefit of real seekers of knowledge, I here set down the series of fundamental systems which may be considered as nine in number and present the doctrines of each without discussion of their merits. It is my hope that inquirers may carefully study them and compare them with the principles of the Platonists, the Peripatetics, the Sufis and dogmatic theologians, and removing the obstructions of prejudice, seek alone for demonstration, and putting aside the estrangements of ignorance, exercise scrutiny with caution.

In this country there are eight sects who professedly teach the doctrines of the emanation of the world, of a life to come, of the essence and attributes of the verities that underlie superior and inferior cosmic phenomena, and the ceremonial and modes of worship and the forms of monarchical government both visible and symbolic: the ninth denies the existence of God and rejects the belief in a beginning or end of existence. Each of these have their special doctrines and rules of conduct and an ample nomenclature, but the

system is that of the Greeks before the time of Aristotle. Formerly they wrote with an iron style on the leaves of the palm and the *tuz*, but now on paper, and from left to right. The leaves are kept separate and it is not the practice to stitch them together. Their mystic idealism enlightens the understanding and invigorates the soul. But how shall I proceed? for my heart inclines from speech to silence. Time after time, the ordinary subjects of knowledge, sinking deep into my mind oppress me to use true science, by which stair the soul might rise to insight into truth, as a means to procure rank and wealth, and again, at times, my understanding is luminously inspired not to make bread-winning and pencraft the end of knowledge. The searcher after a formula is unable tc express it, of if discovered, the mind suffices not for its full cognition. For this reason, the tongue of speech adheres to the palate of silence and the head of thought sinks into the collar of depression, although it is said that he whose leisure is undisturbed, may in stillness be inspired to eloquence and the lover of taciturnity find voice though the inspired himself shall be dumb. But in truth to sully the tongue with utterance is to expose oneself to error. My own spirit is weary with discussion and my tongue oppressed by declaiming. I know not if this be lassitude of the disposition or the first revelation of truth, whether darkness overshadow my path with confusion or the leader of the caravan on this long journey be not yet arrived. Speech is a beverage filled with poison, and silence is a desert of sweet waters, the hidden source whereof flows from the possessors of truth. I have taken no quarry better than prayer and have seen no lamp brighter than silence. If my state were not one of such perplexity, and my mind not so averse from lengthened discussion, I would expound the philosophy of the Hindus after the systems of the Greeks, but as it is, in accordance with my design, I here set down what befits the scope of this work and my leisure permits.

Description of the Nine Schools

Naiyāyika is one who is versed in the Nyāya philosophy. *Vaiseshika* treats likewise of philosophy and its professors will be later on noticed. *Vedānti* is one who is conversant with the Vedānta System. *Mimāmsaka* is a follower of the Mimāmsā philosophy. *Sānkhya, Pātanjala, Jaina, Bauddha, Nāstika.* Each of these is distinct in its doctrine and their several principles will be hereafter explained. The Brahmans consider the last three as heretical and they admit no philosophical systems beyond the first six which they term *shaddarsana,* that is, the six modes of knowledge. The *Nyāya* and *Vaiseshika* agree in many points, as do the *Vedānta* and *Mimāmsā,* and the *Sānkhya* and the *Pātanjala.*

Nyāya. The founder of this school was the sage Gautama. It comprises within its field, physiology, theology, mathematics, logic and dialectics. Its followers hold the Supreme Being to be exempt from plurality, neither begotten nor begetting, incorporeal and free from all defect. He is without beginning as without end, the Creator, the Preserver, and they regard Him as pure Spirit: but they assert that he created a bodily form and united Himself thereto in a determinate manner ; and as the body is capable of action through its union with the soul, so does this corporeal form energize in union with the Deity without sullying the robe of its inviolable sanctity. This doctrine is akin to that of the Christians. The appellations of divinity are conceded to it, but it is not believed to be from all eternity. The Creator of the world, through the instrumentality of this Being, revealed His words unto men, and this revelation they call *Veda.* It [63] consists of upwards of one hundred thousand verses (*sloka*) each of which comprises four feet (*charana*) each foot being of not less than eight or more than twenty six letters (*Akshara*). In this book it does not exceed twenty. An *akshara* consists of either one or two letters: if of two, the last is quiescent. A holy man

named Vyāsa divided this book into four parts to each of which he assigned a separate name, *viz.*, the Rigveda, the Yajurveda, the Samaveda and the Atharvaveda. These four are considered divine books. Some assert that the First Being had four mouths from each of which a Book issued. Every Brahma who appears, wonderful to relate, delivers the same letters and words without diminution or addition.

They maintain that God is the absolute Efficient Cause and that the works of men are produced by these two sources of causation, (*viz.*, God and Brahma). The moral distinctions of good and evil in actions are deduced from the divine books. They believe in hell and heaven. The former they term *Naraka* and locate it in the lower region. The latter is called *Svarga* and is assigned to the celestial region. They do not believe in a perpetual duration of existence in either paradise or hell, but that men in the measure of their evil deeds may descend into hell and receive condign punishment, and thence coming forth assume other bodies, and for their good works obtain happiness in heaven, and again issuing from it, return into new forms: thus they will come and go until they have fully received the recompense or punishment of their former deeds, after which freed from the necessity of these two states, they will be liberated from joy and sorrow as will be hereafter related.

Some believe that portions of the world are from eternity and that some are created, as will be afterwards mentioned. They assign eight attributes to the Deity which they call accidents. 1. *Gyāna*, omniscience, by which He knows the future and the past, all that is secret or manifest, in whole and in part, and ignorance and forgetfulness cannot approach Him. 2. *Ichchhā*, will. All things at His pleasure are created or fall into nothingness. 3. *Prayatna*, providential order and the due procession of causes so that existence and non-existence may have their realisation. 4. *Sankhyā*, numerical series, and this is of three kinds, unity, duality and excess

of these. The first named is an attribute of the Almighty. 5. *Pramāna*, extent, and this is of four kinds as will be hereinafter mentioned. As they believe God to be omnipresent, his extent must be infinite [64]. 6. *Prithaktva*, severalty and individuality. As of Sankhya, this is of three kinds, the first being a Divine attribute. 7. *Samyoga*, co-inherence, because all things unite in Him. 8. *Vi-bhāga*, disjunction. The last six of these are accounted to have been from all eternity.

Sixteen subjects called predicaments (*padārtha*),[1] are discussed by this system and these topics comprise all the objects of thought. Although it does not strictly proceed beyond the second, nor, indeed, beyond its subordinate classification of *Artha*, yet a few details are here set down for information.

THE SIXTEEN PREDICAMENTS.

1 Pramāna.	2 Prameya.	3 Sansaya.	4 Prayojana.
5 Drishtānta.	6 Siddhānta.	7 Avayava.	8 Tarka.
9 Nirnaya.	10 Vāda.	11 Jalpa.	12 Vitānda.
13 Hetvābhāsa.	14 Chhala.	15 Jāti.	16 Nigraha-sthāna.

The First Predicament, *Pramāna* (proof), is of four kinds. 1. *Pratyaksha*, (perception) by the six perfect senses, *viz.*, the five external senses together with *manas* which will be hereafter explained. 2. *Anumāna*, inference. 3. *Upamāna*, resemblance and analogy. 4. *Sabda*, tradition of trustworthy and pious men. These four are held to embrace a considerable extent of knowledge.

[1] This term is translated by Colebrooke indifferently as category or predicament, and by Dr. Röer as Category. Davies in his Hindu Philosophy, uses predicaments and categories as synonymous (p. 127) in his rendering of *padārtha*. I have distinguished these sixteen subjects as predicaments to avoid confusing the numbers with the subordinate categories given by Abul Fazl under the heading of *artha*, the 4th classification of the second predicament, *prameya*.

The Second Predicament. *Prameya* signifies the objects of thought, and this which is beyond the reach of numeration, is yet classed under twelve heads. 1. *Atman*. 2. *Sarira*. 3. *Indriya*. 4. *Artha*. 5. *Buddhi* [65]. 6. *Manas*. 7. *Pravritti*. 8. *Dosha*. 9. *Pretyabhāva*. 10. *Phala*. 11. *Duhkha*. 12. *Apavarga*.

I. *Atman*, soul, is a subtile, all-pervading substance which is the seat of the understanding, and it is of two kinds. The first kind is *Jivātman* (the vital principle), which vivifies human bodies and the animal and vegetable creation. Each body is supposed to be informed by a distinct spirit whose perceptions, through the senses and operations of the intellect, can be exercised only in conjunction with the substance *manas*[2] to be subsequently explained. The second kind is *Paramātman*, the Supreme Soul, which they hold to be One and from all eternity. Its intellectual cognitions are independent of the operation of *manas*.

II. *Sarira*, body, is also of two kinds. *Yoni-ja* (uterine), sexually produced. *Ayoni-ja*, that which is not so produced. The first mentioned has two further subdivisions, *viz.*, *jarāyu-ja*, viviparous, and *anda-ja*, oviparous, and both are formed of the five elements. The latter, *ayoni-ja*, has four subdivisions. 1. *Pārthiva*, formed of earth; 2. *Apya*, formed of water; 3. *Taijasa* of fire. 4. *Vāyaviya*, of air.

III. *Indriya*,[3] signifies the five organs of sense together with *Manas* (the internal organ), a subtile substance intimately connected with the cone-shaped human heart. It is the source

[2] The distinction between the sensitive material organ *manas* and the rational conscious soul *jivātman*, is the *thimos* and *phrén*, of Pythagoras, one perishing with the body, the other immortal, v. Colebrooke, *Essays*, I. 442. For the Hindu conception of the mind, see Hastings, *Encyclo. i.* 137 (*mind*), ii. 824-83 (*brain and mind*). i. 774-778 (*body* and *mind*), ii. 773 (*body* and future life.) The Nyāya system in *ibid.* 442 and the Atomic theory in ii. 199-201. [J. S.]

[3] These are: the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue and the skin: the five organs of action being the voice, the hands, the feet, the arms and the organs of generation. *Manas* or mind, is the

of perception, and it is by its action, they consider, that a man roams in imagination through distant countries. In contradistinction to *Atman*, it is not considered to be all-pervading, but the Mimāmsa School maintain that it possesses this quality.

IV. *Artha* (objects of sense). Under this head are seven categories [66]. 1. *Dravya*. 2. *Guna*. 3. *Karman*. 4. *Sāmānya*. 5. *Visesha*. 6. *Samavāya*. 7. *Abhāva*.

The first signifies substance,[4] which they conceive to be all-pervading and eternal, while with regard to the four elements, its indivisible atoms only are held to be eternal in duration. (It is subdivided into) *Atman; Manas; Akāsa;* the four elements, *kāla* and *dis*.

The first two have been already mentioned. The third is a subtile fluid, all-pervading, and has the quality of sound. The four elements are recognised after the system of the Greeks, but air is regarded as the highest in order. *Kāla*

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organ of the bodily senses. By union with the external senses it produces knowledge of exterior objects. Its office is to separate the sensations and to present them singly to the soul; since the soul does not receive more than one perception at the same instant. The *Manas* is minutely small as an atom: for otherwise it might come into connection with many things or sensations at one time. It is eternal and distinct both from soul and body. Davies, *Hind. Phil.*, pp. 21, 122.

[4] This first category *dravya* (substance) is subdivided by Davies into nine divisions. 1 Earth (*prithivi*); 2 water (*āpas*); 3 light (*tejas*); 4 air (*vāyu*); 5 Ether (*ākāsa*); 6 time (*kāla*); 7 space (*dis*); 8 Soul (*ātman*); 9 mind (*manas*), p. 128.

Substance is defined by Kanāda to be the substrate of qualities and actions and possessing intimate causality. This is explained in the commentary of Bhāshā Parichcheda to be the substrate of qualities either in the relation of intimate union (*Samavāya Sambandha*) or in the relation of antecedent negation (*Prāgabhāva*) that is, of future existence. The latter definition is to obviate an objection which may be raised from the condition of substance at the time of their production. When substances are produced, they have, according to the Nyāya, no qualities. If they have no qualities, they are no substances according to the definition that substances are the substrate of qualities. By the second definition that they are substrates of qualities either in the relation of intimate union, or of future existence, this objection is removed. *Categories* of the Nyāya Philosophy. Dr. E. Röer, p. 3.

time,[5] is a substance impalpable and universal. *Dis*, space, has the same character.

Attributes are of the following six kinds. (1) *Karman*, action, the third category, is divided into five varieties, progressive action, upward and downward action, contraction and dilatation, and is non-eternal. (2) The fourth category is *Sāmānya*,[6] community, and is one, expresses existence, and denotes qualities. Its generic character is eternal, and it resides in substance, quality, and action. It is also called *Jāti Sāmānya* (generic community) and secondly *Upādhi* (discriminative or specific) *Sāmānya;* it has an objective existence, having qualities common to all objects.

(3) The fifth category *Visesha*,[7] particularity, is an attribute, being of its own essence dissociated from everything, has a separate resting-place, and is based only upon eternal matter. *Prithaktva*, individuality, is, on the other hand, a quality, and although it implies disjunction, it does not do so to the same degree, and is not in the same manner distinguished.

(4) The sixth category, *Samavāya*, denotes the co-inherence of five entities with their correlatives, such as (1) movement and its author; (2) quality and substance; (3) matter

[5] Time is inferred from the relation of priority and subsequence other than that of place. It is marked by association of objects with the sun's revolutions. Space is inferred from the relation of priority and subsequence other than that of time. It is deduced from the notion of *here* and *there*. Davies, p. 130.

[6] Davies' definition is that it expresses only existence in its highest degree, and is the source of our notion of genus. It denotes also species as indicating a class, these genera and species having a real objective existence.

[7] The difference between this and the following term is explained as follows by Prof. Cowell. "Particularity is the individuality which characterises simple substances,—it is 'their ultimate, and not further explicable difference'. All compound substances from jars down to the combination of two atoms, are mutually separated by the difference of their component parts, but particularity is the only mutual difference of atoms. This difference is through itself only." *Siddh Muktav*. Colebrooke, I. n. p. 308.

and the thing made, as clay and the vessel of clay, yarn and and its cloth; (4) the whole and its component parts; (5) particularity and eternal matter.

Strangely enough they regard *Samavāya*[8] as one and eternal. This school classes co-inherence under three heads. The first as mentioned above, and if it occurs between two substances, it is termed *Samyoga*, simple conjunction, as is stated in the mention of qualities, and they consider it to possess plurality. Secondly, the connection of the immaterial with the material, as the soul with the body. This they call *Svarupa*, natural form.

(5) The seventh category is *abhāva*, privation or negation, and is of two kinds. *Samsargābhāva* universal and *anyonyābhāva*, mutual negation between two things, as one might say "this is not that". This reciprocal negation must be one in time and place.

The first kind includes three species: (1), *prāgabhāva*, antecedent negation; [67] (2), *pradhanasābhāva*, emergent negation; (3), *atyantābhāva*, absolute negation, that is a negation of what is not one in place, while one in time as, "Zayd standing on the bank of the river, is lost in the desert."

(6) Attributes that do not come under these last five categories are qualities[9] and termed *guna*, (second category)

[8] Numerically it is one, and then it is the same *Samavāya* that connects a jar, and its colour in India, and another jar &c., in Europe, and that connected Adam's soul with its qualities, and that of the reader's with its own. They affirm that substance may want qualities altogether as the latter are not produced till after the production of the substances themselves, so that a jar, when first produced, may be devoid of colour, smell, taste and tangibility, and in the next moment become endowed with them. A whole has no qualities, whereas its parts have, by the relation called *Samavāya*. Smoke is said to reside in a place by relation of *Samyoga* and in its parts by *Samavāya*. Therefore by asserting that whenever there is smoke there is fire, they contradict it by this distinction, for smoke, besides residing in a given place by *Samyoga*, resides by *Samavāya*, in its own parts, where fire is not. V. Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, p. 94-5.

[9] Quality is closely united with substance; not, however, as an intimate cause of it, nor consisting in motion, but common: not a

of which there are twenty-four varieties: (1), *Rupa*, colour (or form) of which five are elementary, namely, red, yellow, blue, black, white, the other colours being compounded of these; (2), *Rasa*, savour. This is of six kinds; sweet, bitter, acid, saline pungent and astringent; (3), *Gandha*, odour; (4), *Sparsa*, tangibility, that is the perception of touch which is of three kinds, cold, hot, and temperate; (5), *Sankhyā*, number which is also of three kinds, unity, duality, and plurality; (6), *Parimāna*, quantity, which is of four kinds, (α) *anu*, atomic, (β) *hrasva*,[10] the measure of two atoms, also called *dvy-anuka*, (γ) *dirgha*, the measure of three or more atoms, ( ) *mahat*, (vast) the measure of the ethereal firmament and the like; (7), *Prithaktva*, individuality, distinguishes one of two things from the other. It is in itself common to all, and is not defined in the same manner as *visesha*. It is of three kinds, as for instance, "one is unlike that", or "two or more are unlike it"; (8), *Samyoga*, is the conjunction of two substances, eternal and non-eternal, which are united by a mutual attraction. They do not consider it to be one, like *samavāya*; (9), *Vibhāga*, disjunction; (10), *Purvatva*, priority in time and place; (11), *Aparatva*, posteriority; (12), *Buddhi*, intellect; (13), *Sukha*, pleasure; (14) *Duhkha*, pain; (15), *Ichchhā*, desire; (16), *Dvesha*, aversion; (17), *Prayatna*, volition or effort; (18), *Gurutva*, *gravity*. [68] Lightness is not held to be quality, but the negation of gravity; (19), *Dravatva*, fluidity; (20), *Sneha*, viscidity; (21) *Sanskāra*, reproduction (of thought) which is of three kinds. (α) *Vega* (*Sanskāra*) (velocity)[11] a quality which springs from mobility and

genus, yet appertaining to one. It is independent of conjunction and disjunction, not the cause of them, nor itself endued with qualities. Colebrooke, *Essays*, I. 296.

[10] This word in Sanskrit signifies, less, little, small, short, and in grammar a short vowel. *Duy-anuka* is transliterated by Abul Fazl, *dinkus*. *Dirgha* signifies the quantity of a long vowel.

[11] Rajendralāla Mitra in his translation of the Yogas of Patanjali thus expresses himself:—"The most important word in the aphorism is *Sanskāra* which has unfortunately not been

produces motion, like the flight of an arrow from the bow, for according to this school, motion is destroyed in the third moment after its production, and hence this quality must of necessity be called into action and produce moment. (β) (*Bhāvanā*) *Sanskāra* thinking, is a special characteristic of the reasoning faculty, and since knowledge does not endure in the mind beyond the space of three moments of time, recourse to this quality is imperative, and through the operation of the intellect, analogy, induction or intuition becomes the effective cause of the recollection of what has passed from the mind. (γ) *Sthitisthāpaka*, elasticity, that is the resilience of what is bent to the contrary direction. (22), *dharma*,[12] merit, or the state of rectitude in the intelligent soul. (23), *adharma*, demerit. This school believes that souls through these two qualities, assume various bodily forms, and receive their due recompense in sorrow or joy. The first have their portion in Paradise: the second, in hell, and the world of death is the ultimate end of both. (24), *sabda*, sound.

The rational soul is distinguished by fourteen qualities: (1) intellect, (2) pleasure, (3) pain, (4) desire, (5) aversion, (6) effort, (7) merit, (8) demerit, (9) thinking, (10) number, (11) quantity, (12) individuality, (13) conjunction, (14) disjunction. The first nine are inseparable from it, while number (*viz.*, unity), quantity, individuality, conjunction, dis-

explained in the commentary of Bhoja or in the Pātanjala Bhāshya. In ordinary Sanskrit it has many meanings. In the Nyāya it occurs in three different senses, velocity (*vega*), thinking (*bhāvanā*) and elasticity (*sthitisthāpaka*). Adverting to the second meaning the Bhāshā Paricheheda says: "Sanskāra, called thinking (*bhāvanā*) resides in sentient beings and is imperceptible to the senses.

[12] The commentators, who are generally under a Vedantic influence, explain virtue, *dharma*, as including humanity, benevolence, acts of restraint (*yama*) and of obligation (*niyama*). Acts of restraint, according to Gandapāda, are restraint of cruelty, falsehood, dishonesty, incontinence and avarice! Acts of obligation are purification, contentment, religious austerities, sacred study and divine worship. Davies, p. 57.

junction, and sound, are referrible to ether. Sound is its chief characteristic. With the exception of sound, these five are qualities of time and space, and the eight formed by these four together, with priority, posteriority and velocity are qualities of *manas*:—Tangibility, number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority and velocity are the nine accidents of air. Colour, tangibility, number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, fluidity, velocity, are the eleven qualities of light (fire), and motion and tangibility, are its characteristics. Colour, taste, tangibility, number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, gravity, fluidity, viscidity and velocity are the fourteen qualities of water. Motion, viscidity, and tangibility are its characteristics. The same fourteen are likewise those of earth, substituting for viscidity odour which abides in earth alone.

[69] Eternal qualities. Of these, six characterise the deity, *viz.*, intellect, desire, effort (one), number (*i.e.*, unity), vastness of quantity (one), and individuality. Three qualities connote the vital principle, (*jīvātman*), the mind (*manas*) and ether, time and space, *viz.*, quantity (one), number (unity), individuality. Four belong to the indivisible atoms of air, tangibility (one), number, quantity (one), individuality. Five to atoms of light (fire), colour, tangibility (one), number, quantity (one), individuality. Nine to those of water; *viz.*, colour, savour, tangibility, viscidity (one), number, quantity (one), individuality, gravity, and fluidity. Four to those of earth, *viz.*, number (unity), quantity (one), individuality, and gravity. They affirm that qualities, in their non-eternal (transitory) aspects, including desire, effort, and intellect, are sited in other than the Deity, and pleasure, pain, aversion and sound are produced in one moment of time, do not endure to the second, and are lost in the third, and the rest are not of great length of permanence.

Eight qualities are universal: number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, gravity. Four are incident to all substances: namely, conjunction, disjunction, number other than unity, and individuality likewise not single. Those that alone are united in *manas*, are held to be intellect, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, and effort. Such as are cognisable by inference are merit, demerit, thinking and gravity.

This much will suffice for example from among a multiplicity of division of these qualities.

Having now discussed the various categories of *artha*, I come to the fifth classification of *Prameya*, namely,

V. *Buddhi*[13] (intellect). Although it has been mentioned under the second category (*guna*) of *artha*, a somewhat more extended explanation will be of service. It is two-fold: (1) *anubhava*, (notion or concept), which is produced by means of the four kinds of proof,[14] and (2) *smriti*,[15] recollection, which is effected through *bhāvanā sanskāra*, (present consciousness

[13] In the system of Kapila, *buddhi* is the faculty or organ, by which outward objects are presented to the view of the soul in their proper and definite form, and he assigns to it every quality or state that is connected with the active life, as its primary seat and the first emanation of Nature (Prakriti). Davies, p. 57.

[14] These are *pratyaksha* (perception), *anumāna* (inference), *upāmāna* (analogy) and *sabda* (verbal testimony). To these four kinds of proof of the Nyāya or logical school, the Vedantic adds *arthāpatti* (presumption) an informal kind of inference; as, "Devadatta does not eat by day and yet is fat, it is presumed therefore that he eats by night"; and *abhāva* (non-existence), a method of proof from an impossibility, or a *'reductio ad absurdum'* as, "there can be no flowers in the sky." Davies, p. 24.

[15] *Smriti* signifies also tradition, the institutes of law as opposed to *sruti*, the Veda or revelation. The laws of the Hindus, civil and religious, are believed by them to be founded on revelation, of which the Vedas are preserved in the very words. Another portion has been preserved by inspired writers who having revelations present to their memory, have recorded holy precepts for which divine sanction is presume. The latter is *smriti*, recollection, (remembered law), in contradistinction to *sruti*, audition, revealed law. Colebrooke.

of past ideas). *Anubhava* is of two kinds, a right notion or a wrong one. A wrong notion, *i.e.* (one not derived from proof) is threefold, namely, *sansaya*, doubt; *viparyaya*, error, and *tarka*, false premises. This last is a *padārtha* (predicament) and will be explained in its place.

VI. *Manas*,[16] although referred to under substance, requires to be mentioned next in order.

VII. *Pravritti*, activity, or employing the mind, tongue and other organs in good and evil works. They maintain that four functions are necessary to an outward action, knowing, willing, resolving and bodily motion.

VIII. *Dosha*, (fault) they assert to be a cause of *prayatna* (effort), and is of three kinds; *rāga*, passion or extreme desire, *dvesha*, aversion; and *moha*, delusion of mind.

[70] IX. *Pretyabhāva*, (transmigration) signifies life, after death and the union of the soul with the body, followed by death after life and dissolution succeeding connection.

X. *Phala* (retribution) is the fruit of merit and demerit.

XI. *Duhkha*, is the opposite of *Sukha*, joy, which is not here introduced, as the pleasures of this world are by them accounted misery.

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[16] Is the first of the internal organs receiving the impression made upon the senses. Primordial matter, the *Elei* of the Greeks produced *buddhi* or intellect, from which proceeded *Ahankāra* or egotism, and from this latter proceed the five organs of sense (*indriya*) and the five organs of action, and lastly *Manas*, the receptive or discriminating faculty. The tongue is classed as an organ of action, and the faculty of speech is as much sensation as touching or walking. The *Manas* has the nature of both classes, ...rmative or plastic and a sense organ. In the Sānkhya system of ...apila, it is not to be confounded with mind or the rational faculty of the soul, but is regarded as a form of matter. I refer ... Davies' work whence I have taken in scattered notices the substance of the above, and to Colebrooke. This dismal philosophy is curious as an intellectual product, the precursor of the ghastly metaphysics of Hartmann and Schopenhauer. The Hindu has the merit of ... and a better excuse.

XII. *Apavarga*, (emancipation) is eternal release from pain. There are twenty-one varieties of pain, or evil, and these reside in the six organs of sense, the six objects (*vishaya*) of sensation, the six mental apprehensions that proceed from them, the body which is the centre of evil, pleasure itself which is filled with pain, and pain. In short, pain signifies all that men are averse from and by which distress occurs. The attainment of that state where these effects disappear, is called *mukti*, or final emancipation, where the soul rests without perception or consciousness, is no longer connected with the body and is delivered from heaven and hell. They consider the union of the soul with body which they call *janman* (birth),[17] as the source of pain. Its existence is due to merit and demerit, and through its companionship with the soul, it receives the recompense of good and evil. The cause of this is *karman* (action), from which proceeds befitting time, or unsuitable deed and pain or pleasure. *Yatna* (effort), which is synonymous with *prayatna*, and *pravritti*, activity, produce these consequences, and this in turn results from *rāga* or passion, which springs from *mithyājnāna*,[18] erroneous opinion, originated by *bhāvanā sanskāra*. By mortification of spirit and body and by good works, the means of perfect knowledge are secured, resulting in the attainment of perfected capacities. Ignorance is destroyed, true knowledge acquired, and the flux and reflux of existence vanish for ever.

Some say that when the intelligence attains its highest illumination, error and ignorance are annihilated and with them *rāga* and *dvesha*. that is passion and aversion depart,

[17] In every form of earthly life, the soul is united to its own peculiar vehicle or body, but is not blended with it but enveloped by it. By this is meant, not the gross material body which perishes at each migration, but the *linga*, the subtle *umbra* or sheath formed from the substance of the three internal organs, and the finer elements of matter (*tanmātra*). For Body and Soul see Hastings' *Encyclo.*, xi. 742-744. [*J. S.*]

[18] *Mithyājnāna* is used to signify that special misapprehension which estops release from the world.

and hence *pravritti*, activity, is extirpated, and by its disappearance *janman* (birth), is no more, and pain and grief are dissolved and *mukti* brings everlasting bliss. Another opinion is that *tattvajnāna*, true knowledge, dispels *mithyājnāna*, or error, which causes the subversion of desire, which overwhelms *prayatna*. By its fall *karman* (action) is subverted and overturns with it *dharma* and *adharma* (merit and demerit). *Janman* (birth), thus, is swept away carrying with it *duhkha* (pain) in its overthrow. The Nyāya school assert that when the material body perishes, knowledge dies with it. Perfect knowledge depends upon three conditions: (1) *sravana*, hearing, and studying the Vedas and the existing traditions of the sages, and this cannot be attained except by the aid of one who has travelled this road: [71] (2) *manana*, consideration, by which the sacred books and the precepts of the virtuous are when apprehended, studiously illumined by proofs that convince the mind. The effect of this study, according to one opinion, issues in a speculation as to the nature of the rational soul and whether it is not apart from all else;[19] (3) *nididhyāsana*, profound contemplation; by frequent reflection and reiterated thought on the objects of contemplation in their entirety, the mind becomes habitually absorbed herein and advancing beyond the objective sensations of sight and deed, becomes the recipient of truth.

It is asserted that the contemplation of the rational soul may be so continuous as not to be interrupted. When these three conditions are fulfilled with diligence and unwavering resolve, a sublime knowledge is attained and liberation secured from pain and pleasure and the fetters of the corpo-

[19] In Kapila's system, the soul is solitary and perfectly distinct from matter and therefore from the modifications the modes of Nature produce. It beholds as an *eye-witness*, for insight and cognition are not properties of matter. It is neutral (*Madhyastha*, lit. standing between) "as a wandering ascetic is lonely and unconcerned, while the villagers are being engaged in agriculture". The soul in its regal grandeur, has no part in the inferior life of action. It directs as a sovereign but does not work. Davies.

real state. This school professes the doctrine of *Kāyavyuha*, multiplication of bodies.[20]

They maintain that when any of the specially favoured are illumined by the light of this knowledge, and are cognisant of their past existences and future destiny, and know that a course of further transmigration awaits them, and desire to complete it, they receive a special power from the Supreme Being, and in a brief space receive these various forms and endure the pains and pleasures of life with the same spirit and the same intelligence, and when these forms pass away, attain eternal bliss. It is also said that all men will[21] arrive at final emancipation, and that though the world is without a beginning, birth and production will eventually cease.

The third predicament *Sansaya*, doubt, is three-fold: (1), it may arise from the sight of objects with common qualities, as for example, an object may be seen from a distance, and not distinctly, known whether it be a tree or a man, and the like; (2), cause of doubt is likewise (a non-general or special attribute) in regard to a particular object which is separate from the notion of eternal or non-eternal, substance or quality, and the doubt arises whether it be eternal or non-eternal, substance or quality: (3), Cause of doubt lies also in controversy when a subject may be the occasion of contradictory affirmation and denial between two learned disputants.

[20] This subject is touched upon in the fourth chapter of the Yoga aphorisms of Patanjali. "When a Yogi, who has a mastery over the cardinal principles, with a view to enjoy at once the fruits of his actions, from the perception of his own superior transcendental powers, wishes to assume many bodies at the same time, whence does he derive many thinking principles" (to vitalize these bodies)? In reply the author says: "the created thinking principles (proceed) solely from egoism." That is, that his own consciousness or rather his absolute Ego, (for Fitchte distinguishes between the two) by force of will evolves the power, as fire emits sparks. *Vide* Rājendralāla Mitra's translation, p. 171-72.

[21] A variant, the reading of one MS., has a negative. According to the Sānkhya (and Mimāmsa) systems, acquiring knowledge and thus gaining deliverance from contact with matter is the privilege of the few rather than a duty manifest on all. See Davies, p. 114.

The fourth predicament, *Prayojana*, motive, is that which necessarily precedes and produces an effect and is termed causality. Of this there are not accounted more than three kinds: (1), the presence of efficient conditions and means is termed *nimitta kārana*, or instrumental causality: (2), the material cause is *samavāyi kārana*, intimate or direct causality: (3), the indirect or non-intimate causality is called *asamavāyi kārana*.[22] Cause is termed *kārana* and effect *kārya*, and *sāmagri* is total causality, (the aggregate of conditions necessary for the forming of either, a material product or a physical state). This subject is treated in Sanskrit philosophy under the first predicament.

[72] The fifth predicament is *Drishtānta*, instance or example, showing invariable connection (between subject and predicate).

The sixth predicament, is *Siddhānta*, dogma or determinate truth.

The seventh predicament is *Avayava*, (members of a) syllogism. This consists of five members.[23] I. *Pratijna*, the

[22] The usual order is the intimate, non-intimate and instrumental. An instance of the first, is thread from which cloth is made; for the second the conjunction of the threads; for the third, the loom. Intimate causality belongs to substances, non-intimate causality to qualities and actions. Röer, p. 10.

[23] The members are these:—

1. This hill is fiery.
2. For it smokes.
3. Whatever smokes is fiery.
4. This hill is smoking.
5. Therefore it is fiery.

or

1. Sound is non-eternal.
2. Because it is produced.
3. Whatever is produced is non-eternal.
4. Sound is produced.
5. Therefore it is non-eternal.

Some confine the syllogism to three members, either the first three or the last. In the latter form it is the syllogism of Aristotle. According to Röer, the Nyāya knows only the two first figures of syllogism, and of these only the two moods Barbara and Camestres. A complete syllogism is properly termed *nyāya*, the five members or component parts are called *avayava*.

proposition, as in the statement, "there is fire in this hill". II. *Hetu*, the concomitant reason supporting the proposition, "for it smokes", by which the presence of fire is apprehended which is the ground for the inference, and this, in regard to the invariable connection (between subject and predicate), is threefold. If the necessary connection is affirmative, it is called *kevalānvayin* (concomitancy of affirmatives), and if negative, *kevala-vyatirekin* (concomitancy of negatives), and if both, *anvaya-vyatirekin* (affirmative and negative induction). Of this third kind five members are necessary for a complete syllogism. (1) *Paksha sattva*[24] (subject of the conclusion) where the subject to be proved is supposed to be in a given place. (2) *Sapaksha sattva* (similar instance, involving the major term) where the place of the subject and predicate are with certainty known or inferred as smoke and fire in a kitchen hearth. (3) *Vipaksha sattva* (negative instance) where the subject and predicate exclude each other as water (and fire). (4) *Abādhita vishayatva*, non-negation of the object of proof (by other proof). (5) *Asatpratipakshatva*, (non-equalisation), where there is no counterbalancing reason proving the negation of what is to be proved. In the first classification of *Hetu*, (*kevalānvayin*), the third of these five is absent. In the second, (*kevala-vyatirekin*), the second of the five is absent.

III. *Udhāharana*, the instance or example. The subject of a proposition is called *vyāpya*: the predicate is the *vyāpaka*,

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[24] These and the following terms are thus rendered in Dr. Richard Garbe's translation of Aniruddha's commentary on the Sānkhya Sutras. "By means of a syllogism construed in this manner we discern (1), that the invariably concomitated (*vyāpya*) is an attribute of the subject of the conclusion (*paksha-dharmatva*), (2), that the *vyāpya* exists in those things in which the invariable concomitant (*vyāpaka*) undoubtedly exists (*sapakshe-sattva*), (3), that the *vyāpya* is excluded from those things from which the *vyāpaka* is also excluded (*vipakshādvyāvrittih*), (4) that no equally strong reason can be adduced against the reason which proves the proposition (*asat-pratipakshatva*), (5), that the *vyāpya* is not such that its object does not exist in the subject of the conclusion (*abādhita-vishayatva*).

and *vyāpti*, pervasion [73] or invariable concomitance, is the mutual relation of the subject and predicate.

IV. *Upanaya* is the application of the reason to the subject in question.

Nigamana is the conclusion. Although it lies implicate in the major premiss, it forms the statement in the general proposition and becomes the consequent in the fifth.

The eighth predicament *Tarka*, is inadmissible conclusion at variance with proof, that is, the perception of a deduction from wrong premises.[25] By its statement the disputant removes the doubt in the relation of subject and predicate. For instance to one who denied the existence of fire (in the hill) he would rejoin that without it there could be no smoke, of which fire is the cause.

The ninth predicament is *Nirnaya*, (ascertainment), or a certainty of conclusion on the completion of proof.

The tenth *Vāda*, (controversy) is the expression of their respective views of a subject by two seekers after knowledge, supported by reasons brought forward with good feeling, and in the interests of truth, allowing neither their several convictions nor self-assertion to influence them. Verily such courteous[26] disputants, like the phœnix, move with steps that leave no trace.

The eleventh *Jalpa*, or wrangling, is the debate of disputants contending for victory.

The twelfth is *Vitandā*, objection or cavilling: The object of one disputant being the advancement of what is true and reasonable, and of the other to dispute his statements.

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[25] The text is corrupt. The words of the *Tarka Sangraha*, are thus translated by Vidyā Sāgara, *Reductio ad absurdum* or Tarka is that which consists in *founding* the pervader (*vyāpya*) (here supposed to be denied) through the allegation of the pervaded (*vyāpaka* here supposed to be taken for granted). As for instance: If there were not fire (which you do not grant), there would not be smoke (which you admit there is). V. 68.

[26] I would read *farohindah* for *farohidah*. It is not wisdom nor ingenuity that is rare, but courtesy and good temper.

The thirteenth is *Hetvābhāsa*, fallacy. This is a syllogism with the semblance of a reason, of which there are five kinds. If this predicament were placed in order above *Vāda*, the tenth, or below the three following, it would be more in place.

The fourteenth is *Chhala*, perversion of an adversary's statement through malice, and disputing it.

The fifteenth is *Jāti*, futility, or a reply both irrelevant and reprehensible, advanced with speciousness and cavilling. This is of twenty-four kinds.

The sixteenth predicament is *Nigrahasthāna*, the confutation of an adversary, and is of twenty-two kinds.

Each of these sixteenth subjects have numerous questions arising out of them, supported by a variety of opinions, arguments and instances.

It is believed that whosoever apprehends these sixteen in their integrity, is released from further birth and death, lives in freedom from pleasure and pain, and attains his final end by three degrees of knowledge: *viz.* (1), *uddesha*, (enunciation), by which he distinguishes the name of each of these sixteen predicaments and bears them in memory; [74] (2) *lakshana*, (definition), by which he arrives at their essential truth; (3) *parikshā* (investigation), by which he ascertains the sufficiency and pertinence of their definition.

This school, though not acknowledging that the world had a beginning, yet believes in its final destruction. This they term *pralaya*, which is of two kinds.

In the first, Brahmā slumbers in the chamber of non-existence, and appears no more, and all created forms perish. His absolute cause is the divine will, the completion of a decreed period and the coming of an appointed time. When this time arrives, by the will of God, merit and demerit cease to exist, and by the same divine will, the indivisible atoms (of primordial matter) are set in agitation, [illegible]

bhāga,[27] (disjunction), is brought into reality, and *samyoga* (union from contiguity) is dissolved. First the globe of the earth, next fire, followed by air and water are successively destroyed and creation ceases to exist and all souls attain final emancipation. This is termed *mahāpralaya*. In the second, is the final emancipation of Brahmā, which is called *Khanda-pralaya* (partial dissolution). In this, with the exception of merit and demerit, present consciousness, and action, all else perish. At the close of one hundred extraordinary years,[28] of which mention has been made, Brahmā attains this accomplishment of desire After the lapse of this period, a succeeding Brahmā is born. Another opinion is that there are four dissolutions. Besides the above two, there is a third when right apprehension is taken up from mankind and this will happen at the close of a cycle of the four ages. The fourth is the dissolution of each particular thing which is called its *pralaya*, as when the *manas* first dissolves its connection with the rational soul, and following this, when the union of soul and body is then severed.[29]

[27] Earth according to the Nyāya, is eternal in its atoms, non-eternal in its parts. An atom is defined thus: "an atom is; what exists has no cause and is without beginning and end: an atom is contrary to what has a measure." Röer, p. 14. Colour, taste and the like are said to be eternal, or otherwise according to the substances in which they exist, these two being eternal in the atoms of water and light but in other substances have a cause. The atomic nature of the mind is inferred from the fact that several objects of knowledge are not perceived by it at once.

I believe *vibhāga* is here meant, and the suffix has been omitted by the error of a copyist. This is undoubtedly the sense of the passage.

[28] The aggregate of the four ages, Krita, Treta, Dwāpara and Kali multiplied by a thousand, constitute a day of Brahmā; his night is of equal duration, and of such days and nights is the year of Brahmā composed. One hundred such years constitute his whole life. A great *Kalpa*, as distinguished from a minor *Kalpa*, is properly not a day but a life of Brahmā. *Vishnu Purāna*, Wilson, pp. 23, 25, 6.

[29] The following are the four kinds of dissolution as given by the *Vishnu Purāna*. 1. *Naimittika* occasional; *Prākritika*,

The (renewed) creation of the world is called *srishti*. Through the volition of the Supreme Being, and after the lapse of ages and at the advent of a special time, merit and demerit recover their sway, and the indivisible atoms of matter are again moved. Two atoms first combine: this is called *dvy-anuka*; then three *dvy-anukas* unite and are named *try-anuka*; the union of four *dvy-anukas* is termed *chatur-anuka*, and thus they gradually coalesce, till numerous forms are manifested, and contrariwise to their dissolution, they are produced in the following order: air, fire, water, earth, and subsequently, Brahmā, Vishnu and Mahādeva.[30] The three last are not apparent to the light of vision but assume shape and are beneficent in their operation. From air spring aerial forms which reside in *Vāyuloka*, a [75] sphere above the earth, and the sense of touch and the blowing wind whose energising

elemental; *Atyantika*, absolute; *Nitya*, perpetual The first, also termed the Brahmā dissolution, occurs when the sovereign of the world reclines in sleep. In the second, the mundane egg resolves into the primary element from whence it was derived. Absolute non-existence of the world, is the absorption of the sage through knowledge into supreme spirit. Perpetual destruction is the constant disappearance, day and night, of all that are born. *Vishnu Purāna*, 56. The first three kinds are very powerfully described in the 6th book, the fourth chapter of which represents the elemental dissolution in very striking language. The third kind, involving the final liberation from existence, is the subject of the 5th Chapter, where the sufferings of infancy, manhood and old age are pourtrayed in a manner not surpassed in power by any description in literature. With no hope beyond the grave, with hell for the wicked and no cessation from pain even in heaven, whose inhabitants are tormented with the prospect of descending again to earth, no wonder that exemption from birth was the desire of the wise, and annihilation the last hope of those who were doomed to the sorrows of conception, birth and decay.

[30] "Then ether, air, light, water, earth, severally united with the properties of sound and the rest, existed as distinguishable according to their qualities, but possessing various energies they could not without combination create living beings. Having combined therefore, they assumed the character of entire unity and from the direction of spirit with the acquiescence of the indiscrete Principle, Intellect and the rest, to the gross elements inclusive, formed an egg. This vast egg was the abode of Vishnu in the form of Brahmā." *Vishnu Purāna*, p. 18.

essence is called in Sanskrit, *prāna* (vital breath), of which there are five kinds[31] as will be related.

From fire (light) spring fiery bodies dwelling in *Adityaloka*[31] which is the sphere of the sun, and vision and the modes of heat. From water are the aqueous bodies dwelling in *Varunaloka*[32] which is said to be near the mountain Sumeru, and the rudiment of taste and the seas and ice and hail. From earth, are earthly forms, and the rudiment of smell, minerals, plants and animals. Brahmā by his volition first brings into being all (immovable)[33] forms produced without generation,

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[31] These are (1) *prāna*, breath, the ordinary inspiration and expiration.

(2) *Apāna*, downward breath, the air or vital force acting in the lower parts of the body.

(3) *Samāna*, collective breath, so named from conducting equally the food, &c., through the body.

(4) *Udāna*, separate breath, the vital force that causes the pulsations of the arteries in the upper portions of the body from the navel to the head.

(5) *Vyāna*, separate breath, by which internal division and diffusion through the body are effected.

These airs are not the elemental air, but subtle inward forces necessary to vitality and the efficacy of the organic functions of the human frame. Davies, pp. 66, 67.

[31] A name of the sun; his car is presided over by a troop of seven celestial beings who in turn, occupy his orb during several months of the year. Their names are given in the Vishnu Purāna (p. 234). They are the agents in the distribution of cold, heat and rain at their respective seasons. Their number was subsequently increased to twelve, representing the months of the year.

[32] Varuna a name which corresponds with *Oiranos*, was appointed to the sovereignty of the waters, according to the Vishnu Purāna (p. 153) and was likewise an Aditya, but his functions reached far beyond this sphere and he was considered anciently as sovereign ruler of the three worlds. The planets, the winds, the waters were equally in his power, and his attributes raised him to a height of moral grandeur above that of any of the Vedic deities.

Dr. Dowson who quotes Muir.

[33] The creation of the creator in his abstraction was the five-fold immovable world without intellect or reflection, and void of perception and sensation, and destitute of motion. Since immovable things were first created, this is called the first creation. *Vish. Pur.* 34. These, Wilson observes, are final productions, or the forms in which the previously created elements and faculties are more or less perfectly aggregated. By immovable things are meant the mineral and vegetable kingdoms.

and wonderful are the details they give herein, and it is said that a single eternal volition of the Deity at their appointed times operates to create and destroy. The creative will is called *Chikirshā* (desire to act) and the destructive will *Sanjihirshā* (desire to take away).

Their works are in a five-fold series. (1) *Sutra*, a short technical sentence: (2) *bhāshya*, commentary on a somewhat difficult *sutra*: (3) *vārttika*, a critical annotation on the two: (4) *tikā*, commentary (properly of the original or of another commentary) on No. 3; (5) *nibandha*, an explanation of technical rules. Another opinion is that the series runs to twelve. Besides those enumerated, (6) *vritti*, a brief elucidation of some complicated subjects in the first-mentioned; (7) *nirukta*, etymological interpretation of a word. Sound is held to be of two kinds, (*α*) inarticulate, which is termed *dhvani* (sound, noise), and (*β*) articulate, *varna* (a letter,) also called *akshara*. The junction of several letters is called *pada*, a word, and several words in connection form, *vākya*, a sentence, and a collection of these make a *sutra*, or aphorism, and several *sutras* are called *prakarana* (article or section). These last again when connected are [76] termed *āhnika*, and an aggregate of the latter, *adhyāya*, which combined together compose a *sāstra* or didactic work. In some treatises, ambiguities are discussed regarding the definitions of *pada* which are therein resolved: (8) *prakarana*, is a section treating of one or two topics: (9) *āhnika*, a short task sufficing for a diurnal lesson: (10) *parisishta*, a supplement to a technical work: (11) *paddhati*, a manual of the texts relating to each of the six sciences in prescribed order: (12) *sangraha*, an epitome of the sciences. These classes of works are not confined to this school alone. *Vrajyā* is a compendium or homogeneous collection, and instead of the divisions into sections and chapters, the following ten words are used.

(1) *anka*, (2) *uchchvāsa*, (3) *sarga*, (4) *visrāma*, (5) *ullāsa*, (6) *patala*, (7) *adhyāya*, (8) *uddesa*, (9) *adhina*, (10) *tantra*.

The Nyāya philosophy is divided into five *adhyāyas*. The first gives a list of the sixteen subjects to be discussed, and a definition of each. The second deals with the detail of *pramāna* (proof or evidence) and accurate knowledge and the like. The third is on the six kinds of objects of thought, namely, soul; body; organs of sense; objects of sense; intellect and mind. The fourth treats of its remaining heads. The fiffth is on *jāti* (futility) and *nigrahasthāna* (confutation of an adversary). Although the system of Kanāda is antecedent in date, yet since the Nyāya treats of a multiplicity of subjects, and is generally the first studied, I have given it priority of place.

VAISESHIKA.

This great system of science owes its origin to Kanāda.[34] It agrees in the main, with the Nyāya, differing from it only on a few points.

In the works of this school, seven predicaments are named which comprise the entire scheme. [77] These are *dravya*, substance, *guna*, quality, *karman*, action, *sāmānya*, community, *visesha*, particularity, *samavāya* intimate relation, and *abhāva*, negation. Of *pramāna*, proof or evidence, they accept only *pratyaksha*, (perception) and *anumāna*[35] (inference). The change in qualities occurring in the process

[34] The Vaiseshika school as represented by Kanāda, the reputed author of the *Vaiseshika system*, in Hastings, *Encycl.*, xii. 568-570. [J. S.] Of Kanāda little is known. The Vaiseshika system is one of physical science; the Nyāya deals with elementary, metaphysical notions, and the forms of the syllogism, and is the standard work in logic among the Hindus. I refer the reader for a critical account of the system to the introduction to the *Categories* by Dr. E. Röer, Colebrooke (*Miscellaneous essays*), to the *Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy* by Dr. K. M. Banerjea and Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall's *Refutation of Hindu Philosophy*.

[35] The text has *ātman*, a copyist's error for *anumāna*, which it would closely resemble even to the diacritical points. The Vaiseshika system differs from the Nyāya in this very point, admitting only two kinds of proof, perception and inference.

of cooking termed *pāka-ja*,[36] arises from the sun's rays or heat of the fire. These qualities are colour, taste, smell and tangibility.

The Naiyāyikas assert that bodily substance is unchanged, whether in its natural state or under the influence of heat. The Vaiseshikas, that the (conjunction of) atoms forming the body, disintegrate through the action of heat and are re-united by divine power.

Again, the Nyāya school make *samavāya* (constant intimate relation), perceptible to vision, while the Vaiseshikas allow it to be cognisable only by argument and proof

MIMAMSA.[37]

The founder of this school was the sage Jaimini. It is more ancient than the two already described, and the chief exponents of its philosophy are Kumārila Bhatta, Prabhākara Guru, and Murāri Misra. Its professors are said to reject the notion of a Supreme Being, while some accept it, but do not

[36] "The change produced by cooking takes place according to the Vaiseshikas in the single atoms". So the *Bhāsha Parichchheda*. The commentator observes on this, that as long as the parts are retained in the compound, no change by cooking is possible, but when by the union of fire, the compound substances have been destroyed, change occurs in the atoms which become independent units. Again by the junction of atoms changed by process of cooking, a production is effected from the compound of two, three &c., atoms, again to a compound of many parts, for by the extraordinary velocity of heat, the transition from the destruction of one compound to the formation of another is sudden. The Naiyāyika view is that compound substances have pores and the minute parts of fire enter them and therefore the change by the process of cooking is possible, although the parts be retained in the compound.

[37] The Mimāmsa is classed sometimes as the *Purva* or Prior and the *Uttara* or Posterior. The object of the first was to support the authority of the Vedas, to maintain their ritual, and interpret their true meaning. The second is the Vedānta or supplement of the Vedas, and was formed at a later date based on the synonymous term Upanishads, or the mystic teaching of the Vedas. The Upanishads are called Vedāntas, and their philosophy is known as the Vedāntic System. For Mimāmsā, see Hastings, viii. 648, also i. 137.

allow of a Creator, attributing the production of existing things to merit and demerit. When an assembly of the learned was convened with a view to ascertain the truth as to their creed, it was discovered that they were all of this latter opinion, but in deference to the variable character of minds, they are silent as to the nature of the Divinity, and lay the principal stress in discussion on the diversities of works. But men from ignorance and captiousness lay this opinion to their charge. Quantity is not accounted by them as attributable to God. *Parimāna*, quantity, which the Nyāya school places among qualities, is not predicated by them of the Deity, and they do not allow that Brahmā, Vishnu and Mahādeva are divine manifestations, affirming that human souls attain that eminence through good deeds. They hold mystic hymns in the place of particular deities whose potency they ascribe to the subtile spells of sound. They allow no beginning, nor end to the world, and believe the four elements, the mountains, and the great seas to be eternal. They believe that bodies are produced from an aggregate of minute atoms, and not from one substance; *manas* and *ātman* are all pervading, and a man's actions are the result of his own free will and initiative, and while granting the states of hell and heaven, and transmigration into lower and higher forms of being, and final emancipation, they do not believe that the latter is attainable by all men but is the result of the union of perfected understanding and action, and a sublime knowledge and an ineffable repose will be the eternal portion of that state.

[78] The perception of sound by the ear, they believe to be one of the qualities of air. The Nyāya places it in ether. The second of the two philosophers above-named teaches that *samavāya*, co-inherence, exists as eternal in things eternal and non-eternal in things non-eternal, and everywhere separate, and they interpret it by the term *tādātmya* (identity of nature). They reject *viseshа*. According to Kumārila

Bhatta and Murāri Misra, there are ten predicaments (*padārtha*): (1) substance, (2) quality, (3) action, (4) community, (5) identity of nature, and (6) negation. (7) *Vaisishtya* (endowment with attributes), is the term applied to the connection of non-existence[38] which they regard as a separate *éntelékheia*, as the Nyāya regards *Svarupa* (true nature) and *Sabda*. (8) *Sakti* (energy) is a characteristic imperceptible to sight but efficient in action, like the property of burning in fire, and quenching of thirst in water. This they affirm to be two-fold; essential (*jāti*) as has been exemplified, and accidental, such as may be produced by incantation and the like. The Nyāya school recognises the properties of burning and quenching of thirst as inherent in fire and water. (9) *Sādrisya*, similarity between two objects. (10) *Sankhyā*, number, is not regarded as a quality but as a distinct substance. Prabhākara Guru reckons nine predicaments and excludes *abhāva* (negation) from the notion of *things*.

Kumārila Bhatta acknowledges eleven substances, the nine already given and (10) *andhakāra*, darkness. The Naiyāyikas, with the Guru and Murāri Misra recognise the negation of light, but this school makes it a separate object of knowledge, which casts its shade over everything. Colour quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, and posteriority, are qualities appertaining to it. (11) *Sabda* (sound) is considered eternal[39] and all-pervading. Letters are substance and possess the same qualities as darkness, except colour. Qualities are twenty-two in number. Prabhākara Guru and Murāri Misra do not hold sound to be substance, but acknowledge its eternity. According to Kumārila Bhatta,

[38] See the *Sarva Darsana Sangr.* Udayana tries to establish that although ether, the site of sound, is imperceptible, the non-existence of that which abides in this site is perceptible, p. 194.

[39] The Naiyāyikas deny this, asserting that it is non-eternal. The eternity of the Veda depends on the Mimāmsa doctrine that sound is eternal. The arguments pro and con are stated at some length in the Jaimini Darsana, v. *Sarva Darsana-Sangraha.*

intelligence operates like cognition arising from inferential reasoning. The Guru teaches that its own (indwelling) illumination proceeds from intelligence, as a lamp illumines itself while revealing other objects. The Misra holds with the Nyāya that it proceeds from the *manas*. This school does not accept the four kinds of proof (*pramāna*) but only the two first, *perception* and *inference*.

The Naiyāyikas say that gold has its origin in fire, the Mimāmsakas, in earth. The notion of time with the former, is apprehended by the reason, with the latter, by the senses, who also consider colour, among qualities, to be eternal, and each of the five colours in all diversities of position, to be one. Generality is innate in substance. They do not accept the notion of *Vega Sanskāra*, (velocity) and ascribe its effect to *karman* (action or motion).

According to Bhatta and Misra, *pramāna* (proof) is of six kinds, four of which are the same as those of the Nyāya, and the senses are said to be seven, as they add *tāmasendriya* by which the quality of darkness is cognized. They reject *kevalānvayin*, (con-comitancy of affirmative) and *kevala vyatirekin* (concomitancy of negatives); and the Guru, *mithyājnāna* (erroneous opinion). *Sansaya* (doubt)[40] and *viparyaya* (misconception), are recognised as two forms of veritable knowledge. [79] The Naiyāyikas prove the existence of air from inference, the Mimāmsakas from touch. The fifth kind of *pramāna* is *arthāpatti* (presumption), discerning the subject and assuming the predicate.[41]

The sixth kind of *anupalabdhi*, non-perception of things. They assert that perception of the non-existence of things

[40] Doubt is founded on the notion whether a thing is what it seems to be, as a man or the stump of a tree; misconception is incorrect notion, as the notion of silver in mother o' pearl.

[41] That is, the assumption of a thing not itself perceived, but necessarily implied by another which is seen, heard or proved. Colebrooke, J. 329.

arises from the non-knowledge of those things.[42] The Misra like the Naiyāyikas includes this in *pratyaksha*.

The cardinal point of their system lies in works, which are of two kinds; *vihita* (enjoined), a work productive of good, and *nishiddha* (prohibited), resulting in pain. The first is again fourfold, (1) *nitya* (constant), that is, a daily duty, reprehensible to omit: (2) *naimittaka* (occasional rites), necessary duties at special times such as eclipses: (3) *kāmya* (desirable), things done with desire of fruition:[43] (4) *prāyaschitta*, expiatory acts. Of the nine schools, the first six recognize these obligations and carry them into practice to the prosperous ordering of their lives. A separate order of ceremonies is appointed to each of the four castes of men.

The questions comprised by this philosophy are set forth in twelve books. The first treats of the predicaments and of proof: the second, of various rites and certain elucidations of the Vaidic text: the third, of certain important ceremonies the results of rites which are revealed in that sacred volume and other minor points accessory to the main objects. The fourth, that the acquisition of worldly goods is twofold, personal comfort and (to procure oblations) for casting into the fire[44] (for sacrificial purposes). The fifth, of the order of various duties. The sixth, of the substitutes for various rites.

[42] The sophism *anupalabdhi-sama* is the trying to establish a fact from the impossibility of perceiving the non-perception of it. For the Nyāya on *pratyaksha* see Röer, p. 26.

[43] Jacobi in his translation of the Vedānta-Sāra, illustrates "*nitya*" constant rites, such as the Sandhyā prayers and the like, (which) cause ruin if left undone, and *Naimittika*, occasional rites, as the birth-sacrifice following the birth of a son, &c. The prohibited things are the slaying of a Brahman, &c., which result in hell: and the "things done with a desire of reward" (*kāmya*) are such as are done to procure heaven.

[44] I have no doubt that the Persian words 'casting into the fire' is a translation of the Sanskrit *homa* which exactly expresses this meaning, that is, the oblations such as butter, &c., which are part of the ceremonial of worship, and the ability to purchase these goods is one of the advantages of wealth. Abul Fazl appears to assume in his readers a general acquaintance with the subjects he expounds, and the half lights under which he displays them, mislead and perplex.

The seventh, of the detail of the ceremonies to be performed which are only briefly described in the Vedas. The eighth is an exposition of dependent rites which are included in the performance of the primary. The ninth, a discussion of the mystic verses specified for a particular case in the sacred book, when quoted in a new connection, and hymns of praise. The tenth, the discussion of dependent rites which are precluded by non-performance of the primary rite. The eleventh discusses the occasion where one act suffices for the fulfilment of two (or more) acts. The twelfth, where the chief purpose of the rite is one only, but has a further reference without express assignment.[45]

VEDANTA.

The founder of this school was *Vyāsa*.[46] The Hindus ascribe extreme longevity to him among nine other persons as follows: Lomasa, Mārkandeya, Vyāsa, Ashwatthāmā,

[45] This synopsis of the Mimāmsaka treatise is very imperfect and would be unintelligible without the aid of an exact and scientific summary of its contents. Fortunately this is furnished by the *Sarva-Darsana Sangraha* or review of the different systems of Hindu philosophy by Mādhava Achārya, translated by Messrs. Cowell and Gough. This work was composed by the author in the 14th century.

[46] For the Vedānta school, see Hastings, ii. 597-598, i. 137-9 (*advaita*), ii. 796-799 (*brahma*), xi. 185-189 (*Sankara*), besides very many excellent modern works and exact translations. The legendary personage, known as Veda-vyāsa or divider of the Vedas, is represented in the Vishnu Purāna, as an incarnation of Vishnu. He is also the reputed author of the Mahābhārata, known to mortals as Krishna Dwaipāyana, and to the gods as the deity Nārāyana, for none else, but a deity was considered capable of the feat. The name of Bādarāyana is also given to him. The principal tenets of the Vedānta are that God is the omniscient and omnipotent cause of the existence, continuation, and dissolution of the universe. Creation is an act of His will. At the consummation all things are resolved into Him. He is sole existent, secondless, entire, sempiternal, infinite, universal soul, truth, wisdom, intelligence and happiness. Individual souls emanate from Him like sparks from a fire and return to Him, being of the same essence. The soul is a portion of the divine substance. Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, Ed. Cowell, I. 394. The original Vedānta did not recognise the doctrine of Māyā or illusion.

Hanumant Bāli, Vibhishana, Kripachārya, and Parasurāma, and relate wonderful legends regarding them. [80]

The professors of this important school of philosophy follow the Mimāmsa in the definitions of *padārtha*, and *pramāna* and other points, and accept the teachings of Bhatta, but heaven and hell, rewards and punishments and such other cosmical phenomena, they look on as a delusion under the appearance of reality. In some works there are two predicaments, (1) *drik* (discerning)=*ātman* (soul): (2) *drisya* (the visible creation). They allow of no existence external to God. The world is a delusive appearance, and as a man in sleep sees fanciful shapes, and is affected by a thousand joys and sorrows, so are its seeming realities. One effulgent light conveys a multiplicity of impressions and assumes diversity of names.

The subjects of discussion in this great system are six: *Brahman, Iswara, Jiva,* (intelligent sentient soul), *Ajnāna* (Ignorance), *Sambandha* (relation), *Bheda,* difference. These six are held to be without beginning, and the first without end.

Brahma is the Supreme Being; and is essential existence and wisdom and also bliss which is termed *ānanda.* These three alone are predicated of the Inscrutable. *Ajnāna,* Ignorance, in opposition to the ancients, is regarded as having a separate existence, and two powers are attributed to it. (1) *vikshepa-sakti,* the power of projection: (2) *āvarana-sakti,* the power of veiling the real nature of things. *Sambandha* is the relation of Ignorance with the first-mentioned. *Bheda* is the disjunction of these two.

It is said that Ignorance in connection with the first is called *Māyā,* or the power of Illusion, and with the second, *avidyā* (nescience).

[81] By the association of Illusion (*māyā*) with the essential sanctity (of Brahma), a definite hypostasis arises which is called *Iswara* in whose omniscience there is no defect.

This Supreme Being in his association with nescience (*avidyā*) is called *jiva* (the soul) and also *jivātmā*, (rational, conscious soul). Knowledge lurks behind the veil of concealment, and the dust of defect falls not on the skirt of the divine majesty. One sect believe that as *avidyā* is one, *jiva* can be only one, and these aver that none has ever attained emancipation. Another sect affirm that as *avidyā* is distributively numerous, so likewise is *jiva;* and that many of the wise have attained that accomplishment of desire which consists in the removal of *ajnāna* (Ignorance) before-mentioned, by right apprehension. *Ajnāna* has three qualities: *sattva* (goodness), which is attended with happiness and the like: *rajas* (foulness or passion), from which spring desire, pain, pleasure, and similar effects: *tamas*, darkness, which is accompanied by anger, dullness, love of ease, and the like. Isvara, in union with *rajas*, takes the name of Brahmā from whom, emanates the appearance of creation. Isvara, in union with *sattva*, becomes Vishnu, whose office is the preservation of the created. Isvara united with *tamas* is Mahādeva, who annihilates what has been created. Thus the chain of creation is linked in these three modes, and all are unreal appearances produced by Ignorance.

Like the ancients they hold the elements to be five, but each is twofold:—(1), *sukshma*, (subtile), imperceptible to the eye which is termed *apanchikṛita*, (non-quintuplicated)[47]

[47] Literally "not becoming five by combination," that is, rudimentary. It is thus explained in Jacobi's Vedānta-Sāra. "From Intelligence associated with Ignorance, attended by its projective power, in which the quality of insensibility (*tamas*) abounds, proceeds ether, from ether, air, from air heat, from heat, water and from water, earth. The prevalence of insensibility in the cause of these elements is inferred from observing the excess of inanimateness in them. Then in those elements, ether and the rest, arise the qualities of pleasure, pain and insensibility in the proportion in which they exist in their cause." These are subtile, rudimentary or non-quintuplicated elements. "The gross elements are those made from combining the five (subtile elements).

"Then in ether, sound is manifested, in air, sound and touch, in heat, sound, touch and form, in earth, sound, touch, form, taste

in which the quality of *tamas* is more largely associated: (2), *sthula* (gross), the reverse of the other, and this is named *panchikṛita* (quintuplicated). It springs from the greater admixture of foulness, and carried to a greater degree, receives the name of ether, the quality attaching to which is sound, and thus considered, air takes its origin which has the two qualities of sound and touch. From predominance of goodness, fire is generated, from which proceed three qualities, the two former and form. From the greater proportions of goodness and foulness, water is manifested which has four qualities, the three former and savour. From excess of darkness, earth is produced, to which appertain the whole five qualities, *viz.*, the four former and smell.

It is said that through the predominance of goodness, hearing is manifested from ether, tangibility from air, vision from fire, taste from water, and smell from the earth. These five are termed *jnānendriya*, organs of perception. From ether comes the power of utterance termed *vāch*, (speech). From air, the power of the hand (*pāni*) is manifested: from fire, [82] the power of the foot (*pādah*). From water, the power of evacuation, *vāyu;* from earth, urinary discharge, called *upastha* (*tā aidoia*).

In each of the five, foulness is predominant, and they are called *karmendriya*, organs of action.[48] The majority of Hindu philosophers hold to these opinions.

Through the predominance of *sattva* a subtile substance proceeds called *antahkarana* (the interior sense), which under four distinct states, has four separate names. That in which goodness predominates and where the intention of distinguishing and investigating enter, is called *chitta* (thinking-principle). Where foulness (or passion) has more promi-

and smell." The process of quintuplication is described later by Abul Fazl.

[48] The organs of action are the mouth, hand, foot, arms and organ of generation, the five organ of sense are the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, and the skin.

nence and doubt arises, it is called *manas*, (mind), and where the proportion of goodness exceeds to such an extent that certainty is attained, it is called *buddhi* (intelligence), and when through excess of darkness, it regards itself and attributes to itself what is extraneous to its own nature, it is called *ahankāra*, egotism or consciousness.

From the non-quintuplicated elements, through the predominance of foulness, five vital airs are generated:—(1), *prāna*, respiration from mouth and nose: (2) *udāna*, breathing upwards from the wind pipe; (3), *samāna* from the stomach: (4), *apāna*, flatulence; (5), *vyāna*, pervading the whole body. The ten organs (of perception and action) with *antahkarana*, (the interior sense) and the five vital airs, sixteen altogether, are called *lingasarira*[49] or *sukshma-sarira* (the subtile frame). Some distinguish *antahkarana*, the internal sense, as two in regard to (*a*) intelligence (*buddhi*) and mind (*manas*), and (*β*) the thinking principle (*chitta*), with egotism (*ahankāra*), and thus make seventeen members.

This body is affirmed to exist in all animals, but by reason of its tenuity is not apprehended by the senses. A living principle is generated which is cognisant of all subtile frames in their entirety, called *Hiranyagarbha*[50] (golden womb, or

[49] The soul whose desire is fruition is invested with a subtile person, towards the formation of which the evolution of principles proceeds no further than the elementary rudiments (non-quintuplicated). The body is propagated by generation and is perishable. The subtile person is more durable, and capable of transmigration through successive bodies which it assumes as a mimic shifts his disguises. It is primeval, produced by original nature at the initial development of principles, and is of atomic size. v. Colebrooke, I. 257-58.

[50] This is the name given to Brahmā (in the masculine gender) the intelligent spirit whose birth was in the Golden mundane egg from which he is thus named. Māyā or the cosmical illusion, is fictitiously associated with Brahma from all-eternity. In the series of æons without beginning or end, the forms of life have at the beginning of each æon emanated in, first Isvara, the unreal figment of the cosmic fiction, unreal to the philosopher, real to the ignorant multitude; secondly Hiranyagarbha, the golden germ, or Prāna, the breath of life, or Sutrātman, the Thread-spirit, which is the totality of migrating souls in the state of dreaming sleep. His body

fœtus) and all that is generated subsequently is believed to emanate from this immaterial form.

The origin of the gross body is thus described. Each of the (five) subtile elements is divided into moieties, and each of the first five of the ten moieties is subdivided into four equal parts. The remaining (undivided) moiety of subtile ether, combined with one part from each of the other four subtile elements, air, fire, water and earth, produces the coarse or mixed [83] element of ether. The (undivided) moiety of air, combined with one part of ether, fire, water, and earth becomes the mixed element of air. The (undivided) moiety of fire, with one part of ether, water, earth (and air), becomes the mixed element of fire, and so on with water and earth. Others say that the mixed elements of ether and air are formed without the combination of fire, water and earth, but hat the mixed elements of fire, water and earth are formed as described. Each of these three is divided into two moieties; one moiety of each is left undivided and the other is divided into three equal parts, which are combined in the manner above stated, and thus these three mixed elements of fire, water, and earth are produced: from these quintuplicated elements, by the predominant combination of one of the threefold qualities (of goodness, foulness and darkness) the fourteen worlds[51] and their inhabitants are brought into existence. It is said, that a living principle is generated, which discerns all gross bodies. This is termed *Virāt*.

is the sum of invisible bodies, the tenuous *involucra* in which the soul passes from body to body in eternal palingenesia. (Gough, 53-55).

[51] These *lokas* or worlds are Bhur, terrestrial; Bhuvar, the atmospheric sphere from the earth to the sun; Svar-loka, heaven; ten million leagues above is Maharloka, the inhabitants of which dwell in it through a day of Brahmā: at twice that distance is Janaloka where Sanandana and other pure-minded sons of Brahmā reside: at four times the distance is Tapo-loka, the sphere of penance inhabited by deities called Vaibhrājas, who are unconsumable by fire. At six times the distance is Satya-loka, the sphere of truth, the inhabitants of which never again know death. *Vishnu Purāna*, 213. The remaining seven are the nether worlds.

The annihilation of the world is thus described. The earth will be destroyed by water, the water by fire, the fire by air successively, and the air in its turn perishes in ether and ether in Māyā or illusion, and Ignorance (*ajnāna*) with its results rises out of this Unreality. Three degrees of this (dissolution) are described. (1). *Dainandina* (daily), when the (close of) the day of Hiranyagarbha which is the same as that of Brahmā, destroys the greater part of creation.[52] (2). *Prākrita*, (elemental), when all creation is absorbed in *ajnāna* (Ignorance). (3) *Atyantika* (absolute), when Ignorance ends and Right Apprehension sheds its radiance. The first kind has frequently occurred and will recur. The others happen but once, and Ignorance, with the constant recurrence of works and the co-operation of the wise of heart, together with the three principles [*satva*, *rajas* and *tamas*] before mentioned, will be absorbed into non-existence.

This system of philosophy is laid down in four books. The first contains an account of Brahma: the second removes the (apparent) discrepancies between form and substance: the third is the preparation of the soul for the reception of divine knowledge, and the fourth on the modes, forms, fruit and effect of its attainment.

The Hindu sages have divided the Vedas into three portions. The first is the *karmakānda* (relating to works), the practical section termed *Purva Mimāmsa*, which has been briefly described as the third school. The second is the *jnānakānda*, the speculative section, called also *Uttara Mimāmsā*, celebrated as the Vedānta. The third is the *Upāsanā* (service) [84] which is termed Sankarshana

[52] The destruction of creatures, not of the substance of the world. The incidental or occasional dissolution is termed *naimittika* (see p. 147) of this Vol. It is called incidental as occasioned by the interval of Brahmā's days, the destruction occurring during the night. The elemental occurs at the end of Brahmā's life, and the absolute or final, is individual annihilation and exemption from future existence. *V. P.* 630. *Dainandina-pralaya* is the destruction of the world after 15 years of Brahmā's age. Monier Williams, *Sansk. Dict.*

Mimāmsā. This regards the worship of God under a personal aspect, and is not now extant.

They profess that the study of the Vedānta is not suitable for every person, nor are its mysterious doctrines to be heard by every ear. The inquirer should accurately investigate what is eternal and non-eternal and discarding from his mind belief in the actuality of existence, he should zealously pursue the objects to be attained. He will then be no longer distressed by the annihilation of sense-perceptions, nor be fettered by pain and pleasure; and will gain a daily increasing hope of final liberation.

Sānkhya.

The founder of this philosophical system was Kapila.[53] Some assert that the followers of this school do not believe in God. The fact is, however, that they do not affirm the existence of a creator, and creation is ascribed to Nature (*Prakriti*), and the world is said to be eternal. All that is veiled by non-existence is not believed to be non-existent[54] but the caused is absorbed in the cause, as a tortoise retracts its feet within its shell. They accept the doctrine of freedom of will in actions, and of hell, of heaven, and the recompenses of deeds. With regard to emancipation, they agree with the Mimāmsā. Proof (*pramāna*), is of three kinds.[55] They do not

[53] For Sānkhya, see Hastings, xi. 189-192, vi. 454, and for Yoga, xii. 831-833. Wilson's *Vishnu Purāna*, ii. 346. Davies and Colebrooke.

[54] That is, that the existent is produced from the existent only, as the Sānkhyas hold. Thus, cloth is not distinct from the threads as it abides in the latter. "As the limbs of a tortoise when retracted within its shell are concealed, and when they come forth are revealed, so the particular effects as cloth, &c., of a cause, as threads, &c., when they come forth and are revealed, are said to be produced; and when they retire and are concealed, are said to be destroyed: but there is no such thing as the production of the non-existent, or the destruction of the existent." *Sarva Darsana Sangraha*. Cowell, Gough, pp. 225-26, and Colebrooke, I. 266.

[55] Perception, inference, and fit testimony.

believe in the soul (*āman*).[56] Analogy and comparison are not accounted sources of knowledge, nor are time and space, substances, but caused by the motion of the sun. The word *tattva* (first principle) is used in their treatises for *padārtha*, of which there are twenty-five, and these are comprised under four heads. 1. *Prakriti* (Nature), which is evolvent and not evolute. 2. *Prakriti-vikriti* (developments of Nature), evolvent and evolute; these are of seven kinds, *viz.*, *mahat* (the great one, *Buddhi* or Intellect), *ahankāra* (consciousness or egotism), and five *tanmātra* (subtile elements). 3. *Vikriti* (modifications), are evolutes only, and are not more than sixteen, namely the eleven *indriya*—(five senses, five organs of action and *manas*) and the five gross elements (ether, air, light or fire, earth and water). 4. The fourth is neither Nature, nor modification, nor evolvent nor evolute, and is called *Purusha*, that is *Atman*, the soul.

The first of the principles above-mentioned is primordial matter, *ilei*, which is universal, indiscrete, and possessing the modes of goodness, passion and darkness. The fourth is viewed under two aspects, (*a*) the Supreme Being, as absolute existence and knowledge,[57] (*b*) the rational soul, omnipresent, eternal and multitudinous. By the union of the first and fourth, existence and non-existence come into being. Nature is said to be blind. It has not the power of vision nor of perception but only that of flux and reflux and the soul is

[56] It exists as pure inward light without any instrumentation by which it can become cognisant of the external world. This has been supplied, but it is foreign to the soul and as objective to it as any form of matter. Like Kant, the Sānkhyas hold that there is no knowledge of an external world save as represented by the action of our faculties to the soul, and they take as granted the objective reality of our sense-perceptions. The soul is different in kind from all material things, and will be finally severed from them by an eternal separation. It will then have no object and no function of thought, and will remain self-existent and isolated in a state of passive and eternal repose. v. Davies, pp. 18-20.

[57] The theistical Sānkhya, as opposed to the system of Kapila, understands by *Purusha*, not individual soul alone, but likewise God (*Isvara*) the ruler of the world. Colebrooke, I. 256.

regarded as a man without feet. When the two conjoin, [85] the renewal and destruction of life come into successive operation. At the time of elemental dissolution, the three modes (of goodness, passion and darkness) are in equipoise. When the time of creation arrives, the mode of goodness preponderates, and *Mahat* (Intellect) is revealed, and this is considered the first emanation, and it is separate for every human creature. It is also called *Buddhi*, and is a substance, and the primary seat of eight states or qualities, *viz.*, virtue, vice, knowledge, ignorance, absence of passion or passivity (*virāga*), from which springs perception of the nothingness of worldly things, and indifference; *avirāga* its opposite: *aisvarya*, supernatural power acquired through austerities, and acts that seem incredible or impossible to human vision, of which eight kinds are given in the Pātanjala system: *anaisvarya* its opposite. Four of the above positive states arise from the predominance of the mode of goodness and the other four from that of darkness. From *Mahat* (Intellect),[58] proceeds consciousness (*ahankāra*). It is the principle of egotism and is the reference of every thing to self. In *Mahat* (intellect), when the mode, goodness predominates, it is called *vaikṛita ahankāra*, modified consciousness. If under the influence of the mode, darkness, it is called *bhutadi ahankāra* (source of elemental being). If passion is in the ascendant, it becomes *taijasa ahankāra* or impellent consciousness. From the first kind of consciousness, the eleven organs proceed, six of sense (including *manas*) and five of action, as before described. From the second, the five *tanmātra* (subtile elements), sound, tangibility, colour or form, savour and odour. These are regarded in this system as subtile substances from which the five gross elements take their rise: from sound, ether; from tangibility, air; from form, fire; from savour, water, and from odour, earth.

[58] That is, not the exaltation but the predominance of self in thought to the supreme conviction of the sole subjective personality of the thinker. v. Davies and Colebrooke.

From this exposition it is clear that the seven substances mentioned (intellect, consciousness, and the five subtile elements) are on the one hand evolvents, and on the other evolutes, and the sixteen, that is, the eleven organs and the five gross elements, are evolutes. The soul (*ātman*) is considered neither evolvent nor evolute. The five senses are held to be organs of perception, and *manas* discriminates between advantage and detriment. Consciousness cognizes itself by act or the omission of act, and intellect determines one or the other. From the five gross elements, other productions are evolved, but as *tattvas*, are incapable of further creations, causality is not attributed to them.

The elemental order of creation is sixfold:—(1) *svarga-loka*, the world above, in the constitution of which goodness prevails: (2) *mrityu-loka*, (world of death), the abode of men, in which foulness or passion predominates: *pātāla-loka*, the world beneath, in which darkness is prevalent: *devatā* (superior order of being) in which the element of goodness is predominant. [86] Through their extraordinary power they can appear in divers shapes, and assume astonishing appearances, and from the transparency of their essence their true forms are invisible to the sight. There are eight orders of these:—(1) *Brāhmya*, blessed spirits, that inhabit the abode of *Brahmā*. (2) *Prājāpatya*: *Prajāpati* is the name of a great divinity to whom is assigned a sphere, and those that dwell therein are thus styled. (3) *Aindra*: *Indra* is the regent of the heavens, to whom a sphere is likewise referrible, and its dwellers are thus denominated. (4) *Paitra*:[59] the belief of the Hindu sage is that each individual's progenitors that have died after a life of good works, will receive celestial shapes and enjoy their recompense in a special abode. The *devatās* therein, are called by this name. (5) *Gāndharva*: this is said to be a sphere where the heavenly choristers reside. (6) *Yāksha*: in this sphere the *Yakshas* dwell; they are great

[59] Relating or consecrated to the Manes, Sanskrit *pitarah*.

ministering spirits, the guardian of the north. (7) *Rākshasa,* is a sphere inhabited by the *Rākshasas,* who are the malignant fiends of these orders and who slay men. (8) *Pisācha*: by this name an order of beings is defined who are characterized by an evil nature and perverted intelligence. They are less powerful than the *Rākshasas,* and are assigned a special sphere, and extraordinary legends are related of each of these orders.[60]

The Animal creation (*tiryagyonya*)[61] is one in which the mode *rajas* (passion or foulness), prevailed at its production and is of five kinds:—(1) *pasu,* domestic animals: (2) *mriga,* wild animals: (3) *pakshi,* birds: (4) *sarisripa,* creeping things applied to the different reptiles and fishes: (5) *sthāvara,* the vegetable kingdom. *Mānushya,* man, was produced through excess of the quality of passion. The general opinion adopts this division and belief. At the dissolution of the world, these creations perish with the five elements, and the elements are absorbed in the five *tanmātras* (rudimentary elements) which again are veiled in egotism (*ahankāra*), and this in turn is absorbed in the secret recesses of *mahat,* intellect, which is (finally) lost in the pure depths of *Prakriti* (Nature).

Pain is of three kinds:—(1) *ādhyātmika,* intrinsic pain, both bodily and mental: [87] (2) *ādhidaivika,* supernatural pain or calamity from a divine source, and (3) *ādhibhautika,* extrinsic pain arising from the natural source of the elements. *Bandha,* bondage, is the source of all that fetters the spirit and debars it from emancipation.

Prākritika signifies one who holds Nature (*Prakriti*), in place of God. *Vaikritika* is one who from ignorance assumes the eleven organs (of action and sense), (*indriya*) to be the Supreme Being. *Dakshina* (religious offerings or oblations

[60] An account of these various orders will be found in the Vishnu Purāna.

[61] This was the fifth or animal creation. The compound is derived from the Sanskrit *tiryak,* crooked or horizontal, applied to an animal (as not erect) and *yoni,* womb, or source.

in general) implies the being attached to the performance of works and believing them to be the ultimate aim of spirituality.

They affirm that he whose mind is concentrated upon one object (of contemplation) and the fruition of the celestial abode, if the subject of his absorption be the first-mentioned and his thoughts be thus continuously applied in efficacious devotion, he attains to the enjoyment of bliss in the sphere above for a hundred thousand *manvantaras*,[62] after which he returns to this world; in the organs of sense and action (*indriya*), during ten *manvantaras*, in the elements during one hundred, in consciousness (*ahankāra*), during one thousand, and in intellect (*mahat*), during ten thousand, he enjoys the fruition of heavenly delights; after which term he reverts to this earth. A *manvantara* is one and seventy enumerations of the four ages.[63] For each good action a period of heavenly bliss is allotted: for instance, he who gives to a Brahman sufficient ground for the erection of a house, will be recompensed by ten *kalpas* in heaven, a *kalpa* being equivalent to four *yugas*. He who bestows a thousand cows in charity, passes one *kror* and 14,000 *kalpas* in paradise, and after numerous alterations of earth and heaven, the severance between nature (*Prakriti*) and the soul (*Purusha*) is evolved before the vision, and right apprehension arises. This is the

[62] 12,000 years of the gods or 4,320,000 mortals.

[63] Thus the

Krita	Yuga	4,800
Tretā	,,	3,600
Dvāpara	,,	2,400
Kali	,,	1,200
		12,000 years of the gods.

By multiplying each of the above by 360, a year of men being a day of the gods, the total is 4,320,000 for a Mahā-yuga or great age: this multiplied by 71 = 306,720,000. According to the Vishnu Purāna there is a surplus which Wilson shows to be the number of years required to reconcile two computations of the Kalpa. The later is equal to 1,000 great ages or 4,320,000 × 1,000 = 4,320,000,000. But a day of Brahmā is also 71 times a Great Age, multiplied by 14: or 4,320,000 × 71 × 14 = 4,294,080,000 or less than the preceding by 25,920,000 and it is to make up this deficiency that an addition is made to the computation by *manvantras*. See the *V. P.*, p. 24, n. 6. Abul Fazl makes a *Kalpa* to consist of four *Yugas* only.

goal of emancipation and the renewal of embodiments ceases for ever.

This school also like that of the Vedānta, recognises two kinds of body, the *linga sarira*, or subtile frame, consisting of eighteen members, *viz.*, the eleven organs of action and sense with *manas*, the five subtile elements, with intellect and consciousness. The other is the *sthula sarira* or gross body, and death signifies the divulsion of the one from the other, the subtile frame continuing till final liberation.

The subjects of this system are treated in sixty *tantras* which like the term *adhyāya* is used for division or chapter.

The first treats of the existence of Nature and the soul the second describes Nature as one: the third shows the distinction between the soul and Nature: the fourth, that there is no effect without a cause: the fifth that Nature exists as the root-evolvent of all other forms: the sixth, that all evolved action must be associated with one of the three qualities; [88] the seventh, that the separation of the soul from Nature is attained through perfect knowledge: the eighth, the association of these two with Ignorance: the ninth, that in the light of perfect knowledge when Nature ceases from alterations of embodiment, if for a time the elemental form should continue to endure, it is solely through the residuum of ignorance otherwise it would also perish: the tenth, that causality lies in Nature and not in the soul, and it treats of the five states of the five afflictions (*klesa*), *viz.*, ignorance, egotism, desire, aversion and ardent attachment to life, as briefly alluded to in the Pātanjala school. Twenty-eight topics treat of the defect of the twenty-eight faculties of the eleven *indriya*, and the seventeen injuries of Intellect. Nine topics treat of the nine distinctions of acquiescence (*tushti*):—(1) *Prakriti-tushti*, (relating to matter), concentration of thought on Nature and contemplation thereof, in the belief that Nature will increase knowledge and sever the soul from itself: (2) *Upādāna-tushti* (relating to means), the knowledge that Nature of itself will

solve no difficulty, and that until the heart is detached from all objects, the end is not attainable: (3) *Kālatushti*, (relating to time), the notion that all desires are fulfilled by the passing away of time, upon which therefore, the mind should be fixed while the heart is detached: (4) *Bhāgya-tushti* (relating to fortune); in the knowledge that to the many the world passes away and effects nothing, to understand that the solution of difficulties rests with fortune and to turn thereunto freeing the mind from all other attachment; (5) *Pāra-tushti*, withdrawal from all worldly unsubstantial pleasures in the assurance that thousands have sought them with pain and profited nothing thereby, and hence to abandon their pursuit: (6) *supāra-tushti*, to detach the heart from personal possessions, in the view that they have no stability, since tyrants may take them by force, and thieves may by cunning, steal; (7) *Pārāpāra-tushti*, abstinence from pleasures of sense with the knowledge that even if followed by personal gratification, they must cease, and to such as these, attachment is vain: (2) *Anutta-māmbhas-tushti*, detachment from all enjoyments, from consciousness of pain in their loss: (9) *Uttamāmbhas-tushti*, detachment from pleasure with the motive of avoiding injury to others.[64]

Eight *tantras* or topics treat of the eight perfections (*siddhi*): (1) *uha-siddhi* (reasoning), without the necessity of reading to understand a subject by the light of reason: (2) *sabda siddhi* (oral instruction), without need of teaching, to understand by the mere hearing of the words: [89] (3) *adhyayana-siddhi* (study), becoming wise by the perception of truths: (4) *suhridprāpti-siddhi*, attaining knowledge by intercourse of friends: (5) *dāna-siddhi*, (*gift*), serving one who accepts an invitation to a repast, or the bestowal of a gift

[64] Three kinds of prevention of pain which would make up the eight, have been for some reason omitted by Abul Fazl, and he has accounted for only fifty-five out of the sixty topics. The remainder are partly included in those mentioned, and may be seen in Colebooke, and in Dr. Garbe's translation of Aniruddha's Commentary.

on him, and manifesting a desire of knowledge and success in obtaining it.

PATANJALA.

The founder of this system was the sage Patanjali.[65]

With regard to the predicaments and the nature of proof and other points, he follows the Sānkhya, but he acknowledges a Supreme Being whom he holds to be absolute existence and intelligence. The creation[66] of the five subtile elements (*tanmātra*), he believes to proceed directly from intellect (*mahat*) without the intermediate agency of *ahaṅkāra* (consciousness). From *vaikrita ahaṅkāra* (modified consciousness), when the mode of goodness prevails, the five external senses are produced, and from *taijasa ahaṅkāra*, (ardent consciousness), when the mode of passion is predominant, the five organs of action (*karmendriya*) arise, and from the combined

[65] For Patanjali, see Hastings, ix. 670, and for *Yoga sutra* also vii. 565. The *Yoga sutra* has been translated into English with a commentary, by Dr. R. L. Mitra. The accounts of this philosopher and grammarian are like those of the founders of the preceding systems, meagre and legendary. The period in which he flourished is disputed. But though the antiquity of the system is undoubted, it is not the case with the text-books which are, of all the systems, of later date than Buddha. The Yoga Sutra takes for granted the twenty-five categories of the Sānkhya as the basis of its doctrine and copies some of its aphorisms *verbatim*. I have previously mentioned the common references to each other of the text-books of the other schools. The cardinal difference between the Sānkhya and the Yoga lies in their theistic and atheistic belief, and hence, it is that the Hindus call the Yoga the *Sesvara Sānkhya* or theistical, as opposed to the atheistical or *Nirisvara Sānkhya*.

[66] The punctuation in the text is incorrect and misleading and must be altered in accordance with the translation. The physical substratum of consciousness is affected by the modes like every other emanation of Prakriti. From the influence of 'goodness', it produces the ten organs and the *manas* which are called 'good', because of their utility: but it is only when affected by the mode darkness' that inanimate matter is created. The passion-mode, (*taijasa*) ardent or glowing, being the exciting mode, must co-operate in the production of all. Davies, p. 60. The Supreme Being with this system is a soul untouched by affliction, action, merit or stock of desert, who of his own will assumed a body to create. *Sarva Darsana Sangraha*. He facilitates according to Dr. Mitra the attainment of liberation, but does not directly grant it and though the creator of the world is absolutely unconnected with it.

influence of goodness and passion springs *manas* or mind. They believe that the subtile frame (*sukshma sarira*) is subject to extinction, but receives new birth when another body is produced until final liberation is accomplished. But this is not attained without Yoga which is the cardinal doctrine of this attractive system. The thinking principle, *Chitta*,[67] is the substrate of *manas*. *Vritti* (function), is the action of *manas* in the acquisition of good and evil qualities *Nirodha* (suppression) is the restraint of those functions in action and the attainment of quiescence. Yoga or meditation is then secured when the root of desire is obstructed from advance. Certain means to this end are laid down, and I here make a brief abstract in the hope that it may prove of value to the heart-stricken in the path of search. It is said that through the union with *Mahat* (Intellect) of *manas* and the three qualities, five conditions or states of the thinking principle arise which are called the five stages (*bhumi*). These are, (1) *kshipta*, (restless activity), the heart from the predominance of passion being never at rest: (2) *mudha* (bewildered), from excess of darkness, being quiescent without attaining the object sought: (3) *vikshipta* (voluptuousness), from excess of the quality of goodness, the goal is reached and a certain repose is secured, but through excess of passion (*rajas*), this is not lasting, and the mind becomes dissipated: (4) *Ekāgra* (concentration), through excess of goodness, power is obtained to keep the mind from wandering from the subject of meditation: (5) *Niruddha* (the suppressive state) is a condition in which by dissolution of the three qualities, the mental *residua* (*anamneisis*) of active volition are effaced and (those of) the quiescent or suppressive state arise.[68]

[67] This is the same as the Sānkhya *mahat* and the Buddhist *buddhi*, or what Schopenhauer understands by Will, the absolute existence from which primordial root all organic and inorganic being proceed.

[68] I read *numaid* for *namānd*. The definition of the suppressive state seems to apply to what is called "suppressive modification" (*nirodhaparināma*) thus defined by the Parichchheda Bhāshya: "the

Under the first three conditions, Yoga or meditation, is rarely obtained. They assert that under the first condition *manas* is the recipient of unrighteousness: [90] under the second, of ignorance; under the third, of sensuousness (*avirāga*) and impotence (*anaisvarya*); under the fourth, of virtue, (*dharma*), absence of passion (*virāga*), and supernatural power (*aisvarya*); and under the fifth, the *residua* of good and evil are suppressed and functions (*vritti*), are dissolved. These latter are of two kinds, *klishti* (painful), tendency to evil works, and *aklishti*, tendency to good works and each according to its good or evil tendency is five-fold. (1) *Prâmâna-vritti* (right notion); perception of things by proof is attained through prevalence of *sattva* (goodness); (2) *viparyaya*, (misconception) arises from prevalence of goodness and darkness. If this abides in the person forming a definite conclusion it is called *viparîti*, (perverted) but if he be in uncertainty whether a thing be itself or some thing else, it is called *sansaya*, doubt; (3) *vikalpa* (fancy),[69] ambiguity regarding a thing, arising from goodness and darkness; (4) *nidrā* (sleep), the state of sleep arising from excess of darkness in which consciousness is lost.[70] The opinion of other Hindu philosophers is

residua of the waking state are the attributes of the thinking principle, but they are not intelligent. The *residua* of suppression produced by the intelligence of the suppressive state, are also the attributes of the thinking principle. On the overthrow and success (prevalence) of the two, the *residua* of the waking state are put down and those of the suppressive state rise up, and there is then a correlation of the thinking principle, and the changes thus constantly occurring in a thinking principle is suppressive modification." Dr. Mitra deserves. "The theory is, that every image, shape, or idea exists from eternity in a latent form, circumstances make it manifest, and when those circumstances are over it *reverts* to its former condition." This is in fact that Platanic notion of ideas, and their objective reality either *ante rem* as eternal archetypes in the divine intelligence or *in re*, as forms inherent in matter. This formed in the 12th century, the Realist side of the controversy with Plato and Aristotle, against the Nominalists with Zeno.

[69] "A notion without reference to the real character of the object." Dr. Mitra.

[70] The aphorism is, "sleep is that function (of the thinking principle) which has for its object the conception of nothing"; that

that the mind is withdrawn from its peculiar association with the senses; (5) *smriti* (memory), is the recovery through the influence of goodness of what has passed from the mind. In the fourth state, the second, third and fourth functions cease and in the fifth, the first and fifth are dissolved and final liberation is attained.

Although this sublime contingency does not occur save by prosperous fortune and the divine favour, yet the sagacity of the experienced base its acquisition on twelve principles.

I. Meditation on the divinity (*Isvara-upāsanā*), that is, to illuminate the interior spirit by constant thought of God and to be conscious of its freedom from four things, afflictions, works, deserts, desires. *Klesa* (affliction) signifies the sum of grief and pain, and this is five-fold: (1) *avidyā*, ignorance of the reality of things: (2) *asmitā* (egotism), conceiving oneself to possess that which one has not: (3) *rāga*, desire for one's own gratification: (4) *dvesha*, aversion, or anger: (5) *abhiniveśa* (ardent attachment to life), fear of death. *Karma* (works), signifies merit and demerit (from works). *Vipāka*, (deserts), the recompense of actions. *Asaya*, thought regarding merits and demerits which after effacement may recur.

[91] Those who have reached the goal in this path, assert that assiduous meditation on God after this manner, annihilates all evil propensities and exterminates nine depredators of the road. These are (1) *vyādhi*, *sickness*: (2) *styāna* (langour), indisposition (of the thinking principle) to efficacious work: (3) *sansaya*, doubt regarding the (practicable) means of meditation and its results: (4) *pramāda* (carelessness), forgetfulness of the duties of meditation: (5) *ālasya*, slothfulness in the performance of these duties; (6) *avirati*, (worldly mindedness), propensity (of the thinking principle) to enjoy the pleasures of the world: (7) *bhrānti-darsana*, error in per-

this is a function of the thinking principle and not a mere blank is said to be proved by our recollection on arising from sleep of having slept well which could not happen without a consciousness of it. *Yoga Aph.*, 12.

ception, (such as mistaking mother of pearl for silver): (8) *alabdha-bhumikatva*, (non-attainment of any stage), the non-attainment of the fourth out of the five states: (9) *anavasthitatva* (instability), not abiding in the fourth stage and receding from it.

II. *Sraddhā*, (inclination), zeal in following the Yoga and making it the sum of desire.

III. *Virya* (energy), seeking the fulfilment of the object sought with much eagerness.

IV. *Smriti* (memory), retaining in view the transcendent advantages and great results of this devotion, and never relaxing attention.

V. *Maitri* (friendliness), desiring the welfare of humanity.

VI. *Karunā*, (compassion), being distressed at the sorrows and affliction of mankind, and resolving to relieve them.

VII. *Muditā*, (gladness), being pleased in the happiness of others.

VIII. *Upekshā*, (indifference), avoiding the wrong-doer lest evil principles be acquired, and yet not entertaining malevolence nor rebuking him.[71]

[92] IX. *Samādhi*, (meditation), unity of intention and contemplation of one object.

X. *Prajnā* (discernment), allowing only understanding, rectitude, and the search after truth to enter the mind.

XI. *Vairāgya*, (dispassion), is of various kinds, its ultimate stage being detachment from all, and contentment with only the Supreme Being.

XII. *Abhyāsa* (exercise), being unintermittingly assi-

[71] This indifference is to be acquired both as to pleasure and pain, by friendliness towards the happy, compassionating the sorrowful, being content with the virtuous and neither encouraging nor reproving the vicious. This condition of mind facilitates the meditation called Samādhi, in its external aspect by removing distractions, and producing concentration, through cheerfulness of mind.

duous in the control of knowledge and action till this (steadfastness) becomes habitual.

In the works on this system, *Iswara-upāsanā*, *vairāgya* and *abhyāsa* are treated together: five separate expositions are allotted to *virya*, *sraddhā*, *smriti*, *samādhi* and *prajna*, and the four following *maitri*, *karunā*, *muditā* and *upekshā* are likewise separately discussed. They have all been concurrently reviewed in this work.

In this field of philosophy, Yoga is regarded as two-fold, (1) *samprajnāta-samādhi* (conscious meditation), directing the easily distracted mind to one object and gradual concentration on the ideal conception of the Divine Being: and (2) *asamprajnāta* (unconscious meditation), in which this ideal conception of the divinity ceases, and absorption in unitive communion with its essence is obtained. The first is of three kinds, (1) *Grāhya-samāpatti* (Tangible Forms), meditation on one of the five gross elements. With regard to the gross and subtile elements it is two-fold. The latter is termed *vitarkānugati*, (attendant argumentation) and the former *vichārānugati*, (attendant deliberation). *Vitarkānugati* is of two kinds; *savitarka* (argumentative meditation), when the cogitation is regarding the relation of words to their meanings, and *nirvitarka* (non-argumentative), when it is independent of this relation. *Vichārānugati* is cogitation on one of the eight principles, *viz.*, nature, intellect, consciousness, and the five subtile elements. If the element be considered in its relation to time and space, it is called *savichāra* (deliberative), and if otherwise *nirvichāra* (non-deliberative).

II. *Grahana-samāpatti* (Acceptance Form), is cogitation on one of the organs of sense which with reference to time, space, and cause is termed *savitarka*, and if in regard to the inherent meaning only, *vitarka*, and [93] both kinds are called *Sānanda* (joyous).[72]

[72] The commentator explains that when the quality of goodness of the internal organ, tinctured with a little of the qualities of foul-

III. *Grihitri-samāpatti* (Form of the taker). In this stage the votary withdraws himself from all other pre-occupation, and is merged in the single contemplation of the Supreme Soul. This also in relation to time and space receives the two names above-mentioned, and both kinds are termed *Asmitā* (Egotism).

Asamprajnāta is two-fold :—(1) *Bhavapratyaya* (caused by the world), not distinguishing Nature from the soul, nor holding it to be separate from the elements or the organs of action and sense. If Nature is cognized as soul, this meditative state is called *Prakritilaya* (resolved into nature), and if the elements and organs be so cognized, it is termed *videha*, (unembodied). (2) *Upāya-pratyaya* (means of ascertainment); by good fortune and a happy destiny, under the guidance of the twelve principles above-mentioned, the cognition of the soul is attained and the fruition of bliss secured at the desired goal where final emancipation presents itself to view.

The devotees of the Yoga practice are of four classes. The first, called *Prāthama kalpika*, (entering upon the course) is he who with firm resolve and steadfast foot enters upon this waste of mortification. The second, *Madhubhumika* (in the honey-stage), is he who by mortification of the senses and right conduct, effaces rust from the mirror of the heart to such degree that he can divine the reflections in another's mind and see whatever from its minuteness is imperceptible to others. The third, *Prajnājyotis* (illuminated), by happy fortune and zealous endeavour subdues the organs of sense and the elements, and the far and the near, with reference to sight and hearing, &c., become relatively the same to him, and he acquires power to create and destroy. The fourth, *Atikrānta bhāvaniya* (attaining the highest dispassion), is one to whom the past becomes present.

ness and darkness, is pondered, then consciousness being under the influence of goodness, becomes *Sānanda* or joyous. *Yoga Aphorisms*, p. 18

It is said that conscious meditation consists of eight particulars and these are, as it were, intrinsic parts thereof, in contradistinction to the twelve principles which are accounted extrinsic means. They are called *Ashtānga-Yoga* (meditation on eight particular parts of the body). [94] These are:—(1) *Yama*, (2) *Niyama*, (3) *Asana*, (4) *Prānāyāma*, (5) *Pratyāhāra*, (6) *Dhārana*, (7) *Dhyāna*, (8) *Samādhi*.

Yama, restraint, is five-fold:—(1) *Ahinsā* (non-slaughter), avoiding destruction of life and injury (to others). When this habit is formed, in a devotee, enemies are conciliated: (2) *Satya* (veracity) is the habitual practice of speaking the truth, and thus securing acceptance of his desires[73]: (3) *Asteya*, (non-theft), the non-appropriation of goods beyond what is customarily permitted: the keys of the world's treasures are entrusted to the observer of this principle: (4) *Brahmacharya* (continence), to abtain from women, by which means the ignorant will be able to light the lamp of knowledge from the inspired efficacy of his will. (5) *Aparigraha* (non-avarice), retaining nothing of worldly goods which, being regarded as the capital source of pain, should be abandoned and by this the future will be revealed.

Niyama (obligation), is also five-fold:—(1) *Saucha* (purification). internal and external purity, avoiding association with men, and acquiring self-control; (by this means) the mind is rendered essentially stainless, commendable desires bear fruit, and the fourth state is reached: (2) *Santosha* (contentedness), desisting from improper desires and being satisfied with the fulfilment of this excellent devotion. Happiness is thus obtained and worldly pleasures have no relish: (3) *Tapas*, (penance), mortification of the spirit and body and enduring heat, cold, hunger, thirst, and silence, until all five afflictions are effaced from the tablet of the mind. Through this practice the votary gains the faculty of seeing

[73] Another reading runs and thus desires cease to be inclined to evil.'

things distant, concealed or minute and can assume any form at will. (4) *Svādhyāya* (sacred study), repetition of the names of the deity, and recounting his attributes and all that is condusive to liberation. If there is inability to read, then by the constant repetition of the word *Omkāra*,[74] the deities and other celestial spirits associate with him and vouchsafe him their assistance. [95] (5) *Isvara pranidhāna* (devotion to God), is absolute resignation to the will of God; by this means various faculties of knowledge are acquired and illumination regarding all the degrees of perfection is attained.

Asana (posture), signifies sitting. The austere recluses of this temple of retirement, give the number of these as eighty-four, of which thirteen are esteemed the most efficacious, and each has a special mode and a separate name. Under their influence, cold, heat, hunger and thirst are little felt. Some learned Hindu authorities reckon the same number of sitting attitudes for those who are still attached to worldly concerns but of a different kind. The writer of these pages who has witnessed many of these postures, has gazed in astonishment, wondering how any human being could subject his muscles, tendons and bones in this manner to his will.

Prānāyāma, regulation of the breath at will, is threefold:—(1) *Puraka* (inspiration), drawing in the breath by the nose in the following manner: with the thumb of the right hand let the left nostril be closed and the breath slowly inspired by the right nostril. (2) *Kumbhaka*[75] (suspension),

[74] The abbrevivated form of this ejaculatory prayer, *Om*, is a combination of three letters a, u, m, invested with a peculiar sanctity. According to Wilson (*Vish. Pur.*) it is typical of the three spheres of the world, the three steps of Vishnu, &c., and in the Vedas is said to comprehend all the gods, and one text of the Vedas, "Om, the monosyllable Brahma," is cited in the *Vāyu Purāna*, which devotes a whole chapter to this term, as signifying by the latter word, either the Supreme Being or the Vedas collectively, of which the monosyllable is the type.

[75] This term is derived from *kumbha*, a jar, because the vital air at that time remains quiescent as water in a jar. Hastings, *Ency.* ix. 490-492, long discussion of *Om*.

to retain the breath within and to make as long an inspiration as possible closing both nostrils with the thumb and little finger of the right hand. The ascetics of this country can so hold their breath that they will breathe but once in twelve years. (3) *Rechaka* (expiration), letting out the drawn breath, very gradually, with the thumb pressed below the right nostril and removing the little finger from the left nostril, suffering it to escape. In short, to inspire with the right and expire with the left nostril. These three functions constitute the *Prānāyāma*. It is said that the breath extends as far as sixteen fingers from the nose, and some say twelve. By this operation the mind is quiescent, and perfect knowledge is obtained; but this is secured only through the assistance of an experienced master of this knowledge.

At this time the devotee should abstain from meat, hot spices and acid and saline food, and be content with a little milk and rice. He must also avoid the society of women lest his brain be distracted and melancholy ensue.

Pratyāhāra (abstraction), is the withdrawal of the five senses from their respective objects of perception. When the mind is quiescent, these perforce cannot escape. Thus objects may present themselves before him without exciting desire.

Dhārana (steadiness), is the confinement of the thinking principle to one place, such as the navel, the crown of the head, between the eyebrows, the point of the nose, or the tip of the tongue.

Dhyāna (contemplation), is uninterrupted reflection on what is before the mind, and the absence of every thing but the object, the thought, and the thinking principle of the individual contemplating.

[96] *Samādhi* (meditation);[76] in this the thinker and the consciousness of thought are both effaced. At this stage the

[76] This is a more advanced stage of contemplation than *Dhyāna* in which the ideas of objects other than the one in view are suppressed, but not altogether effaced. In *samādhi* the effacement

degrees of conscious meditation are surmounted and unconscious meditation begins, till perfect knowledge is attained and Yoga is finally reached. This condition is called *Samādhi*.

The first and second of these eight processes are likened to the sowing of seed in a field: the third and fourth are as the commencement of growth: the fifth is the flower: the sixth, seventh and eighth are regarded as the stages of fructification.

The last-named three-fold acts are termed *Sanyama*.[77] At this period, the most extraordinary powers are witnessed in the adept which astonish the beholder.

The occult powers are termed *Aisvarya* and are eight in number.

(1) *Animā* (molecularity), the power of minute disintegration so as to pass through the tissues of a diamond. (2) *Mahimā* (illimitability), capacity of prolongation so as to touch the moon. (3) *Laghimā* (tenuity), to possess such extreme levity as to ascend to the upper regions on a beam of light. (4) *Garimā* (gravity) to acquire illimitable ponderosity. In some works the word *Prāpti* (accessibility), is used for the fourth term, and signifies to reach to any point at will. (5) *Prākamya* (irresistible will), to sink into the earth and to rise up elsewhere as if in water. (6) *Isitva* (sovereignty), the power of creating or destroying. (7) *Vasitva* (subjugation), to command the elements and their products. (8) *Kāmāvasāyitva* (self-control), the fulfilment of every wish.

Although this language may seem incredible in the eyes of those affected by the taint of narrow custom, those who

is complete, and thinking merges into thought which is the sole residuum. The body is then in a state of catalepsy or trance, and is not influenced by external objects: *Yoga Aph.*, p. 124.

[77] The word is derived from the intensive particle *sam* prefixed to *yama*, restraint, and means vow, binding or confinement, and indicates three means of accomplishing the Yoga. *Yoga Aph.*, p. 125.

acknowledge the wonderful power of God will find in it no cause of astonishment.

The doctrines of this great system are comprised in one *Adhyāya* or section, divided into four *charana*, (feet or) chapters. The first is an exposition of the nature of Yoga meditation. The second on the means of its acquirement. The third, on the wonders of the occult powers. The fourth on the liberation of the soul.

CHAPTER V

JAINA

[97] The founder of this wonderful system was Jina, called also Arhat[1] or Arhant. With regard to the Supreme Being, and the doctrines of voluntary actions, rewards, punishments, hell and heaven, they follow the Mimāmsā and the Sānkhya. In *Svar-loka* twenty-six degrees are assigned to the last mentioned abode (heaven) in three groups of twelve, nine and five, in the highest of which dwell the most perfect among the chosen of God. Bodies are believed to be compounded of indivisible atoms. The four elements are composed of homogeneous atoms, and the substrate of each element is different. The world regarded in its atoms is eternal, but non-eternal in its form. Existence takes place on the union of five principles:—(1) *Niyata* (crude matter) potentiality of cause. (2) *Kāla*, determinate time. (3) *Svabhāva*

[1] For the Jaina philosophy, Hastings, vii. 465-574, x. 493-495 (purification), and xii. 799-80: (worship). The Jains take this name from the term Jina, a deified Saint, a being worthy of universal adoration and having subdued all passions, equivalent to Arhat, Jinesvara, Tirthankara and other synonyms of this incarnate being. Colebrooke (*Essay*, II, 171) mentions 24 Jinas or Arhats, who have appeared in the present Avasarpini age. The most celebrated of the Jinas, was Pārsvanatha of the race of Ikshwāku, and is thought by Colebrooke and Lassen to be the real founder of the sect. The last Jina, was Vardhamāna, named also Vira, Mahāvira &c. His life and institutions form the subject of the Kalpa Sutra translated both by Stevenson (very faultily according to Weber), and Jacobi. They deny with the Bauddhas or Saugatas, the divine authority, of the Vedas, and admit like the Sānkhya philosophy, the eternity of matter and the perpetuity of the world. Their avoidance of injury to life is wellknown. Like the Buddhists they are divided into a clerical body, *Yatis* or ascetics, and laity, *Sravakas*, (hearers) and observe the rules of caste without attaching any religious significance to it.

Hermann Jacobi in his preface to the *Jaina Sutras*, with Colebrooke and Stevenson asserts the independent rise of the Jaina creed against the combined authority of Lassen, Wilson, Weber and Barth, who derive it from Buddhism. This point is discussed in Hastings, *Ency.*, ii. 495-496.

inherent nature. (4) *Atmā* the rational soul. (5) *Purvakrita*, the result of good and evil in former births. Some Hindu philosophers ascribe the creation to God, some to Time, and others to the results of actions, and others again to inherent nature (*svabhāba*). Their belief is that the whole universe will not perish, but that some of every kind will survive from the whirlwind of non-existence whence creation will be renewed.

This sect allow only two predicaments:—*Pramāna* (proof) and *Prameya* (objects of thought). The first of these is two-fold:—(1) *Pratyaksha*, perception by the five external senses, and by the mind and the soul. The Nyāya, applies this term to the means by which perfect knowledge is obtained. (2) *Paroksha* (imperceptibility), knowledge obtained not mediately through the senses.

Pratyaksha (perception) is two-fold. (1) *Vyāvahārika* (conventional, or practical): this is acquired by the five senses and *manas*, is employed in external affairs, and called *mati-jnāna* (mind-knowledge). This is also two-fold, namely, that which (α) is apprehended through the five senses, and (β) apprehended through *manas* (mind), which this sect does not include among the five senses; and each of these two again is four-fold: (1) *Avagraha*, distinguishing from the type whether it be horse or man but not discerning the characteristics: (2) *Iha* inquiring, as to whence the man, and from what country the horse: (3) *Avāya* arriving at a correct identification of the above: [98] (4) *Dhārana*, recollecting the thing particularised and keeping it in mind. (II) *Pārāmārthika* (transcendental), knowledge that comes from the illumination of the rational soul and is profitable to emancipation. It is two-fold: *viz. Vikala* (defective), knowing some thing and not knowing some other: and *Sakala*, (entire), knowing all, called also *Kevala-jnāna* (pure unalloyed knowledge). *Vikala* is again subdivided into *Avadhi-jnāna* (limited knowledge), knowledge of special objects which near or remote,

are not differentiated;[2] and *Manas-paryāya-jnāna,* definite knowledge of another's thoughts and the laying bare of the secrets of the heart.[3]

Parokṣha (imperceptibility) is five-fold. (1) *Smarana,* recollection of what is unseen. (2) *Praty-abhijnāna,* knowledge derived from witness of another. (3) *Tarka,* the knowledge of the mutual relation between subject and predicate. (4) *Anumāna,* knowledge from inference, which is established in a series of ten terms, given in detail. (5) *Sabda,* the knowledge obtained from the narration of a speaker without partiality or affection, of clear understanding and true in speech.

Prameya (objects of thought) are six-fold and each is regarded as an eternal substance, and not an aggregate of a determinate measure of atoms; they are likewise held to be imperceptible to the eye and pervade all space. The first is the soul which is a subtile substance in which intelligence abides. It is to the body as the light of a lamp to a house and is believed to be the active agent, or passive recipient of good and evil. It is, of two kinds, *Parātmā* and *Jivātmā.* The first is restricted to the Supreme Being and is distinguished by four attributes. *Ananta-jnāna* or analytic knowledge extending to the most minute atoms. *Ananta-darsana* or synthetic knowledge of things collectively. *Ananta-virya,* infinite power. *Ananta-sukha,* infinite happiness.

They do not accept the doctrine of divine incarnations but believe that a man by virtue becomes omniscient, and his utterances in regard to the things appertaining to the spiritual and temporal life are the word of God, and such a one is termed *Sākāra-Paramesvara* (Divinity in bodily form). [99] In the six *aras,*[4] of which mention has been made in a previous

[2] That is, the abolition of hindrances causes the right intuition.
[3] By the absence of all envy, by sympathy and the like.
[4] These are the six periods into which each of the Utsarpini and Avasarpini ages are divided. Their names are given in Major Mackenzie's account of the Jains in Vol. IX. *As. Research,* p. 257.

section, twenty-four such beings come into existence, and in the third and fourth, their earthly existence terminates.[5]

The first being of this series was *Adinātha*, and the last, *Mahāvira*. Each of them is named a Jina, and wonderful legends are told of them which will be briefly noted later on. The Supreme Being is called *Nirguna Parameśvara*, or the Deity without qualities.

Jivātmā (soul) is variously distinguished. It may be two-fold, *viz.*, locomotive and immovable, as a man or tree: or three-fold, as man, woman, hermaphrodite: or four-fold, namely, forms of men, of vegetable life, of beings of heaven, and those of hell: or five-fold, possessing but one sense, [touch] as the four elements and trees. And these also are of two kinds: (1) such as can be seen, (2) such as are too minute to be perceptible. Each of these (last) five possesses life and has the sense of touch. There are those that possess (at least) two senses, touch and taste, such as shell-fish, leeches &c.; those with three, as the ant which has the additional sense of hearing: those of four, *viz.* flies and wasps which to the above three senses, add that of sight: those of five, mankind. There is a further division of soul into two kinds;[6] those possessing an internal sense and such as are without it, as a leaf. The Nyāya school also hold this opinion. Since the first and the fifth are of two kinds, animal life collectively does not exceed seven, and each may be classed

[5] The periodical creations and destructions of the world form part of the Pauranic legends and of the Jaina creed. The heavens and earth in general, are supposed to be eternal, but this portion of the earth, Arya or Bharata, is liable to destruction and renovation.

[6] More correctly, the division of souls is into 'mundane' and 'released'. The "mundane" pass from birth to birth and are divided into two, those possessing an internal sense (*samanaska*) and those destitute of it (*amanaska*). The former possess *samjnā*, the power of apprehension, talking, acting or receiving instruction, and the latter are without this power. These last are again divided into the locomotive and immovable. Those that possess only the one sense of touch are considered as 'released', as incapable of passing into any other state of existence. (Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, 5*n*.)

under two heads: (1) *Prajā-pati* possessor of six powers, namely, of bodily form, of reception of food, of organs of sense, of the powers of speech, of breathing, and the internal sense (*manas*): (2) *Aprajāpati*, life which is incapable of these functions. All that possess but one sense, have four faculties, *viz.*, capability of nourishment, assuming form, command of the organs of sense, inspiration and expiration of breath. All that possess two, three, four or five senses, without the internal sense, have five faculties, *viz.*, the four former and that of speech. Those that possess the internal sense have six faculties.

They consider the conjunction in the soul of ten qualities, entitles it to be called living, otherwise it is dead; they are severally called *prāna, viz.*, the five senses, the internal sense, faculty of speech, reception of form, inspiration of breath, duration of life. Those that possess five senses are of four classes. (1) *Devatā* (celestial spirit); (2) *Manusha* (man); (3) *Nāraki* (inhabitant of the infernal regions); (4) *Tiryagyoni* (animal creation). The *Devatā* is formed of a subtile luminous substance by the volition of the Deity, without the process of birth. Their bodies are not of flesh and bone, nor defiled by impurities; and their breathings are redolent of fragrance. They suffer not from maladies, nor does age steal away the freshness of youth. [100] Whatever they desire is fulfilled; they can assume a thousand shapes, and they move at four fingers' breadth above the surface of the earth. They are of four classes:—

1. *Bhavana-pati*. The Jainas believe the earth to consist of seven tiers superimposed one above the other. The earth inhabited by mankind includes a space of 180,000 *yojanas*. The intervening region between one thousand *yojanas* and as many below, is the location of the *Bhavana-*

[1] These ten are the progeny of *Asuras*, Serpents, *Garuda*, *Dikpālas*, Fire, Air, the Ocean, Thunder and Lightning, who are

patis. They are of ten[7] orders, each governed by two rulers, one for the northern, the other for the southern region. The colour, appearance, raiment, food and modes of life of each are separate. Their duration of life extends between a minimum of ten thousand and a maximum of an ocean (*sāgara*) of years, and this is considered the lowest order of all.

2. *Vyantara*. These inhabit a region extending between a thousand *yojanas* above and a hundred below, and they pass likewise into the sphere allotted to men. They are of sixteen orders, each governed by two rulers. Their age extends from ten thousand years to one *palyopāma*.

3. *Jyotishka*. Their location is seven hundred and ninety *yojanas* above the level of the earth, and one hundred and ten *yojanas* is its eastern limit. They consist of five orders (of luminaries), the first are stars: the second, suns throned at a distance of ten *yojanas* above the stars: the third are moons, eighty *yojanas* higher than the suns: the fourth, constellations of twenty-eight mansions: the fifth, planets at an altitude of four *yojanas* above the mansions, eighty-eight in number. Of these the five most important are Mercury, Venus, Jupiter, Mars and Saturn with an interval of three *yojanas* in altitude between them severally. The duration of life of each of the five, ranges between the eighth part of a *palya* at the lowest, to one *palya* and a hundred thousand years as an extreme limit.

supposed to reside in the several hells or regions below the earth. The Vyantaras have eight orders. These are the *Pisāchas*, *Bhutas*, *Kinnaras*, *Gandharvas* and other monstrous divinities inhabiting woods, and the lower regions and air. The third has five orders, the Sun, Moon, Planets, Asterisms and other heavenly bodies. The fourth includes the gods of present and past *Kalpas*. Of the first kind are those born in the Heavens *Saudharma Isāna*, *Mahendra*, *Brahmā Sanatkumāra*, *Sukra*, &c., to the number of twelve. A great number of *Indras* are recognised, but *Sukra* and *Isāna* the regents of the North and South are chief. Above all these rank in dignity as objects of worship the twenty-four *Tirthankaras* or with those of the past and future periods, seventy-two. Wilson (*Essays*, I. 320).

4. *Vaimāṅika.* Their abode is the highest of all, and they are of two orders. The first, *kalpupapanna,* (existing age), dwell in the twelve zones of heaven each with a special presiding deity, but four have (only) two regents. These ten principalities possess ten illustrious distinctions, (1) a just prince, (2) a capable minister, (3) a benevolent sage, (4) loyal counsellors, (5) sword bearers, (6) guards, (7) commanders of seven armies of elephants, horses, chariots, bulls, footmen, sword players and musicians, (8) administrators of state, (9) news reporters, and (10) sweepers. This sublime order is said to dwell at a little less than the distance of a *rāju*[8] in altitude. The second order is *kalpātita* (past age). They do not occupy themselves with others, but keep aloof from friendship, enmity, governance and subjection, and are engaged only in contemplation of the Deity. Above these again are twelve abodes of rest in nine tiers, one above another, and five others like a face, two above, and one below and one between, making fourteen tiers in all.

[101] They consider the world to be composed of three spheres..[9] (1) *Manusha-loka,* nine hundred *yojanas* from the

[8] A measure of space through which the gods are able to travel in six months at the rate of 2,05,7152 *Yojanas* of 2,000 *Krosa* each in the twinkling of an eye. Colebrooke, II, 198, but Abul Fazl gives another measure lower down.

[9] The world, writes Colebrooke, (*Essays,* II, 198) which according to the Jains is eternal, is figured by them as a spindle resting on half of another, or as three cups of which the lowest is inverted and the uppermost meets at its circumference the middle one. The spindle above is the abode of the gods, and the inferior part of the figure comprehends the infernal regions. The earth which they suppose to be a flat surface, is bounded by a circle of which the diameter is one *rāju.* The lower spindle comprises seven tiers of inferior earths or hells, at the disance of a *rāju* from each other and its base is measured by seven *rājus.*

The upper spindle is also seven *rājus* high and its greatest breadth is five *rājus.* Its summit which is 4,500,000 *yojanas* wide, is the abode of the deified saints: beneath this are five *Vimānas* or abodes of gods. The earth consists of numerous distinct continents in concentric circles separated by seas forming ways between them of which the first is *Jambu-dwipa* with the mountain *Meru* in the centre.

lowest extremity of the earth to nine hundred above. This is the sphere of men. The earth is said to be one *rāju* in length and the same in breadth, and within 4,500,000 *yojanas* of this space, mankind dwell. Below this is (2) *Patāla-loka*. Its extent is nine hundred *yojanas* less than seven *rājus*. The second is twice the size of the first, and to each tier is added a *raju* so that the seventh is something less than seven *rājus*. (3) *Svarga-loka* is the celestial region, and is a little less than seven *rājus* high. Its inhabitants possess five organs of sense. Among them the *Vaimānikas* dwell in twenty-six orders which represent paradise. They attain to these bodies and enjoy happiness through good works. Eight orders of *Vaimānikas* dwell within five *rājus*, and four in the sixth *rāju*. Fourteen orders of the inferior class occupy one *rāju*. A *rāju* is the distance traversed by an iron ball of three and a half Akbari *ser's* weight, *thrown* downwards and continuing to fall for a period of six months, six days and twelve *gharis*. It is said that for six *karoh* [*krosa*] above the twenty-six orders aforesaid, there is a circular area like crystal. Its length is 4,500,000 *yojanas* and its breadth the same, with a height of eight *yojanas*. After traversing a distance of three and five-sixth of a *Karoh* upwards, the sacred haven of final liberation is reached where men are absorbed in the divinity as light in light.

The ages of the gods extend from something less than a *palyopama* to not more than a *Sāgara*. The four classes of deities including two orders of the *Vaimānikas* have a stature of seven cubits; the third and fourth are of six cubits; the fifth and sixth, of five; the seventh and eighth, of four: from the ninth to the twelfth, of three; from the thirteenth to the twenty-first of two, and from the twenty-second to the twenty-sixth of one cubit, but all of them possess the power of assuming various shapes. All the deities are said to have the desire of food, but it is not taken by the mouth, as they are satisfied by mere volition. Each of the deities who arrives at the age

of ten thousand years, requires food every other day, and breathes once during the time in which a healthy man would breath forty-nine times. Those whose age extends beyond this term to one *Sāgara*, eat once between a minimum and maximum of three and nine days and breathe once between four and eighteen *gharis*. Those who live beyond the period of a *Sāgara*, eat once after a thousand years, and breathe once in fifteen days. Such as live to a still greater term than this, for each *Sāgara*, allow upwards of a thousand years to elapse before they touch food, and in the same proportion of time, increasing intervals of fifteen days pass before a breath is drawn. They also believe that all the deities including two orders of the fourth class, (the *Vaimānika*), have sexual intercourse after the manner of mankind, but pregnancy does not take place: the third and fourth orders by conjunction and the sense of touch: the fifth and sixth by sight, and the seventh and eighth, by hearing; four other orders, by mere effort of imagination, while fourteen orders of the second class are innocent of this intercourse. These are said to attain to this eminence by good works. Extraordinary legends are told of these beings, of which let this little from among much be a sufficiency.

The mundane (*manushya*), consists of (souls) of two kinds:—(1) *Samjna*, possessing the power of apprehension, and (2). *Asamjna*, without power of apprehension. The latter appear (as animalcula) in the flesh, blood and saliva of men and do not live more than the space of two *gharis*. The *Samjna* class is sub-divided into two. The Jainas apportion the earth into two parts, and assign one to each division. In the first, commands and prohibitions are in full force, and happiness and misery are the recompense of good and evil actions. Fifteen considerable portions of the earth are allotted to this division.

The Jainas believe that during the six *aras*, the extent of which has been mentioned in a former section, twelve

Chakravartis successively appear. Thirty-two thousand kingdoms are beneath his sway, and thirty-two thousand princes are subject to him. He possesses 8,400,000 elephants and as many horses and chariots. He has likewise fourteen thousand ministers of state, nine hundred and thirty millions of footmen, eighty thousand sages, three hundred thousand cuirassiers, five hundred thousand torch-bearers, thirty millions of musicians, sixty-four thousand wedded wives, one hundred and twenty-eight thousand female slaves, sixteen thousand mines of gems, nineteen thousand mines of gold and twenty-eight thousand of other minerals, sixteen thousand provinces of barbarians (*mlechchhas*), that is, of races foreign to his institutions, thirty-two thousand capital cities, sixteen thousand royal residencies, three hundred and sixty millions of cooks for the royal table, and three hundred and sixty for his private service. Many other endowments are attributed to him. The first cycle of these began with Rājā Bharata (*Chakravarti*), son of Ādinātha. Some of these on account of their good works, are translated to heaven while others go down to hell. They assert that nine other individuals are born, entitled *Vāsudevas*, which is a rank possessing half the powers of a *Chakravarti*, and they believe that these dignitaries descend into a hell, and that Krishna is among their number. Nine other persons, designated *Baladevas*, are said to exist who possess half the powers of a *Vāsudeva*. Over all these, the *Tirthankara*, who will be presently described, is the supreme head. Much has been written regarding the denizens of this sphere.

There is another extensive region, where its people have garments of the leaves of its trees[10] and their food is wild fruits or the sweet verdure produced by its soil. They are beautiful of countenance and pleasing in disposition. Their stature varies from one to three *karoh*, in height. One son or

[10] These are the *kalpa-vrikhas* or celestial trees, of which Major Mackenzie mentions nine varieties. Their gradual disappearance portends the destruction of the world.

daughter is born to them after which they die. They are called *Juglyah*[11] and when they grow to adolescence, they marry, and their duration of life extends from one to three *palyopama*.

It is said that those who have not been charitable in deed, nor practised good works, pass after death among this race, and obtain the recompense thereof and bear no burden of pain.

The *Nārakis*, like the *devatās*, can assume various shapes and many of their conditions, but their aspect is terrible and always in dejection and gloom. In the six degrees in which hell is said to be divided, they are agitated in burning torment, and though in agony are ever maleficent and from innate wickedness torture each other.

The class called *Bhavana-pati* have ingress to three degrees of this sphere and are the ministers of chastisement to these fiends. The stature of the dwellers in the first degree is from three to thirty one cubits and six fingers, and their age between ten thousand years and one *Sāgara*. The stature of those in the second degree is double that of the first, and this proportion of increase runs through the remaining degrees: the duration of life in the second degree is from one to three *Sāgaras*. The age of the denizens of the third degree extends from a minimum of three *Sāgaras* and attains to a maximum of seven: of the fourth, from seven to ten; of the fifth, to seventeen; of the sixth, to twenty-two; and of the seventh, to thirty-three.

Tiryagyoni signifies the rest of the animal creation and is three-fold:—(1) aquatic; (2) terrestrial; (3) aerial. The first named order is five-fold, *viz.*, (1) acquatic animals like the *Susmār*,[12] which resemble men, elephants and horses etc.;

[11] For Prākrit, *Jugala*, Sanskrit, *Yugala*, a pair, turned into adjectival form.

[12] Derived from the Sanskrit *Sisumāra* (child-killing), the Gangetic porpoise: in Persian it commonly means a species of lizard. *Karāh*, probably some kind of eel.

(2) fishes of various kinds; (3) the tortoise; (4) the *Karāh*, an animal in the shape of a tent-rope, four yards long and more, which twines itself round the legs of elephants and other animals and prevents their getting out of the water: (5) the crocodile.

The second order is of three kinds: quadrupeds like cattle: those that creep on their bellies, as snakes: and such as can move upon two feet like the weasel.

The third order is of four kinds: two domesticated with man, *viz.*, whose pinions are of feathers, like the pigeon, or of skin, like the bat; and two others that fly in the blissful abodes of the gods, each of which is described with its peculiar characteristics, and many circumstances are related of them. The duration of life in the first class is from two *gharis* to one *purva* which is equal to seventy krors of lakhs and fifty-six thousand krors of years. (70,560,000,000,000). The second and third classes in their minimum are like the hrst, but the second does not extend beyond three *palyopama*, while the third has no determinate limit. They assert that the duration of age among such as have but one sense, if formed of the subtile elements, is two *gharis*, and the gross body of the earth does not endure above twenty-two thousand years, nor that of water, above seven thousand; nor of fire, above three days, nor of wind, above three thousand years. Such as have two organs of sense live twelve years; such as possess three organs, forty-nine days, and four organs, six months. The animal creation possessing five organs of sense together with mankind have a life of three *palyopama*, while the *Nārakis* and *devatās* live thirty-three *Sāgaras* but not beyond this term.

In the interchange of embodiment of these four classes, they allow twenty-four habitations to the soul which enters into air, fire, water, earth, the vegetable creation of two, three and four organs of sense, quadrupeds born of the womb, the ten classes of the infernal regions, the *Bhavanapati*,

Vyantara, Jyotishka, Vaimānika, men and *devatās*. After death, [104] it enters into one of the following five, *viz.*, mankind, the animal creation with five organs of sense, water, earth, and vegetable forms. The souls of men may come and go through twenty-two forms and when they pass into air or fire, no more assume human shape. Hell-bodies may assume two forms, those of men or of animals with five senses born of the womb, and their lives like those of the *Juglyah* class are not of any considerable length, nor do they ever enter paradise. Those of the seventh degree of hell, do not even enter human bodies, but each of the (other) three kinds of animals having five organs of sense, have entry and exit through all the twenty-four habitations.

The arithmeticians of this sect apply the term *laksha* to one hundred thousand, which the vulgar pronounce *lakh*. Ten *lakhs* make a *prayuta*, and ten *prayutas* are termed a *koti*, called generally a *kror*. One hundred *krors* make an *arba* (Sansk. *arbuda*), and ten *arba* or *kharba*, and ten *kharbas* a *nikharba*, ten *nikharbas*, a *mahā-saroja*,[13] called also *padma*. Ten *padmas* make a *S'ankha*, ten *S'ankha*, a *Samudra*, called also *Korākor*.

They state that if of a seven day's child of the *Juglyah* age, the hair, being four thousand and ninety-six times as thick as the hair of the Delhi people, be taken and cut up till further sub-division be impracticable, and a well, four *karoh* in length, breadth and depth, be filled with such particles, and a single one of the aforesaid particles be taken out of the well at the expiry of each hundred years till the well be emptied, this period would constitute a *palyopama*. The lapse of ten *Samudra* of a *palyopama* constitutes a *Sāgara*.

Having now discussed the first of the (six) objects classed under *Prameya*, I briefly mention the other five. The second,

[13] Lake-born : an epithet of the lotus which in Sanskrit is also called *padma*.

Akāsa, ether, is a subtile substance, eternal and all pervading, possessing neither intelligence nor soul. The third, *kāla*, time, is a substance like the preceding, but not all-pervading. It circumscribes the terrestrial abode of man. The fourth *Pudgala*[14](matter or substance), is four-fold. If not divisible (atomic), nor compounded with another body, it is called *pramāna*, and if in conjunction, *pradesa*. When, several *pradesas* unite, they are called *desa*, *and* the conjunction of several *desas* is termed *skandha*.[15] The first is accounted eternal and has five qualities, colour, odour, phlegm, and two out of eight opposite states of gravity or tenuity, rigidity or softness, heat or coldness, greediness or its contrary. [105] The fifth is *Dharmāstikāya*, (the predicament virtue). It is a substance by the instrumentality of which, the rational soul and mind (*manas*), and matter (*pudgala*), *are* capable of movement, as a fish by means of water. The sixth is *Adharmāstikāya* (the predicament vice). This is a substance, quiescent, and favourable to repose. In some works there is mention of nine first principles called *tattvas*, *viz.*, (1), *Jiva*,[16] soul; (2), *Ajiva*, the contrary to this, as ether, time, &c.; (3), *Punya*; (4), *Pāpa*. By the conjunction of a multiplicity of matter and soul-forms, joy and sorrow, ease and pain are produced and this conjunction is termed *karman* (works), and is also distinguished as *prakriti*. All that is productive of virtue is

[14] Compounds sometimes arise from separation and conjunction combined and hence are called *pudgalas*, because they "fill" (*pur*) and "dissolve" (*gal*). *Sarva Darsana Sangr.*, p. 52. Weber translates it Atom-Stoff. *Fragment der. Bhag.*, p. 236.

[15] This word signifies the elements of being or the forms of mundane consciousness of which there are five in the Buddhist philosophy. *Pradesa*, one of the forms of the soul's bondage, is the entrance into the different parts of the soul by the masses, made up of an endless number of parts, of the various bodies developed by the consequences of action. *S. Darsana*, p. 56.

[16] *Lebens-geist*. Weber. There are three descriptions of this: the perfect soul of the deified saints: the liberated soul: and the soul in bondage. *Ajiva* comprehends the four elements and all that is fixed, as mountains, or moveable, as rivers, and is synonymous with *Pudgala*.

called *punya*, and *pāpa* is vice. *Karman* is eight-fold:— (1), *Jnānā-varaniya* (shrouding of knowledge), forms of matter that by their conjunction veil each of the five kinds of knowledge that have been noticed. (2). *Darsana-varaniya* (shrouding of study), shrouds apprehension by the five organs of sense. (3). *Vedaniya* (individual consciousness), conjunction of matter by means of which the soul is affected by joy or sorrow. (4). *Mohaniya*, (producing delusion), conjunction of atoms which causes good to be mistaken for evil and the reverse. (5). *Ayus* (age), conjunction of atoms on which depends the continuance of animal life. (6), *Nāman*, (name), conjunction of things which is the creative complement of genus, species and individual existence. (7). *Gotra* (race), the conjunction of atoms by which the soul assumes the forms of eminent and ignoble persons. (8). *Antarāya* (interference), conjunction of atoms by which men abstain from works, are unable to take nourishment, have no inclination for sexual intercourse, take no profit in trade nor practise liberality or mortification.

V. *Asrava*[17] (flow, movement) evil actions of five kinds, *viz.* bodily injury, falsehood, theft, incontinence, unbridled desire.

VI. *Samvara* (stopping), is abstention from the above five actions.

VII. *Bandha* (bondage), is the union of matter with soul.

VIII. *Nirjarā* is the gradual disruption of conjoined atoms by the mortification of the body.[18]

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[17] This means the movement or natural impulse of the soul to act, called *Yoga*. As a door opening into the water is called *Asrava*, because it causes the stream to descend, so by this impulse, the consequences of acts flow in upon the soul. It is the association of the body with right or wrong deeds and comprises all the *karmans*. All these eight classes of acts are mentioned in the Bhagavati. v. Weber's *Fragment der Bhagavati*, p. 166, 11.

[18] *Nirjarā* is that which entirely (*nir*), wears and antiquates (*jarayati*), all sin previously incurred and the whole effect of works.

IX. *Moksha*, called also *mukti*, is the total disseverance of atoms, which cannot be attained without knowledge and works. As when a fire takes place in the dwelling of a lame and a blind man, neither of them [106] alone can escape, but the blind man may take the lame on his back, and by the vision of the one and the movement of the other they both may reach a place of safety.

It is said that without concurrence of three conditions, this great end cannot be secured: (1). knowledge of the Supreme Being: (2). the acquisition of a guide who makes no distinction between praise and blame, wounding and healing: (3). constancy in good works. These three take rise in obedience and service, by which knowledge is gained. This latter is the chief source of a passionless state (*virāga*) which annihilates the impulse (*āsvara*) of the embodied spirit, whence proceeds the closing (*samvara*) of the passage to such impulses, and this again incites men to austerity whereby they are occupied in the mortification of the spirit and the body. This mortification is of twelve kinds:—(1). not to eat at particular times. Formerly abstinence from solid food for a whole year was practised, and by some for nine months, but in these days six months is the longest duration: (2). to eat sparingly, and to beg for food from not more than five houses, and to fast till the next day if none be forthcoming, and to abstain from five things: *viz.*, milk, curds, butter, oil of sesame and sweets: (3). mortification of the body in enduring the sun's heat: (4). to take rest on hot sand: (5). to endure nakedness in cold: (6). to draw up the arms and legs and sit on the haunches. They say that it requires a long time before these six practices can be successfully accomplished, and many fail in their performance.

It consists chiefly in mortification. Bondage is that which binds the embodied spirit by association of the soul with deeds. *Moksha* is its deliverance from the fetters of works, v. Colebrooke I, p. 407.

Regarding the expiation of sins, strange penances are prescribed for each transgression, such as, obedience to the religious director; service of ascetics; reading of voluminous books; bowing the head in meditation. This latter must not be for less than two *gharis*, and some among former devotees continued it for twelve years: to stand with the arms hanging down, and to refrain from movement. These six exercises quickly lead to perfection.

There are forty-five great texts among this sect, of which twelve are termed *Angas*, considered to be sacred books. (1). *Achārānga*, rule of conduct for ascetics. (2) *Sutrakritānga*, containing three hundred and sixty precepts of devotees and demonstrations of each. (3). *Sthānānga*, in which from one to ten (acts) essential to purity are enumerated, beginning with one, applicable to the upper and lower worlds, and so throughout the series to ten. (4). *Samavāyānga;* herein from ten to ten millions are enumerated and divers other truth. (5). *Bhagavatyānga;* this contains thirty-six thousand questions put by Gautama to Mahādeva[19] and the answers thereto. (6). *Jnātādharmakathā*, containing thirty-five million ancient legends. [P. 107] (7). *Upāsakadasā*, an account of ten devotees of Mahadeva. (8). *Antakriddasā*, on those who have attained the eternal beatitude of liberation. (9) *Anuttaropapāti-kadasānga*, on the blessed who for their good works have passed into the twenty-sixth degree of paradise. (10). *Prasnavyākaranānga*, mentions various works, the source of good and evil acts. (11). *Vipākasrutānga*, former consequences of actions, which having borne the recompense of good and evil are forever laid to rest. (12). *Chaudah-purvānga* (*anga* of fourteen *Purvas*), containing questions that concern mankind generally, with various reflections and classes of acts.

The twenty-four *Tirthankaras* having in these deliverances revealed the will of the Supreme Being, their successors

[19] An error for *Mahāvira*.

collected them and reduced them to writing. Twelve of them are termed *Upāngas*, in which the purport of the former books has been concisely recorded with some additional matter. Four books are called *Mula-Sutras*, in which are given the usages of religious preceptors, the mode of begging, manner of life, mortification, worship of God and rules of composition. Six works are termed *Cheddla-grantha*, on expiation of sin. Ten others are called *Päinna*,[20] explanation of the anatomy of the limbs, the manner of birth in animals, and all that takes place at the dissolution of elementary connection, and other subjects. Another work designated *Nandi-Sutra*, treats of the five kinds of knowledge, which have been already mentioned.

The devotees of this sect are called *Yatis*. *Sishya* (disciple), is an inquirer who enters on this path. *Ganesa-sishya*[21] is an ascetic who for six months at a stretch restrains the inordinate spirit within the prison of freedom from desire.

[20] The Sanskrit for this Prākrit word is *Prakirna*, and signifies a collection of miscellaneous rules.

Weber in his *Sacred literature of the Jains* says that the third group of texts of the Siddhānta is formed by the ten *pāinnas*, a name which denoting "scattered, hastily sketched" pieces, well suits their real nature as a group of texts corresponding to the Vedic *parisishtas*. It is as yet undetermined how old is their position as the third part of the Siddhānta and what caused their location there. They are with few exceptions in metre and a considerable portion of them refers to the proper sort of euthanasy, the confession required for this end and the abjuration of everything evil. Physiology, mythology and astrology and hymns are also treated. (*I. A.* Part CCLIX, April 1892). Weber is unable to make out the significance of the title *Mula-Sutra*, of which there are four. The text is composed in metre and principally *slokas*. The entire Siddhānta according to Weber, at present embraces 45 texts divided into six groups. (1) eleven or twelve Angas. (2) twelve Upāngas. (3) ten Painnas. (4) six Cheddasutras. (5) two Sutras without a common name, Nandi and Anuyogadvāram. (6) four Mula-Sutras.

The names of all these will be found in *I. A.* Part CCXIII, October, 1888.

[21] From *Gana-isa* lord of troops ; *Gana* with the Jains signifies a school or a school derived from one teacher, and *Ganadhara*, the head thereof.

If he eats one day, he fasts two, and defiles not his hand with milk, curds, butter, oil, nor sweets. He eats only of a little parched wheat thrown into hot water, and begs for alms only from one house; his nights are spent till morn in prayers, and five hundred times during each night he prostrates himself in worship, and in the day reads the book of Bhagavati.[22] [P. 108]

The *Pravartaka* (founder), has much the same character, but on account of his zeal and experience is nominated by the chief religious authority of the time over the pilgrims in this desolate wilderness, to superintend their daily actions and appoint suitable penance for such as are idolent and inclined to ease. The *Sthāvira* (elder), is an assistant to the preceding who controls the refractory and aids the languishing. The *Ratnādhika*, or *Paniyāsa* as he is also called, is zealous in the service of God wherever duty calls and thither speeds to remedy disorder: he also prepares the place for the *Achārya* or spiritual teacher, and has the care of his garments and the settlement of disputes among the ascetics is committed to him. The *Upādhyāya* (sub-teacher), has nearly the same rank as an *Achārya*, and the disciples verify under his direction the words of the sacred texts and the questions thereto appertaining. These teachers possess nothing of their own but the garments which will be particularised later. The *Achārya* is a personage of a genial disposition, reverent of aspect, pleasant of speech, grave, learned and benevolent. He must be acquainted with the proofs of the doctrines of his sect, and learned in the precepts of the other eight schools and skilled to refute them, and no treatise

[22] This work is mentioned by Wilson (I. 281. *Essays* 1862. Rost) as one of the eleven primary works of the Jainas, an instruction in the various sources of wordly pain, or in the paths of virtue, and consists of lessons given to Gautama by Mahávira and is in Prākrit, in 36,000 stanzas. It consists of a series of questions by Indabhuti, Roha, and other disciples of Mahāvira to that sage, and his answers, relating to a variety of topics.

should be unknown to him. The burden of the care of his flock lies upon his shoulders, and to promote the welfare of his institute must be his chief aim. Garments and books that are in excess of ordinary requirements are in his keeping for supply at need to inquirers of this road. The *Ganadhara* by fullness of knowledge and good works arrives at an exalted degree of wisdom, and possesses the eight miraculous endowments mentioned in the Pātanjala system. He is the representative of the *Jina*. The *Jina* who is also called *Tirthankara* (creating a passage through the circuit of life), surpasses this dignity and attains omniscience, is beautiful of countenance, and perfect in the moral order. His breath is redolent with fragrance and his words full of wisdom. His flesh and blood are white, and none has ever seen him eat or defecate. Neither sickness nor sweat nor dirt contaminate his holy person. His nails and hair grow not long. His words fall so harmoniously that every listener might deem that his speech was music. In whatsoever land he resides, snakes, scorpions and other venomous reptiles disappear, neither excess nor deficiency in rainfall occurs, and war, pestilence and drought cease. When he moves abroad, the trees are voiceful in praise, and many ministering spirits attend to guard him. It is said that his beautiful soul is imprisoned in the ventricular cavity of his form by a special connection, and in contradistinction to men in general, he is illumined by three kinds of apprehension, obtains cognition through the organs of sense and mind (*manas*) and the purport of all books is laid open to him. He discerns all that has form whether far or near, and after being born, and through the discipline of austerities, he becomes cognisant of the secret thoughts of men and arrives at the sublime degree of omniscience. These qualities belong to the whole twenty-four *Tirthankaras* of whom mention has been made. [P. 109]

The ascetics of this body have no intercourse with women, and avoid the spot where the sound of her voice is

heard. They abstain from meat, fruit and sweetmeats. They cook no food in their own dwellings, and at the meal-time of others, they approach a house and there stand and announce themselves by the words, "*dharma lābha*" that is, 'he who doeth good, receiveth a reward', and without importunity, take whatever of daily cooked food is brought. They may not take away milk, oil and rice together for food, and without being covetous of the taste thereof must speedily swallow their meal. And they must not knowingly accept food cooked especially for them or for the sake of mendicants in general, nor which has been brought from out of a dark room, nor fetched by mounting from a low to an elevated place, nor for which the lock of a door has been opened nor brought out having been previously purchased.[23] They drink nothing but warm water and do not eat or drink[24] during the night. They never light a lamp nor have a fire in the house in which they dwell. They may not pick up any thing fallen nor wash any member of the body but that which is actually soiled. They must avoid avarice and anger, and abstain from falsehood, from injury to life and from theft, and may have no worldly goods, but only necessary raiment. This, in other than winter time, consists of three robes. One of these is used as a loin cloth, a second thrown over the shoulder like a belt and the third worn over the uncovered head.[25] In winter a special woollen garment is added. They have also a cloth a little more than a span and a half in length and breadth which they keep folded in four. This is placed over the mouth when reading and the two ends are stuffed into the ears so that no

[23] I translate with diffidence this crabbed and ungrammatical sentence. The Akāranga Sutra lays down rules for these cases.

[24] The text has *pushidan* by mistake for *nushi an.*

[25] Two of the three robes and linen under garments. *Kshaumikakalpa*, and one woollen upper garment (*aurnikakalpa*). Besides these (*kalpātrya*), the monk possesses an alms-bowl (*patra*), with six things belonging to it, a broom (*rajoharana*), and a veil for the mouth (*mukhavastrika*). Jacobi, p. 67, *n.* 3.

insect may enter and be injured, nor the person nor the book be defiled by saliva. They also carry a *Dharmadhvaja*[26] made of woollen hairs like a tassel, bound with scarlet cloth and fixed in a wooden handle. As they constantly sit on the ground, they first gently sweep it with both hands that nothing may remain beneath. The elders of this sect, who have been briefly mentioned, spread an old woollen cloth by way of carpet, and spend their days profitably in fasting and good works. Every six months they pull out the hairs of their head with their hands and nails, and go barefoot among thorns and stony places, but in the rainy season they do not stir abroad.[27]

The laity of this sect are called *Srāvaka*. They observe, firstly, the following twelve rules. I. Never to injure the innocent. II. To avoid (the following) five kinds of untruths which are accounted great falsehoods; (1) false testimony, (2) breach of trust, (3) regarding land, (4) in praise and blame of others, (5) concerning a cow. III. Not to stain their hands with dishonesty. IV. Not to look upon the wife of another. V. To be content with a moderate share of worldly goods. VI. To give the surplus in charity. VII. On journeys, to move stated distances. VIII. To determine the daily need of food and other necessaries, and to live accordingly. IX. Not to approach a spot where a *sati* has taken place or a robber executed. X. To set apart two or three *gharis* of the twenty-four hours, and with complete detachment of heart to employ these in devotion to the bountiful Creator. XI. At the hour of sleep to resolve on abstention from further food, and effacing the suggestions of desire, to lay down to rest. XII. On the 8th, 14th, 15th, and 1st day of the 1st quarter of the moon, [P. 110] to abstain from food and drink through-

[26] "The emblem or ensign of religion"

[27] The reason of this is, that many living beings are produced and many seeds spring up, the footpaths are not recognisable. (Jacobi), p. 136.

out the day, and to feed the first beggar (met with) on the morn of the break of fast. The points aforesaid should be gone over every day and at the time of rest, and the conscience be therein examined.

The claim of rectitude of life in this austere sect is applicable to a man who fulfils the following conditions:— He should constantly listen to the reading of the sacred texts, perform work of charity, make a practice of praising the virtuous, defile not his tongue in disparagement of another, especially of temporal rulers. He should take in wedlock one who is his equal, and be ever in fear of committing sin. He should conform to the laws of the land wherever he abides, and should so choose his dwelling that it be not public to every passer-by, nor yet so secluded that none can discover it, and it should not have more than two or three doors. He should choose good neighbours and associate only with the virtuous. He should be dutiful to his father and mother, and avoid a city or a province invaded by foreign troops. He must regulate his expenses in accordance with his income, and make his dress conform to the same standard. He must be assiduous in reading the divine books, and avoid an unrestrained spirit in the regulation of his life. He must take his meals at stated times, and observe due measure in his regard for wordly wealth, and the getting thereof and attachment thereunto, and should be zealous in hospitality to a guest, an ascetic, and in the care of the sick. He should not be self-opinionated, nor a lover of his own speech. He must prize learning. He must not journey out of season, nor into a country where he cannot practise his religion, nor enter into a quarrel without discerning his ally from his enemy. He must sympathize with his kindred, and be provident and far-sighted, and recognize the claims of gratitude, and so bear himself in his outward conduct that men may hold him in regard. He must be modest, gentle and courteous in demeanour, and exert himself in the interests of others, and

subduing his internal enemies, hold his five senses under the control of reason.

The prohibitions to be observed by both the ascetics and the laity are, to abstain from flesh-meat, wine, honey, butter, opium, snow, ice, hail, everything that grows beneath the earth, fruits whose names are unknown, or that contain small seeds, and from eating at night.

The Jaina institutes recognize two orders, the *Svetambaras* (clad in white) and *Digambaras* (sky-clad). The latter wear no clothes and go naked. According to the *Digambaras*, a woman cannot attain final liberation.[28] They say that when any one arrives at the sublime degree of *mukti*, he needs no food till he dies. They are at one with the *Svetambaras* on many points. The writer has met with no one who had personal knowledge of both orders and his account of the *Digambaras* has been written as it were in the dark, but having some acquainance with the learned of the *Svetambara* order, who are also known as *Sewra* he has been able to supply a tolerably full notice. From ancient times, throughout the extent of Hindustan, the Brāhmans and Jains have been the repositories of knowledge and ceremonial observance, but from short-sightedness have held each other in reproach. The Brāhmans worship Krishna as a deity, while the Jainas relegate him to service in hell. The Brāhmans deem it better to face a raging elephant or a ravening lion than to meet with one of this sect. His Majesty, however, in his earnest search after truth, has partially dispelled the darkness of the age by the light of universal toleration, and the numerous sectaries, relinquishing their mutual aversion, live in the happy accomplishment of a common harmony.

[28] There is a division between the Digambaras and Svetambaras on this point, the latter conceding the doubtful privilege of final annihilation to women also. The other points of difference may be read in Wilson's *Essays*, I. p. 340.

BAUDDHA.[29]

The founder of this rational system of faith is known as Buddha, and is called by many names. One of these is *Sākyamuni*, vulgarly pronounced *Shākmuni*. It is their belief that by the efficacy of a life of charity, he attained to the highest summit of wisdom, and becoming omniscient, secured the treasure of final liberation. His father was *Rāja Suddhodana*, prince of Behār, and his mother's name was *Māyā*. He was born by way of the navel and was surrounded by a brilliant light, and the earth trembled, and a stream of the water of the Ganges showered down upon him. At the same time he took seven steps, uttered some sublime words, and said, "This will be my last birth." The astrologers foretold that on his attaining the age of twenty-nine years and seven days, he would become a mighty ruler, institute a new religion, and accomplish his final liberation. At the very time foretold, he renounced the world and retired into the desert. For a short period he lived at Benares, Rājgir, and other sacred places, and after many wanderings reached Kashmir.

Many of the Hindu race, and from the coasts, and from Kashmir, Tibet and Scythia were converted by him. From the date of his death to the present time, which is the fortieth year of the Divine Era, two thousand nine hundred and sixty-two years have elapsed. He possessed the gift of an efficacious will and the power of performing miracles. He lived one hundred and twenty years. The learned among the Persians and Arabs, name the religious of this order

[29] For Buddhism, see Hastings, *Encyclo.* ix. 846-853; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Grundriss series), and the works of the two Rhys Davids. The legends about Buddha are to be found in Asvaghosha's *Buddha-charita* (Cowell), the *Lalita Vistara*, Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, Beal's *Romantic Legends of Sakya Buddha*, Bigandet's *Gaudama* (Burmese legends), all in English [J. S.]

Bhikshus;[30] in Tibet they are styled *Lāmās*. For a long time past scarce any trace of them has existed in Hindusthan, but they are found in Pegu, Tenasserim and Tibet. The third time that the writer accompanied His Majesty to the delightful valley of Kashmir, he met with a few old men of this persuasion, but saw none among the learned, nor observed anything like what is described by Hāfiz Abru and Barākati. The Brāhmans regard him as the ninth *avatāra*, but do not accept the doctrines commonly ascribed to him, and deny that he is their author.

They hold the Deity to be undefiled by incarnation, and with the *Sānkhya*, *Mimāmsā*, and *Jaina* systems, do not consider him the author of creation. The world, they deem to be without beginning or end, and the whole universe to be at one moment resolved into nothingness, and at another created again as before. They accept the doctrine of the recompense of good and evil deeds, and of hell and heaven, and knowledge, according to them, is a quality of the rational soul. The ascetics of this religion shave their heads, and wear garments of leather and red cloth. [P. 112]

They are frequent in their ablutions, and refuse nothing that is given them as food, and hold all that dies of itself as

[30] In the text *Bakhshi*. This word occurs in Marco Polo (Yule I, 293) as *Bacsi* and in a note (p. 305) it is explained to be a corruption of *Bhikshu*, the proper Sanskrit term for a religious mendicant and in particular for a Buddhist devotee. The word was probably applied, adds the note, to a class only of the Lāmas, but among the Turks and Persians became a generic name for them all, and this passage from the Ain is quoted in support. It continues, that according to Pallas the word among the modern Mongols is used in the sense of *teacher*, and is applied to the oldest and most learned priest of a community, who is the local ecclesiastical chief. Among the Kirghiz Kazzāks the word survives in Marco Polo's sense of a "medicine-man" or conjurer. In Western Turkistān it has come to mean a bard. From its association with persons who could read and write, it seems to have gradually passed into the sense of a clerk. Under the Mahomedan rule, it was applied to an officer who performed duties analogous to those of Quartermaster General and thence came to mean a paymaster. *Ency. Isl.* i. 600. [J. S.]

killed by the act of God, and therefore lawful. They hold no commerce with women, and kill nothing that has life, and looking on plants as possessing it, they refrain from digging them up or cutting them.

Their spiritual energies are directed to six objects: the repression of anger, the pursuit of wisdom, soliciting alms, true understanding of the worship of the Supreme Being, fortitude in austerities, perpetual commune with God. Three things are affirmed by them to be the source of goodness: knowledge, disinterestedness, freedom from envy; and twelve seats the source of good and evil, *viz.*, the five senses, their faculties,[31] the common sensory, and intellect. These twelve, they term *Ayatana* (seats).

There are four objects of thought which in place of *padārtha* (categories), they call (*chaturvidhá*) *Arya-satya*, four sublime truths. The first is *Dukkha-satya* reality of misery, which is of five kinds. (1). *Vijnāna*, (sensation). (2) *Vedanà*, consciousness, the recompense of good c evil. (3). *Sanjnā*, name or denomination of things. (4). *Sanskāra*, (impression), aggregate of merit and demerit. Some assert that since all things are in a state of momentary flux and reflux of existence, the intellectual consciousness thereof is designated by this term. (5) *Rupa* (form) comprehends the five elements, and their evolutes, and because all these five produce bodily sufferance, they are distinguished under this head.

The second, *Samudaya-Satya* (progressive accumulation of evil), is all that arises from desire and anger, and which under its influence says, 'I am,' or, 'that is mine.'

The third is *Mārga-satya* (reality of means), the habit of thought that the world is in momentary annihilation and

[31] So in the *Sarva Darsana Sangraha*, "After acquiring wealth in abundance, the twelve inner seats are to be thoroughly reverenced: what use of reverencing aught else below." The five organs of knowledge, the five organs of action, the common sensory, and the intellect have been described by the wise as the twelve inner seats."

reproduction. The fourth is *Nirodha-satya* (reality of annihilation) which they call *Mukti* or final liberation. Ten conditions are necessary to attain this degree: (I). Charity. (II). Abstention from evil and practising virtue, that is, to refrain from the following ten actions, *viz.*, taking life, molesting, taking that which is not given, incontinence, falsehood, speaking ill of the good, irascibility, idle speech, evil intention, intercourse prohibited by religious precept. Seven duties are to be fulfilled. Respect for religious guide and spiritual director; veneration of idols; observing the service of others; praise of the good; influencing to good works by gentle speech; perseverance through success or failure in sustaining others in virtue; learning the duties of worship. (III). To be neither elated nor depressed by praise or blame. (IV). To sit in a particular posture. (V). To introduce an idol into a temple which they call *chaitya*. (VI). To regard the things of the world [P. 113] as they really are. (VII). To be zealous in the seven practices of *Yoga* prescribed in the Pātanjala system. (VIII). To acquire the habit of five duties, *viz.*, a true and firm acceptance of the commands of the religious director; to be mindful of them and to carry them out; to reduce the body and spirit by rigid austerities; to efface from the heart all external impression; to keep the mind fixed only on the Supreme Being. (IX). To strengthen the bonds of knowledge so that they cannot be broken. (X). To enter upon the knowledge by which final liberation is accomplished. *Pramāna*, proof, with this sect, consists of *pratyaksha* (perception), and *ātman*[32] (self), and there are two causes of knowledge, evidence of the senses, and demonstration. The first is four-fold, *viz.*, apprehension by the five

[32] The Bauddhas do not recognize soul (*Jiva* or *ātman*) distinct from intelligence (*chitta*). This latter dwelling within the body and possessing individual consciousness, apprehends objects and subsists as self. In that view only is *ātman*, self or soul. Colebrooke, I. 47. For the Buddhist conception of the Soul, Hastings, *Encyclop.* xi. 731-733 and xii. 429; also *ātman* in ii. 195-197. [J. S.]

senses, or perception by the common sensory or apprehension of the knowledge of the things themselves, or when by reason of the mortification of the senses, the non-apparent and the visible become identical.

In regard to inference and the exposition of the external *percipibile* their argumentation is lengthy and extremely subtile.

The Bauddhas are divided into four sects.

1. The *Vaibhāshikas*, like the Nyāya school, believe in separate indivisible atoms for each of the four elements but perceptible by the eye; and with them existence is predicable of two entities, cognition and its objects, the latter being apprehended by the senses.

2. The *Sautrāntikas* affirm that objects are cognised by inference.

3. *Yogāchāras* admit only intellect which produces the forms of objects.

The *Mādhyamikas* hold both cognition and objects to be void (*sunya*, Hindi *sun*) and confounded existence and non-existence.

Many treatises have been written on each of these divisions and there is considerable variance of opinion on questions of objective and subjective existence. Three sciences are regarded by them as important; the science of proof: the science of administration: the science of the interior life.

NASTIKA.[33]

Chārvāka, after whom this school is named, was an unenlightened Brāhman. Its followers are called by the Brāhmans, *Nāstikas* or Nihilists. They recognise no existence apart from the four elements, nor any source of perception save through the five organs of sense. They do not believe

[33] For the Nāstika philosophy, Hastings, *Encyclo.* viii. 493-494. The term *Nāstika* signifies one who disowns the existence of a future life. Chārvāka in Hastings, viii. 138 and 493; i. 47 (nihilism).

in a God nor in immaterial substances, and affirm faculty of thought to result from the equilibrium of the aggregate elements. Paradise, they regard as a state in which man lives as he chooses, free from the control of another, and hell the state in which he lives subject to another's rule. The whole end of man, they say, is comprised in four things: the amassing of wealth, [P. 114] women, fame and good deeds. They admit only of such sciences as tend to the promotion of external order, that is, a knowledge of just administration and benevolent government. They are somewhat analogous to the sophists in their views and have written many works in reproach of others, which rather serve as lasting memorials of their own ignorance.

CHAPTER VI

THE EIGHTEEN SCIENCES.

(*Athāra Vidyā*).

Having taken a brief survey of the nine schools of philosophy existing in this country, I proceed to state some of the points on which the Brāhmans of the first six systems are agreed and thus brighten the interest of this exposition.

They say that he has attained the summit of knowledge who has garnered his stores of wisdom from this number of sciences and by fathoming their depths, satisfied the desire of his heart.

The first division consists of the *Rig Veda*[1]: the second is the *Yajur Veda*: the third is the *Sāma Veda*: and the fourth, the *Atharvan*.

These four are considered to be divine books, as already mentioned. Each of them treats of four matters:—(1). *Vidhi*, precept and its cogency; (2). *Arthavāda*, praise and its recompense; (3). *Mantra*, invocation and prayer which are profitable in particular cases; (4). *Nāmadheya*, appellation of important acts. Each of them also treats of three things:—(1). *Karma*, exterior works; (2). *Upāsanā*, religious meditation; (3). *Jnāna*, perfected knowledge.

The fifth, the *Purānas*. Eighteen distinct works are styled by this name. They explain in a clear manner the difficulties occurring in the four Vedas above mentioned, and each of them treats of the following five subjects:—(1). The creation of the world. (2). The dissolution thereof. (3) Genea-

[1] On the Vedas, Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion*, viii. 106-109. (Vedic Literature, by Bloomfield), xii. 601-618 (Vedic Religion by Macdonell). Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature* (now available in an English translation) i, and also the Grundriss.

For the Purānas, Hastings, viii. 110 (as literature) and x. 447-455 (full description and discussion by Pargiter). [J. S.]

logies of various families. (4). Account of the fourteen *Manvantaras*. These are fourteen *Manus* or holy spirits who, during the whole life of Brahmā, will appear successively for the guidance of mankind, and sustain by their power the burden of the world. The life of each is seventy-one times the four ages, a revolution of the four ages being four million three hundred and twenty thousand years. They likewise mention the fourteen *Indras* associated with them, (for they say that [P. 115] during Brahmā's life, fourteen deities will successively rule the celestial regions), and the actions by means of which they attain to this dignity. There are further the legendary narratives of celebrated monarchs.

The names of the *Purānas* are:—(1). *Matsya*. (2) *Mārkanda*. (3). *Bhavishya*. (4). *Bhāgavata*. (5). *Brahmavaivarta*. (6). *Brahmānda*. (7). *Brahma*. (8). *Vāyu*. (9). *Vāmana*. (10). *Vishnu*. (11). *Vārāha*. (12). *Agni*. (13). *Nārada*. (14). *Padma*. (15). *Linga*. (16). *Kurma*. (17). *Skanda*. (18). *Garuda*.

There are eighteen other books called *Upa-purānas*, explanatory of the foregoing, which are said by some to be of recent origin. Their names are:—(1). *Sanatkumāra*, originally *Saura*, so called from the name of its compiler. (2). *Nāradiya*. This was also the name of a *Purāna* and the same may be said of some others. The *Upa-purānas* in fact, contain accounts not given in the *Purānas*, and they are styled by the designations of their originals. (2). *Nārasinha*. (3). *Sivadharma*. (4). *Durvāsana*. (5). *Kāpila*. (6) *Mānava*. (7). *Sāukara*. (8). *Ausanasa*. (9). *Vāruna*. (10). *Brahmānda*. (11). *Kāli* and also *Kālikā*. (12). *Māhesvara*. (13). *Nānda*. (14). *Sāmba*. (15). *Aditya*. (16). *Pārāsara*. (17). *Bhāgavata*. (18). *Kurma*.[2]

The sixth of the sciences is called *Dharma-Sastra*, (institutes of the law) or doctine relating to good works. This is

[2] Some of these names do not occur in Wilson's lists and their right to be called *Purānas* is disputed.

also taken from the Vedas, and accompanied by a multiplicity of detail. It is also called *Smriti*,[3] and has a similar number of divisions. The principal subjects of these books are three. The duties of the four castes regarding religious worship, the duties of administration, and the expiation of sins.

The names of the eighteen codes of memorial law (*smriti*) are as follows:—

(1). *Manu*. (2). *Yājnavalkya*. (3). *Atri*. (4). *Angiras*. (5). *Usanas*. (6). *Gautama*. (7). *Parāsara*. (8). *Sankha Likhita*. (9). *Vishnu*. (10). *Hārita*. (11). *Vasishtha*. (12). *Yama*. (13). *Sātātapa*. (14). *Apastamba*. (15). *Kātyāyana*. (16). *Vrihaspati*. To these some have added the following two. (17). *Vyāsa*. (18). *Daksha*. [117]

The names of the eighteen *Upa-smriti* or minor law codes are—

(1). *Angiras*. (2). *Jābāli*. (3). *Nāchiketa*. (4). *Skanda*. (5). *Laugākshi*. (6). *Kāsyapa*. (7). *Vyāsa*. (8). *Sanatkumāra*. (9). *Shatrzu*.[4] (10). *Janaka*. (11). *Vyāghra*. (12). *Kātyāyana*. (13). *Jātukarnya*. (14). *Kapinjala*. (15). *Baudhāyana*. (16). *Kanāda*. (17). *Visvāmitra*. (18). *Sumantu*.

The seventh is *Sikshā* (Phonetics), the science of letters.[5]

[3] For the *Dharma-Sastras*, Hastings, *Encyclop.* viii. 109 (as literature); x. 807 and scattered ref. (*Smriti*); vii. 352-353 (*Sruti*); iv. 283-284 (on crimes), vii. 850-853 (Hindu Law). Besides the evidence of precept from an extant revelation (*sruti*), another source of evidence is founded on the recollections (*smriti*) of the ancient sages. These recollections have come down by unbroken tradition, and are known under the title of *Dharma-Sāstra*, the institutes of law, civil and religious. This sacred code of law comprises a system of duties, religious and civil. The latter includes law, private and criminal, the forms of judicial procedure, rules of pleading, law of evidence, adverse titles, oaths, ordeal, &c.

[4] Or *Shatarzu*. Doubtless the *Shattrinsa* a well-known work on law. The *Shattrinsanmata* was a collection of the opinions of 36 Munis of whom the names of all 18 mentioned in the above list, occur; and several of the second.

[5] For these following six doctrines of Phonetics, Prosody, Grammar, Etymology, Astronomy and Ceremonial, commonly called the Vedāngas, see Max Müller's *History of Sanskrit Litera*

The eighth is *Kalpa*, ceremonial, a science which treats of ten kinds of duties from the beginning of marriage to the time when the son is invested with the Brahmanical thread; *viz.*, the marriage; cohabitation: the third month from pregnancy to the fifth: the sixth to the eighth: the birth: the naming of the child: carrying him out to see the sun: feeding him: cutting his hair: investing him with the sacred thread. At each of these times special prayers and important ceremonies are required.

The ninth is *Vyākarana*,[6] the science of grammar and linguistic analysis, upon which are based the rules for the composition of letters. Firstly, they reckon fifty-two letters under three kinds. Fourteen are vowels (*Svara*) which are both letters and diacritical accents, and can be pronounced without extraneous adjunct: These are, a (अ) : ā (आ) : [118] i (इ) : i (ई) : u (उ) : u (ऊ) : ri (ऋ) : ri (ॠ) : li (ऌ) : li (ॡ) : (diphthongs) e (ए) : ai (ऐ) : o (ओ) : au (औ). Thirty-three letters are called *Vyanjana*, consonants which cannot be sounded without a vowel. These are k (क) : kh (ख) : g (ग) : gh (घ) : n (ङ) which is a letter having a nasal sound produced by the throat and nose, ch (च) : chh (छ) : j (ज) : jh (झ) : n (ञ) : t (ट) : th (ठ) : d (ड) : dh (ढ) : n (ण) : t (त) : th (थ) : d (द) : dh (ध) : n (न) : p (प) : ph (फ) : b (ब) : bh (भ) : m (म) : y (य) : r (र) : l (ल) : v (व) : s (श) : sh (ष) : s (स) : h (ह) : There are five other letters, one of which is called

ture, p. 113, ff. The first are considered requisite for reading the Veda, the two next for understanding it, and the last two for employing it at sacrifies. *Sikshā* is derived from *sak* to be able and means a desire to know. The doctrine of the *Sikshā* was embodied in the Aranyakas, and perhaps the Brāhmanas. Kalpa or Ceremonial is the fifth and most complete Vedānga. The ceremonies mentioned by Abul Fazl, are described in the *Grihya-Sutras* and are briefly alluded to by Müller, p. 264.

[6] The third Vedanga is *Vyākarana* or Grammar, represented by the grammarians ending with Pānini, whose work however, superseded those of his predecessors to such an extent that little but their names and a few rules under their authority have come down to us. V. *Hist. Sansk. Lit.*

Anusvāra, sounded like *ṛan* with a quiescent nasal. Another is *visarga* (a surd breathing), like the final *h* in *ṛah*. A third is called *jihvāmuliya*, a letter between an *h* and a *ṛh*, and occurs as a medial and is sounded from the root of the tongue. The fourth is called *gaja-kumbha ṛriti*, a quiescent medial letter approximating in sound to a *bhā*. The fifth is *ardha-bindu*, a quiescent nasal, like a suppressed *nun* (ँ).

Such is the exposition of the Sanskrit alphabet as far as I have been able to transcribe it. Some points which it has been beyond my power adequately to explain I have but alluded to. The last five letters are employed with vowels and consonants alike, and each consonant is capable of being vocalized with the fourteen vowels. At the present day the fourteen vowels (*svara*) are called *mātra*[7] and two being commonly omitted,[8] twelve only are employed. Each written letter is separate and unconnected with the next. Letters are of four kinds. If without a [P. 119] movéable vowel a letter is called (*vyānjana*). If it be a simple short vowel or if it add one *mātra* to a quiescent long vowel, it is called *hrasva*. Twice the prosodial time of a short vowel is called *dirgha*, and if longer than two (*i.e.* three *mātras*) it is called *pluta* or prolated.

Eight modes of utterance are reckoned, *viz.*, from the middle of the chest: the throat: the root of the tongue: between the teeth: the nose: the palate: the lip: and the crown of the head. There is considerable diversity of opinion in all that they discuss but I have chosen the most generally accepted view. Before the writer had gained any acquaintance with this language, he considered the grammatical structure of Arabic to be without a rival, but he is now more fully

[7] Properly the prosodial time of a short vowel.

[8] These are the long i and the long ḷ: the latte does not occur in a single genuine word in the language, and is added, says Whitney, for the sake of an artificial symmetry.

aware of the immense labours of Hindu philologists, and the powerful regulative influence of their system.

The tenth science is *Nirukta*, (etymology), a detailed commentary of Vedic texts.[9]

The eleventh *Jyotisha*[10] is on astronomy and its wonders.

The twelfth *Chandas* is on metre and the classes of verse.

The last six are called *Angas*, that is to say that a knowledge of these six is necessary to the comprehension of the Vedas.

The thirteenth is the *Mimāmsā* of which the three kinds have been already mentioned.

The fourteenth is the *Nyāya* which has been summarily treated among the sciences.

The fifteenth is the *Ayur-veda*, the science of anatomy, hygiene, nosology and therapeutics. It is taken from the first Veda.[11]

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[9] This is the fourth Vedānga as represented by the *Nirukta* of Yāska and applies to Vedic etymologies exclusively. It is important to distinguish his *Nirukta*, the text of which is usually called *Nighantu*, from his commentary of the *Nirukta* to which the term *Nirukta* alone is often applied. The *Nirukta* consists of three parts; the *Naighantuka*, the *Naigama*, and the *Daivata*, in five chapters, containing lists of synonyms, words and Divinities. Max Müller points out that the Greeks and Hindus alone of all nations have had independent conceptions of the sciences of Logic and Grammar, but they started from opposite points. The Greeks began with philosophy and endeavoured to adjust its terminology to the facts of language. The Hindus began with etymology and their generalisations never went beyond arrangements of grammatical forms, partly due to the sacred character of the Vedic hymns, wherein a mispronunciation might mar their religions effect. Thus the grammar of the latter has ended in a colossal pedantry, while that of the Greeks still influences modern culture throughout the civilised world. *Hist. Sansk. Lit.* p. 160, ff.

[10] *Jyotisha* is the last of the Vedāngas. Its literature is scanty and is mainly represented by a small treatise representing the earliest stage of Hindu astronomy.

[11] Medicine.—Hastings *Encyclo.* iv. 762-772 (under Disease and Medicine, Vedic, by Bolling), viii 292 (Magic and Religion, by H. A. Rose); ix. 43-48 (Indian Medicine) 53-57 (Muhammadan Medicine). *Ayur-veda* contains eight departments: 1. *Salya*, surgery; 2. *Sālākya*, inquiry into diseases of the head and its organs: 3. *Kāya-chikitsā*, treatment of diseases affecting the whole body:

The sixteenth is *Dhanur-veda*, the science of archery and of the use of various other weapons, taken from the second Veda.[12]

The seventeenth is *Gāndharva-veda*, the science of music, vocal, instrumental and practical, taken from the third or Sāma-veda.

The eighteenth is *Artha-shāstra*,[13] treating of the acquisition of wealth and its profitable employment. These four are termed subordinate or *Upa-vedas*. [P. 120]

The arts and sciences cultivated throughout the extent of Hindustan are too numerous to mention, but somewhat of them shall be briefly reviewed as an acceptable offering to the curious, in the hope that it may prove interesting as well as an incentive to inquiry.

KARMA-VIPAKA.

Or the ripening of actions.[14] This is a system of knowledge of an amazing and extraordinary character, in which the learned of Hindustan concur without dissentient opinion. It reveals the particular class of actions performed in a former birth which have occasioned the events that befall men in

4. *Bhuta-vidya*, treatment of diseases of the mind supposed to be produced by demonical influence: 5. *Kaumāra-bhritya* treatment of children: 6. *Agada-tantra*, doctrine of antidotes: 7. *Rāsāyana-tantra*, doctrine of elixirs. 8. *Vājikarana-tantra*, rules for increasing generative powers. Monier Williams. *Sansk. Dict.*

[12] Regarded as an *Upa-veda* connected with the Yajur-veda, and ascribed to Visvā-mitra; or, according to others, to Bhrigu. *Ibid.*

[13] According to Monier Williams, it is the science of polity, or moral and political government.

[14] That is, the good and evil consequences in this life of human acts performed in previous births. This work of Visvesvara-bhatta explains expiatory rites to be performed in cases of disease, supposed to be the punishment of offences committeed in a previous state of existence, written in *Slokas* in the form of a dialogue between Sakuntalā Bharata and Sātātapa-Bhrigu. Monier Williams. For *Karma* see Hastings *Encyclo.* vii. 673-677, and for the caste system, ii. 230-239.

this present life, and prescribes the special expiation of each sin, one by one. It is of four kinds.

THE FIRST KIND discloses the particular action which has brought a man into existence in one of the five classes into which mankind is divided, and the action which occasions the assumption of a male or female form. A *Kshatriya* who lives continently, will, in his next birth, be born a *Brāhman*. A *Vaisya* who hazards his transient life to protect a Brāhman, will become a *Kshatriya*. A *Sudra* who lends money without interest and does not defile his tongue by demanding repayment, will be born a *Vaisya*. A *Mlechchha* who serves a *Brāhman* and eats food from his house till his death, will become a *Sudra*. A *Brāhman* who undertakes the profession of a *Kshatriya* will become a *Kshatriya*, and thus a *Kshatriya* will become a *Vaisya*, and a *Vaisya* a *Sudra*, and a *Sudra* a *Mlechchha*. Whosoever accepts in alms a *Krishnājina* or skin of the black antelope, or the bed on which a man has died, or a buffalo, or receives an alms in the shrine of *Kurukshetra*, will, in the next birth, from a man become a woman. Any woman or *Mlechchha*, who in the temple of *Badari-Nārāyana*[15] sees the form of *Nārāyana*, and worships him with certain incantations, will in the next birth, if a woman, become a man, and if a *Mlechchha*, a *Brāhman*. This shrine is in the hills north of Hardwār. They say that for any one who has not an accurately defined caste, the horoscope of the result of any particular action is taken, and the place of Mars is observed. Whatever may be its position, the *dominus domus* shows the caste of the inquirer, and the dominant of the seventh house of Mars shows the caste of the inquirer in his former birth. If Venus and Jupiter, his caste is *Brāhman*: if the sun and Mars, a *Kshatriya*: if the

[15] Commonly *Badrināth*, a peak of the Himalayan range in Garhwāl Dist. N. W. P. reaching to a height of 23,210 feet above the sea. Its glaciers are the source of the Alaknanda river. Immense numbers of pilgrims visit Badrināth annually, 50,000 persons having in some years attended the great festival. *I. G.*

moon, a *Vaisya*: if *Saturn*, a *Sudra*: if the head and tail of the Dragon, a *Mlechchha*.[16]

THE SECOND KIND shows the strange effects of actions on health of body and in the production of manifold diseases. Physicians attribute these to constitution, but this science to the results of former conduct. Hindu philosophers class diseases under three heads:—(1). Those that can be cured by medicinal treatment; (2). Those that are removable by observing the following courses of procedure; (3). Those that require the application of both. To diagnose each of these, certain symptoms are recognised which are classed under three states, *viz.*, (1). actions deliberately committed in a state of wakefulness; (2). such as are unconsciously done [121] in that condition;[17] (3). and those that are effected during sleep. In the first, the sickness is incapable of remedy; in the second a remedy can be applied; in the third case, medicinal treatment to some extent restores health, but there is liability to relapse. Disorders of the heart, they consider, as originating in intention, and those of the body from inadvertency and error. Volumes have been written on this subject and the advice of physicians disregarded as unprofitable. Some of these causes of sickness are here set down for purposes of illustration.

HEADACHE is caused by former violent language used to father or mother. The remedy is to make the images of

[16] The last chapter of Albiruni's Indica is occupied with the complicated explanation of the astrological calculations of the Hindus. I refer the curious reader to the tabular representations of the different planets, their aspects, influences, houses and indications, together with the tables of the Zodiacal signs and their dominants which are there given.

[17] "By what is a man impelled, O Vārshneya!" says Arjuna in the *Bhagavad Gitā*, "when he commits sin even against his will, as if compelled by force?" "It is lust;" replies Krishna "it is wrath born from the 'passion' mode: know, that this all-devouring, all-defiling is here our foe. Knowledge is enveloped by this which is the eternal foe of the wise man . . . . and is an insatiable flame." Davies' Translation.

Kasyapa[18] and *Aditi* of two *tolahs* of gold and give them to the poor. The first of these two is regarded as the father of the *Devatās*, and the latter as the mother.

MADNESS is the punishment of disobedience to father and mother. The cure is to perform the *Chāndrāyana*, which is to eat one mouthful on the first day, and to increase the food daily by the same quantity for one month, and then to decrease in the same measure till one mouthful is again reached, and to make two images as above of two *tolahs* of gold and bestow them in alms with one cow.

EPILEPSY results from having administered poison to another at the command of a superior. The cure consists of these two images, a cow, a piece of land and thirty-two *sers* of sesame-seed, with a repetition of some incantations in the name of *Mahādeva*.

PAIN IN THS EYES arises from having looked upon another's wife. The cure is *Chāndrāyana*.

BLINDNESS is the punishment of a matricide which is followed by many years of suffering in hell. The cure is *Prājāpâtya*,[19] which is of five kinds:—(1). Bestowing a cow in charity; (2). Or one *tolah* of gold; (3). Or feeding twelve *Brāhmans*; (4). Or throwing into the fire ten thousand times a mixture of sesame-seed, butter, honey and sugar; (5). Or walking a *yojana*, bare foot to a shrine. Let one or several of these be done in charity thirty times. Or let him make a boat of four *tolahs* of gold, the mast of silver, and six paddles of copper. Or, if it be a punishment of disobedience to father and mother, the cure is, as already described, the images of

[18] One of the Prajāpatis or mind-born sons of Brahmā. He married thirteen of the daughters of Daksha, of whom the first was *Aditi* by whom he had the twelve *A'dityas*. See the *Vishnu Pur.* Wilson, v. also Vol. II, 38.

[19] Sacred to Prajāpati. It signifies the giving away of the whole of one's property before entering on the life of an ascetic. It is also a kind of fast lasting twelve days and likewise a form of marriage. Monier Williams.

Kasyapa and *Aditi*. These should not be of less than two *tolahs*.

DUMBNESS is the consequence of killing a sister. The cure is to bestow in charity a cow made of four *tolas* of gold, its horns be of two *tolahs* of silver, its hump of two or three *māshas* of copper with a brass vessel for milk, and for seven days he should eat a mixture of curds, butter, urine and cowdung.

COLIC results from having eaten with an impious person or a liar. The cure is to fast for three days, and to give twelve *tolahs* of silver in charity.

STONE IN THE BLADDER is the punishment of incest with a step-mother. [P. 122] The cure is *Madhu-dhenu* (honey-milch cow). Let it be supposed that milch-cow of honey is formed thus:—Fourteen vessels full of honey, each of which shall contain a *man* and a quarter, must be placed with one *tolah* of gold in front to represent the mouth; four *sers* of sugar-candy must represent her tongue; thirty-two *sers* of fruit, her teeth; pearls for the two eyes; and two sticks of lignum aloes for her horns; two plantains stand for her two ears; and barley-flour for her teats, with three sticks of sugar-cane for each leg. A white woollen cloth is thrown over the vessels to represent her hide, and *Dāba*,[20] which is a particular kind of grass, is strewn above it. The hoofs are to be of silver, the hump of a *ser* and a quarter of copper: the tail of silk, thirty fingers in length, with skeins of silk eleven fingers long hanging therefrom. Two pieces of red cloth must be thrown over her neck, and seven heaps of grain, each of two *sers* weight, must be made, and a brass vessel placed in front, and another vessel full of honey set near to represent her calf, and a copper vessel filled with sesame-

[20] The *Kusa, Poa Cynosaroides*; a sacrificial grass. A Brāhman when he reads the Vedas, must, according to Manu (*Institutes*, II. 75), sit on *kusa* grass with the points to the east.

seed. Next, certain incantations are made, and prayers are said, and alms given.

LAMENESS is the result of having kicked a *Brāhman*. The cure is to bestow in charity a horse made of a *tolah* of gold, and to feed one hundred and eight *Brāhmans*.

FEVER arises from killing an innocent *Kshatriya*. The cure: thirteen *Brāhmans* should read incantations in the name of *Mahādeva* one hundred times, and sprinkle water over his image.

CONSUMPTION is the punishment of killing a *Brāhman*. A lotus flower of four *tolahs* weight of gold should be made, and the ceremony of the *Homa*[21] performed and alms given to righteous *Brāhmans*.

TUMOUR is caused by killing a wife without fault on her part. The cure is to spread a black antelope-skin (*Krishnājina*) and place thereon a heap of sesame-seed and a hundred *tolahs* or more of gold, and read incantations and perform the *Homa* oblation. But the acceptance of such an offering is considered blameable.

ASTHMA results from having accepted of this oblation, or of one of the sixteen great offerings, or of an alms at *Kurukshetra*. The cure is to take a buffalo of iron, with hoofs and horns of lead, and to make a sectarial mark of stone on its forehead, garland it with flowers of the *Kaner* (*Nerium odorum*), and place upon it a black blanket and four *tolahs* of gold, and three *man* and a half of pulse (*Māsh*, *Phaseolus mungo*). The performer must have a sectarial mark drawn upon his forehead with the finger. The accepter of this charity is not well regarded. [P. 123]

DYSENTERY is the punishment for robbing a house. The cure is to give in alms a house and its necessary furniture, and seven kinds of grain, thirty-two *sers* of each kind, a handmill, a pestle and mortar, a repository for drinking

[21] This is an oblation to the gods made by casting clarified butter into the fire, accompanied by prayers and invocations.

water, a kitchen-hearth, a broom, a cow, and money according to means.

THE THIRD KIND indicates the class of actions which have caused sterility and names suitable remedies.

A WOMAN whose husband dies before her, was in a former birth of a great family and followed a stranger and on his death consigned herself to the flames. The cure is self-martyrdom by austerities, or suicide by throwing herself into snow.

A WOMAN who does not menstruate, in a former existence while in her courses, roughly drove away the children of her neighbours who had come as usual to play at her house. The cure is to fill an earthen vessel with water from a hundred wells, and to throw therein a betel-nut and one *māsha* of gold, anoint it with perfumes and give it to a *Brāhman*. She should also give five, seven, nine or eleven kinds of fruit to children to eat.

STERILITY is occasioned by a man or woman in a former birth having sold the children of other people, or the young of an oviparous animal, or reproached others for barrenness. Cure: the man and woman should enter the water at the meeting of two streams, wrapped in a single sheet, and bathe, and reciting certain incantations, pray to *Mahādeva* and give one *mohar* each to eleven *Brāhmans*, and a cow in alms on certain conditions, and make two images of *Kasyapa* and *Aditi* of two *tolahs* of gold each, and making an image of Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation (*Vāmana*), bestow it in charity. And they should also fill eight winnowing-baskets with seven kinds of grain, and lay upon it a cloth and cocoa-nuts and various kinds of fruit, with flowers of saffron, and sandal-wood, and give each of these to a virtuous woman, and hear the recital of the *Harivansa*, which is the conclusion of the *Mahābhārata*.

A WOMAN whose son dies shortly after his birth is thus punished for having in a former birth followed a common

practice in Hindustan of exposing any child to die that is born when the moon is in the lunar station called *Mula* (v. Scorpionis) or *Aslesha* (α 1 and 2 Cancri) or near the end of *Jyeshthā* (α Scorpionis, Antares), and a birth is especially a matter of reproach in *Mula*. The cure is to make a cow of four *tolahs* of gold, its hoofs of a *tolah* of silver, jewels for her tail, brass bells on her neck, a calf of a *tolah* of gold, its hoofs being of half a *tolah* of silver.

A WOMAN who gives birth to only daughters is thus punished for having contemptuously regarded her husband from pride. The cure is to plate the horns of a white cow with four *tolahs* of gold and burnish its hoofs with four *tolahs* of silver, and make a hump of one *ser* and a quarter of copper and a vessel of two *sers* and a half of brass, and bestow this in charity. One hundred *Brāhmans* should also be fed and she should fashion a figure of the deity of ten *māshas* and two *surkhs* of gold, and reciting incantations, give alms and feed fifty *Brāhmans*.

A WOMAN who has had but one son, is punished for having taken away a calf from its dam. Cure: let her give away a fine milch-cow with ten *tolahs* of gold.

A WOMAN who has given birth to a son that dies and a daughter that lives, has in her former existence, taken animal life. Some say that she had killed goats. The cure is the fast of the *Chāndrāyana*, a cow given in charity and the feeding of twelve *Brāhmans*.

[124] A WOMAN who has continued in a state of pregnancy for sixteen years, has in a former birth been burnt when pregnant; the cure is an alms of *Hiranya-garbha*.[22]

BEING A MAID-SERVANT is the punishment for having in a former existence, from ignorance, had criminal intimacy with the husband of another and been burnt for his sake. The cure is, if she be in the house of a *Sudra*, to convey her to the

[22] That is, the figure of Brahmā

house of a *Vaisya*, and thus by graduation of caste to a *Brāhman's*, where she should remain in service till her death.

In order to discover whether these punishments are for the deeds of the man or the woman, they should both take the horoscopes of the results of particular actions. If in the horoscope, either the fifth or eleventh (mansion), shows the *ascendens* to be the Sun, Mars, or Saturn or the head or tail of the Dragon (ascending or descending node), and these affect the character of the woman (as based on the three modes of goodness, passion and darkness) which is considered under the influence of Saturn, the punishment is reckoned to be that of the woman, otherwise it appertains to the man. If in both mansions, the results apply to both.[23]

THE FOURTH KIND treats of riches and poverty, and the like. Whoever distributes alms at auspicious times, as during eclipses of the moon and sun, will become rich and bountiful (in his next existence). Whoso at these times, visits any place of pilgrimage, especially *Ilahābās* (Allahabad), and there dies, will possess great wealth, but will be avaricious and of a surly disposition. Whosoever when hungry and

[23] Each of the Zodiacal signs has peculiar qualities, and these have been tabulated by Albiruni, from the *Laghujātakam*. The cardinal points of Hindu astrology, as he observes, are the planets, zodiacal signs and the houses. The nature of the aspect of every sign depends upon the nature of the *ascendens* which at a given moment rises above the horizon. The aspect between one sign and the fourth or eleventh following, is a fourth part of an aspect: that between one sign and the fifth or ninth following, is half an aspect; between the sixth and tenth, three quarters, and between a sign and the seventh following, a whole aspect. If a planet stand in signs which in relation to its rising, are the 10th, 11th, 12th, 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th signs, its nature changes for the better: if in other signs for the worse. The Houses indicate severally, various parts of the body, future events as to life, property, disposition, the influences of particular planets and Zodiacal signs, etc. Some of the signs are male and others female alternately from Aries to Pisces. The first half of each male sign is unlucky, as under the influence of the sun which produces males, while the second half is lucky under the influence of the moon which produces females. Women are indicated by the seventh House which is under the influence of Saturn, as Abul Fazl rightly observes.

with food before him, hears the supplication of a poor man and bestows it all upon him, will be rich and liberal. But whosoever has been deprived of these three opportunities, will be empty-handed and poor in his present life. The cure is to fulfil scrupulously the duties of his state to whichsoever of the five classes he belongs, and also at *Kurukshetra*, in times of eclipse of the moon and sun, to bury in the ground a piece of gold, if it be but one *māsha*, as an oblation.

Works have been written on each of these four kinds, detailing the causes, symptoms, and remedies of these actions. I have but adduced a little as an exemplar of much by way of illustration.

SVARA

Is the extraordinary science of predicting events by observing the manner in which breath issues from the nostrils. The expiration of breath from the nostrils is in three ways. The first is when it comes principally from the left nostril, and this they ascribe to the influence of the moon. It is then called *Idā* (vital spirit), or *Chandra-nāḍi*.[24] The second is chiefly from the right nostril, and is called *Pingala* (sun, or fire) and *Surya-nādi*. The third is when the breath issues from the nostrils equally, which is styled *Sushumnā* and also *Sambhu-nādi*. This is attributed to the influence of *Mahādeva*. [P. 125]

Experts in this science distinguish the excess or even breathings by placing the thumb beneath the nostril. Two and a half *gharis* is the time usually allotted to the two former kinds. The third occupies the time taken to pronounce a long vowel (*guru*), that is, a prolated vowel, as in *mā*, thirty-six times. From the first *tithi* called *pariwā*[25] to the third *tithi*,

[24] *Nāri*, or properly, *Nādi*, signifies in Sanskrit any tubular organ of the body, vein, etc.

[25] A lunar day, or the thirtieth part of a whole lunation, the first of which is called *pariwā*.

the order of breathing is the *Chandra-nādi*, followed by the *Surya-nādi* for the same period, and, so on, alternately, to the end of the month. Some authorities regulate the order by weeks, allotting Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday to the *Surya-nādi*, and Monday, Wednesday and Friday to the *Chandra-nādi*: others, according to the sun's course through the Zodiacal signs, beginning with Aries for the *Surya-nādi* breathings, Taurus for *Chandra-nādi*, and so alternately through the signs to the close of the year. Others again take the retardation of the moon in the Zodiacal signs in the same manner. All are however agreed that irregularity in the prescribed order is productive of temporal misfortune. If the intermission continue for two or three days, quarrels will ensue; if for ten days, a misfortune will befall the wife; if for fifteen days, a severe illness will disturb the happiness of the house. Should it last for a month, the brother will die. If the *Surya-nādi* breathings are in excess for one day and night, the man will die after the expiration of a year. If this anomaly continues for two and three days at a time, he will live a year for every day after the close of the year, according to the number of days. But if it continue for one month, he will die in a month. If the excess of the *Chandra-nādi* be a day and night, the man will fall ill after expiration of the year, and in the same way, according to the number of days, after the close of the year, his sickness will continue. If the irregularity last for one month continuously, he will be ruined in estate. If the excess of *Sushumnā* continues for ten days, the man will die at the entry of the sun into Aries. If *Chandra-nādi* last this period, perturbation of mind and sickness will ensue. If *Chandra-nādi* continues in operation throughout sixteen days after the entry of the Sun into Aries, symptoms of sickness will supervene. When the Sun is in Scorpio, if *Chandra-nādi* continues in operation for two or five days, the man will die in eighteen years, but if the Sun be in Virgo, in fifteen years.

All are agreed that if at sun-rise, either *Surya-nādi* or *Chandra-nādi* will be operative, and the reverse of either at its setting, good fortune will result, otherwise a calamity will ensue, and if the *Chandra-nādi* breathing be reversed in four *gharis*, it is a sign of the occurrence of fortunate events. [P. 126]

According to the varied conditions of hours, days, Zodiacal signs, planetary movements, and manner of breathing in the three ways, divers events attended with joy or sorrow and other circumstances may be predicted. The *Surya-nādi* and *Chandra-nādi* are each five-fold, and each division is named after one of the five elements. In two *gharis* and a half, twenty *pals* are allotted to air; thirty *pals* to fire; forty *pals* to water; fifty *pals* to earth; and ten to ether.[26] Some however give five *pals* to ether, ten to air, fifteen to fire, twenty to water, and twenty-five to earth, which are altogether equal to a *ghari* and a quarter. When this revolution is completed, the recurring series begins with earth, followed by water, fire, air and ether. Some suppose one *ghari* to be allotted severally to the elements of earth, water, fire, air and ether, and each element is distinguished by the manner of the breathing. If it rise upwards, it appertains to the element of fire; if laterally and not beyond the measure of four fingers' breath, to that of air; if it descend, to that of water, its motion being sensible at a distance of twelve fingers. If the impulse be on a level with the nostril, neither upwards nor downwards, nor high nor low, and extending to a distance of eight fingers, it belongs to ether.

In what relates to the particular conditions affecting human actions, this science also furnishes information. Repose betokens the elemental influence of earth; love of sensual pleasures and interior coldness signifies that of water; anger and the conditions that dispose the good inclinations of men to evil are the result of the fiery influence; and that

[26] Two and a half *gharis*=60 minutes, and a *pal* is equal to 24 seconds.

of ether produces states of divine contemplation, and the emptying of the interior soul of extraneous affections.

They also erect a gnomon on a level surface of ground, and take the extent of its shadow according to determinate finger-measures, counting the length of one finger for Sunday, two for Monday, and so on, up to seven fingers for Saturday. To this they add twelve more and divide the whole into five parts. If no digit-index is left, it is ascribed to ether; if one, to air; if two, to fire; if three, to water; and if four, to earth.

Another practice is to insert the two thumbs in the orifices of the ears, and to close the mouth with the little and fourth fingers of each hand, while the middle fingers press each nostril, and the corners of the eyes are drawn down by the fore-fingers, and the glance is directed between the brows. A spherule then becomes visible. If it have a quadrangular shape, and as if liquescent, it appertains to the element of earth; if it be the shape of a half-moon, and incline to white and appear hard and cold, it is of water; if it be round, bright, hard and black, and variously spotted, it is thought to belong to the element of air; if triangular and luminous, to that of fire, and if no spherule be visible, it is the effect of ether.

Imparting instruction, donations, visiting religious teachers and guides, repairing to the presence of idols, entering a city or house, and other particulars of movement and change of place, and (according to one opinion), undertaking a journey into a foreign country (and in accordance with general custom), buying and selling, the antidotes to various poisons, the repelling of ominous stellar influences, conditions of friendship, culling medicinal plants and herbs in the woods, operations in alchemy, works relating to [127] *Yoga* and other duties of the same gracious character, are believed to be most salutary during the *Chandra-nādi* period; while entering the presence of kings, and undertaking war are best during the *Surya-nādi*. In the *Chandra-nādi* times, in battle, the enemy should be engaged from the left; during

the *Surya-nādi*, from the right. Bodily safety is generally ascribed as dependent on the particular side of the breathing. The conquest of a province and (according to one opinion) travelling in one's own country, eating, sexual intercourse, bathing, imprisonment, withdrawing from any work, obstructing another's affections, and the like inauspicious actions, are suitable to the *Surya-nādi*. In the *Sushumnā* period, no work is undertaken.

All works of an auspicious nature are undertaken under the influence of the elements of water and earth, while those that are to be durable are chosen with reference to the elements of fire and air. No good work is ascribable to ether. When proceeding to any place, that foot is first lifted on whichever side the breathing is greatest, and if a person meets a superior to whom reverence is due, or from whom he expects to receive a favour, he takes care in his movements to keep that personage on the side on which he himself breathes; but an evil-disposed person, or a creditor, and the like, should be kept on the non-respiratory side. They also say that upper and forward situations are dominated by *Chandra-nādi*, and those inferior and behind, by *Surya-nādi*, and in both cases the parties must continue in their several positions till the action is concluded.

ANSWERS TO INQUIRERS.

Should any one inquire whether a child about to be born, will be a boy or a girl, the person questioned must ascertain from which of his own nostrils the breathing is greater. If the questioner be on that side, he will gladden him with the news of a son; if not, he will reply that it will be a girl. If he breathes equally through both nostrils, there will be twins. If it should so happen that during the inquiry, he should breathe through one nostril more than another, he will predict the extinction of that life. Another opinion is that if the

questioner stand on the *Chandra-nādi* side, it will be a girl; if on the *Surya-nādi*, a boy, and if the breathing be of the kind *Sushumnā*, an hermaphrodite. Some say that the times referrible to the elements of earth and water, indicate a boy, and those of fire and air, a girl, and ether implies death. If the inquiries relate to matters concerning study, tuition, marriage, menial service or its employment, attendance on the great, and buying and selling, the element of water prognosticates speedy success; that of earth, more tardy; of air, the success will be small; of fire, gain followed by loss. Ether shows no benefit. If the inquiry be regarding rain, the elements of earth and water indicate that rain will fall, but in the latter there is great evidence of a plentiful supply to the crops. The element of air predicts clouds without rain; and fire, gentle showers. Regarding questions as to crops, water and earth show that they will yield the revenue, and in the latter case a full harvest; air indicates a moderate crop, and fire that it will be burnt up. No evidence of result is shown by ether. Should the inquiry be relative to sickness, and if the period be *Chandra-nādi*, and the questioner be on the *Surya-nādi* side, or *vice versa*, the sick person will die, but if he stand on the *Chandra-nādi* side, the patient will quickly recover. Should the question be made on the *Surya-nādi* side, the illness will be protracted, but recovery will follow. Others look to the manner of the breathing. If the question be put during an inspiration which is called living breath, it is a sign of life; but if during an expiration, which is styled lifeless breath, the patient will die; in all inquiries this rule is regarded. A man bitten by a snake or under demoniacal possession, or mauled by a hyæna[27] is accounted among sick persons. [P. 128]

Should the question be regarding invasion by a foreign

[27] That is, a mad hyæna, which only in that state is supposed to attack a man.

force: if the period be *Chandra-nādi*, and the questioner stand on that side, it indicates an affirmative; if he stand on the *Surya-nādi* side, a negative. Others say that if the times appertain to the elements of earth and water, no invasion will occur, but those of fire and air denote an advance. Ether gives no response. If the inquiries be concerning war and peace, *Chandra-nādi* implies the latter, and *Surya-nādi* the former. Some maintain that the earth-periods predict a severe engagement and that many will be wounded, while fire, air and ether point to losses on both sides. Water signifies a peace. If the question relate to the issue between the querist and his enemy, earth implies war, and that many will fall; fire predicts victory to the questioner; air defeat, and ether his death in the engagement; water indicates a coming peace. If information be sought regarding the result of hostilities between defenders of a country and foreign troops, *Chandra-nādi* denotes victory to the former, and *Surya-nādi* to the latter. Some are of opinion that if the questioner stand on the left, and the period be *Chandra-nādi*, if the letters of the name of the questioner be even, he will be successful: if he stand on the right, and it be *Surya-nādi*, and the number of the letters be odd, victory will rest with the latter. If both names have an equal number of letters, and the questioner be on the side of the breathing nostril, the former will have the advantage; if on the side of the non-breathing nostril, the latter.

If information is asked, regarding a person absent, the water-periods indicate his speedy arrival; earth, that he is settled where he is; air, that he has emigrated to another country, and fire implies his death. Ether reveals nothing. If the thoughts of the questioner refer to any subject of the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms, earth-periods imply the vegetable; water and air, the animal, and fire, the inorganic and mineral; the ether-periods point to the absence of these thoughts from the mind of the questioner.

Such is this strange account, of which let the foregoing suffice :—

AGAMA

is a doctrinal treatise on incantations relative to things that will produce advantage or repel hurt, increase knowledge and remedy diseases, augment wealth, destroy enemies, cement friendship, secure conquest and advance good government, and the like.

SAKUNA

or augury,[28] is the extraordinary art of predicting events from the motions of birds. Their song, their silence, their movements and repose, and indications of pleasure and sadness, and similar signs, discover the present and the future. There are many in this country who are skilled in this important science. One day, in a royal preserve, two *mainàs*[29] sat perched side by side chirping low together. His Majesty deigned to inquire the subject of their converse from an expert in this divination, who replied [129] that were he to reveal their confidence to his Majesty, he would not be believed. The male desired to pair while the female excused herself. It was not improbable that if the nest were searched stains of blood would be found. On examination being made, his words were found to be true. The sooth-sayers of Hindustan foretell future events chiefly by means of five methods, the stars, breathing from the nostrils, augury, incantations, and *kevala*,[30] which is divination by the throwing of dice, and it comprises various other kinds of prognostication.

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[28] *Augury* in Hastings, iv. 800.

[29] *Acridotheres tristis.* The word is *sār* in the Persian, a starling. The *Sturnus vulgaris*, or common starling, is the *teliyā mainā*.

[30] Abul Fazl spells this word carefully as *kyul*. But the Sanskrit word *kevala* has nothing to do with dice-casting. The word nearest to that sense is the Arabic *Ka'b*, meaning a cube or die, also *Ka'bt*. In Sanskrit the word *kevala* means spiritual liberation or pure unalloyed knowledge. [J. S.]

SAMUDRIKA

or Palmistry, predicts events from observation of the character of the members of the body and their movements, and from lines and marks, and the results are generally accurate.

GARUDA[31]

is a science treating of snakes, scorpions, and other venomous reptiles, the effects of whose injuries it averts. By reciting incantations and repeating the genealogical descent (of the person affected) and praising his ancestry, the animal is made to appear. An extraordinary circumstance is the following: They take an old snake of a particular kind, and after certain incantations they make it bite a Brāhman. When the poison works, the man becomes senseless, in which state he answers any questions put to him, and these prove correct. The Hindu sages believe that during the Kali cycle, nothing can be more true than these revelations of the unknown, and several works containing these answers are still extant.

INDRA-JALA

is the art of sorcery, of magical spells, and sleight of hand. The wonders performed by these means are beyond the power of expression.

[31] This is the name of the 17th Purāna relating to the birth of Garuda, the mythical bird of vulture, half-man, half-bird, on which Vishnu rides. He is the king of birds, descended from Kasyapa and Vinatā, a daughter of Daksha, and a great enemy of serpents; a hatred inherited from his mother, who had quarrelled with her co-wife Kadru, the mother of serpents. He is represented as having the head, wings, and talons of an eagle, and the body and limbs of a man, and has many names and epithets. According to the *Mahābhārata*, his parents gave him liberty to devour wicked men, but was recommended not to touch a Brāhman. Curiosity, or hunger, however, once prevailed, and he is said to have swallowed a Brāhman and his wife together; but his throat was so burnt in the act that he was glad to disgorge them. It is probably this circumstance which gave rise to the practice mentioned by Abul Fazl

RASA-VIDYA

or Alchemy, is the science of the fusing of mercury (*rasa*), gold, silver, copper, and the like. It is by this art that the elixir, or philosopher's stone, is produced.

RATNA-PARIKSHA

is the art of testing jewels and precious stones of various kinds, and treats of their production, properties, value, and kindred subjects.

KAMA-SASTRA

treats of the generation of the human race. [P. 130]

CHAPTER VII.

SAHITYA

or rhetorical composition, is a science comprising various kinds of knowledge. It sets forth the shades of signification in words, appropriateness of expression, and solecisms of language. They hold the Supreme Being to be its author. The meaning underlying a word is said to be four-fold :—(1). *Sakti* (*power* of a word), is denotation and its conventional relation to the thing designated. (2). *Lakshana* (indication)[1] communicates the applied meaning desired. (3). *Gauna,* (qualitative), illustrates figuratively the thing compared. (4). *Vyanjanā* (suggestion), is to say one thing and mean another which has no apparent applicatio.. As, for example, a woman sent her maid-servant with a message to call her husband who, when she entered his private apartment, used criminal familiarity with her and sent an excuse by her for his not returning. When she took back the message, from the pallor of her face

[1] This term is thus explained in the *Sāhitya Darpana*, by Visvanātha Kavirāja, to which work Abul Fazl is apparently indebted for his information. 'The power by which in such an expression as "the impetuous Kalinga," a word such as "Kalinga," incompatible with the epithet 'impetuous,' if taken in its own sense of a particular country on the Coromandel coast, causes one to think not of the country, but the men connected therewith . . . . this power communicated to it, other than that which belongs to it naturally, is called Indication. Of this element in the drama there are 6 kinds. The treatise classes a word according to the three-fold accident of its function, as Expressive, Indicative and Suggestive. The *expressed* meaning is termed *Vāchya*, conveyed to the understanding by the word's denotation (*abhidha*, literally, power or sense of a word) as a 'cow', or 'horse'; the *meaning indicated* is held to be conveyed by the word's indication, *lakshanā*, as above explained: the *meaning suggested* (*vyangya*), is conveyed by the word's Suggestion (*vyanjanā*). "Indication" has a further eight-fold subdivision, into pure (*suddha*), and qualitative (*gauna*), which latter Abul Fazl classes separately, though acknowledging, later on, its inclusion by some authors under the second head. c. p. 16 and ff. of Pramadā Dāsa Mitra's translation of the above treati .

and the obliteration of her marks of sandal-wood and collyrium, and of the colour (from her lips), the wife understood what had really occurred. Though much pained, she showed no signs of it in her speech, but said,—'You are speaking on untruth; you never went to fetch him, but you went to the banks of the stream and bathed, for the collyrium is no longer round your eyes nor the sandal-wood unguent on your person. By this delicate irony she discovered her knowledge of what had taken place, and her own distress of mind.[2]

Some consider the figurative sense (*gauna*), to belong to the second head, and they describe with pecular force and elaborate detail all that makes for literary ornament and grace of expression. It is held to be the highest form of dramatic poetry, of rhetorical art, and metrical composition.[3] This science also comprises the *Navarasa*, or the nine sentiments, which inspire universal interest. The first is *Sringāra-rasa* (the erotic passion), that is, the mutual affection of men and women, and all that relates to their union and separation. Secondly, *Hāsya-rasa*, mirth of various kinds. This is produced, they say, by variations in person, speech, action and dress. It is three-fold:—1. *Smita*, (smile), a slight alteration in cheek, eye and lip. (2). *Vihasita* (gentle laugh), in which the mouth is a little open. (3). *Apahasita*, laughter accompanied by sound of the voice.[4] [P. 131] Thirdly, *Karuna-rasa*, pity or regret, as at the loss of a friend or property. Fourthly, *Raudra*, anger. Fifthly, *Vira* (heroism), the admiration produced by acts of munificence, clemency and valour.

[2] This identical example occurs in the *Sāhitya Darpana*.

[3] This refers to Chapters IV and V on what is called "Suggestive poetry," which is regarded as its chief beauty. The Sanskrit term for this figurative style is *Dhvani*, and it is said by the author of the work of this name, "Like a beautiful woman with a single member ornamented, the sentence of a good poet shines with 'Suggestion' displayed by a single word."—*Sahitya Darpana*, p. 150.

[4] A fourth division is mentioned in the S. D., *viz.*, *Atihasita*, convulsion of laughter, where the limbs lose all control.

Sixthly *Bhayānaka*, terror. Seventhly, *Bibhatsa*, aversion. Eighthly, *Adbhuta*, wonder, as at the sight of any (extra-ordinary object. Ninthly, *Sānta* (quietism), the tranquillity that comes of knowledge and the indifference which regards friend and foe as alike. Of these they make various sub-divisions and illustrate them by delightful examples.[5]

The relations between the sexes are also considered in this branch of knowledge, and the passion of love amply discussed. In Irān and Turān, this affection chiefly subsists between men; in Hindustan and Hijāz, between men and women. Devotion to the female sex is the characteristic of the Arab, while the native of India includes both sexes alike in his regard.

The Hindus term a heroine (in dramatic poetry), *nāyiḳa*, and three kinds are named. (1). *Sviyā*, (own wife), a virtuous woman devoted to her husband: from modesty she looks neither to the right hand nor to the left, but only from the corner of her eyes so that her glance is rarely seen: her laugh does not pass beyond her lips and her teeth are not disclosed: she speaks seldom and never loudly: she rarely loses her temper, and if she be provoked to anger, it is restrained within her heart and does not appear in her eyes or manner. (2). *Parakiyā*, (belonging to another), is one who clandestinely carries on an intrigue with other than her husband. If a married woman she is called *Praudha;* a maiden, *Kanyakā*. Other classifications of this kind are carried to an indefinite extent. *Sāmānyā* (courtesan), is the property of none, and is concerned only in making money.

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[5] A tenth is sometimes added, *vātsalya*, paternal fondness; but according to others there are only eight *rasas*, the last two being omitted. These affections are supposed to lend to dramatic composition its relish and interest, and examples are culled from works that illustrate their force and beauty as for instance, Bhava-bhuti's drama of the *Vira-charita* exemplifies the *rasa* of heroism, the *Mahābhārata* that of quietism or tranquillity, etc. These various sentiments are discussed and evidenced by instances from dramatic poetry, in the *Sāhitya-darpana*.

Sviyā is classed under three heads:—(1). *Mugdhā*, (artless), one who from her childish age and inexperience goes[6] out-of-doors, and in whom youth begins to grow headstrong, and who may be to some extent conscious of her beauty or otherwise, and shrinks from the embraces of her husband. When she retires to sleep, she regards him furtively and pretends to slumber lest he should enter into conversation but from fear of him sleeps not. The age of such a one ranges from eight to twelve and at times to thirteen. (2). *Madhyā* (middling or adolescent) is one in whom modesty and love for her husband are combined in an equal degree. She may speak in anger [132] but never thus to her husband. Her age does not exceed thirty-two. (3). *Pragalbhā* (bold or mature) makes her love and address pleasing to her husband and captivates him by her experienced arts. The age of this kind extends to fifty-two years.

The last two are further subdivided into three classes. (1). *Dhirā* (constant). If her husband pay attention to another woman, though fired by jealousy, she becomes more assiduous in her devotion and service and by this means makes him ashamed of his conduct. (2). *Adhirā* (capricious). Such a one takes no notice of his infidelity and holds her peace, but she will address him cheerfully so as to cover him with confusion and say:—"It is strange that while you are wakeful, my eyes glance love and while you are drunk with wine, my heart is in agitation." (3). *Dhirā Adhirā*, is one who unites both these dispositions and sighs to show that she understands. Some add a conversation after the manner above indicated.

Sviyā is also of two kinds. (1). *Jyeshthā* (pre-eminent, eldest), is one who is preferred by her husband above all

[6] This appears to be an error. The Sāhitya Darpana says that she 'never goes out of the inner apartments, no longer laughs unconstrainedly, but practises every moment some bashful restraint. Little she speaks," etc. Verses, taken from the marriage of *Prabhāvati* by the author.

women. (2). *Kanisthā* (inferior, youngest) is one for whom her husband's affection is less strong.

Parakiyā is of five kinds. (1). *Guptā* (guarded) covers her conduct, and skilfully conceals her past indiscretions and her future designs, feigning plausible excuses. If for instance she has been scratched by her lover's nail, she will say "I cannot sleep in this room:—a cat chases a mouse, and in the scramble gives me this scratch." (2). *Vidagdhā* (adroit or artful). By her persuasive speech she acquires influence and her winning manners secure it. (3). *Lakshitā* (notorious), shows her affection openly and without fear. (4). *Kulatā* (unchaste), has many lovers and retains the affections of each without pecuniary considerations. (5) *Anusayānā* (regretting), is one who from timidity does not keep her assignation and is fearful lest her lover come and not find her.

They also class women under eight heads:—(1). *Proshitabhartrikā* is one *whose husband is abroad*, and she is distressed at his absence from her, or he is on the point of setting out and she is disquieted by her fears. Other opinions subdivide this, making nine classes. (2). *Khanditā* is one who is disconsolate at being *betrayed* by her husband or lover. [P. 133] (3). *Kalahāntaritā* is one *who has quarrelled* with her lover and is penitent and wishes to appease him. (4). *Vipra-labdhā* goes to an assignation but is *disappointed* at not finding her lover. (5). *Utkā*[1] is *disconsolate* at her lover's not coming, and seeks the cause thereof. (6). *Vāsakasajjā* is joyful at the coming of her lover, and is *dressed in her ornaments* to receive him. (7). *Svādhina-patikā*, (independent—having her own way), is a woman whose lover is obedient to her wishes. (8). *Abhisārikā*, is one who invites her lover, or herself *goes to* him.

Another classification of women is of three kinds:—(1). *Uttamā* (best), is one who is in love with her husband

[1] *Utkanthita* is the more correct term in the heroic drama for a woman who longs after her absent lover or husband.

though he show her no affection. (2). *Adhamā* (worst), opposite of the above. (3). *Madhyamā* (intermediate), is sometimes united in harmony and affection with her husband and at times is unfriendly and estranged.

A further division is four-fold:—(1). *Padmini*, is incomparable for her beauty and good disposition, and is tall of stature. Her limbs are perfectly proportioned; her voice soft, her speech gracious though reserved, and her breath fragrant as the rose. She is chaste and obedient to her husband. (2). *Chitrini*, is somewhat inferior to the former; is neither stout nor thin, has a slender waist and a full bust. (3). *Sankhini*, is fat and short, constantly quarrelling with her husband and has a violent temper. (4). *Hastini*, is repulsive in appearance and manners.

All these are treated at length, with the particular classes of men that are suited to each. *Māna* signifies indignation in a woman at misconduct on the part of her husband. It is of four kinds:—(1). *Laghu*, (trifling), when she gives herself airs at the least caress or endearment of her husband or lover. (2). *Madhya* (middling), is when she is estranged by some slight provocation. (3). *Guru* (weighty), when after much exertion [entreaty] on his part, [P. 134] she lays aside her wayward humour. (4). *Rasābhasa* (simulated sentiment), is when she refuses reconciliation.

The lover or hero (in a drama) is called *Nāyaka*. These also are named suitably to the heroines, but are restricted to three:—(1). *Pati* (lord or husband), chooses in wedlock only a Hindu woman. (2). *Upapati* (paramour). (3). *Vaishayika*, a sensualist.

Each of these is subdivided into four kinds:—(1). *Anukula*, (faithful), is attached to one woman only. (2). *Dakshina* (impartial), pays his addresses to many, and adroitly secures the favours of all. (3). *Dhrishta*, (cool or impudent), is one whom the heroine in her indignation repels while he caresses and flatters her the more. (4). *Satha*,

(perfidious), by cunning and simulating affection wins her heart (though attached to another).[8]

In the treatment of love-episodes, the greatest art is shown in the situations of the hero and heroine and the dramas abound with the most felicitous passages.

Sakhi is the term for the usual female confidante on whose faithful service the heroine relies. Her advice and devotion are of the greatest comfort. She jests and amuses her mistress and never fails her in the time of need. She arranges her ornaments and assists in tiring her. By her persuasive representations she removes the misunderstandings between husband and wife and effects a reconciliation. She is ever ready with her counsel and good offices, and is entrusted with messages. Such a female is called *duti;* if a man, *duta*. She is conversant with all the mysteries of union and separation and is an expert in matters connected with love and rivalry.

In this art the manners and bearing of the hero and the heroine are set forth with much variety of exposition, and illustrated by delightful examples. The works on this subject should be consulted by those who are interested in its study.

SANGITA

is the art of singing, accompanied by music and dancing. The subject is treated in seven chapters (*adhyāyas*).

THE FIRST is *Svarādhyāya*, on musical tone which is of two kinds. [135] (1). *Anāhata*, sound produced without cause (*i.e.*, otherwise than by percussion). This is considered to be one and eternal. If a man close both orifices of his

[8] These four divisions are subdivided into sixteen. The cool or impudent lover is thus amusingly exemplified in the *Sāhitya Darpana* "Perceiving her countenance crimson with passion, I went near intending to kiss her. She spurned me with her foot; but having humbly caught hold of it, I burst out laughing. O my friend, the anger of the fair-browed one, shedding tears, from her then being unable to do anything, prolongs, whenever thought of, the amusement of my mind." p. 59.

ears with his fingers, he will be conscious of a resonance, and this is signified by the above term. They believe this to proceed from *Brahmā*, and when the consciousness of it becomes habitual and it is heard without mediate aid, final liberation (*mukti*) is then attained. (2). *Ahata*, sound produced by a cause, which, like speech, is accounted a quality of air and is produced by percussion and protrusion. They say that in each of the three locations of the abdomen, the throat, and the head, twenty-two fibres or chords have been divinely created. The primary movement of air is from the navel, and the volume of sound produced depends upon the strength or softness of the initial force exerted.[9]

[9] The doctrine of the vital airs has already preceded in the account of the schools of Hindu philosophy. The abdomen is supposed to be the seat of the fire which keeps up the heat of the body, and this fire is surrounded and retained in place by the airs called *Samāna*. In the Pātanjala system, by the subdual of this air, the perfected Yogin appears illumined by the radiance of the flame which then escapes from the body. The same internal heat plays an important part in the production of the voice. According to Rājah Sir Sourindro Mohun Tagore, in his pamphlet, *The Twenty-two Musical Srutis of the Hindus*, when the animal soul wishes to speak, the mind acts on the abdominal fire which mixes with the vital air pervading the ligament known as *Brahma Granthi*, below the navel. This vital air thus expands, causing in the navel the *ati sukshma nāda*, or the very minute sound ; in the chest, the *sukshma* or the minute ; in the throat, the *pushta*, or the developed ; in the head, the *apushta*, or suppressed ; and in the mouth, the *kritrima*, or artificial. Connected with or based upon these chords, are the twenty-two *srutis*, or particles of sound sensible to the ear, which are essential to the formation of the Hindu *Saptaka*, or heptachord.

It is strange that, though the *srutis* form the basis of Hindu Music, Abul Fazl does not mention the term nor allude to them except by implication as vocal chords in the human frame.

The *Srutis* are personified as Nymphs, and have each their name, though varying in different writers. The 21 *murchhanās*, which also play an important part in Hindu Music, are omitted by Abul Fazl.

Sangita Ratnakāra, (Ed. Vedantavāgisa and Sāradā Prasāda Ghosha, p. 61). These *Murchhanās* and not the *rāgas* may be said to correspond to the Greek—modes of the Æolian, Lydian, Ionic, Doric or Phrygian, so named according to the character of the sentiments they inspired. The effect of the different *murchhanās* when played on the *sitāra* is very striking.

They consider that the fifth, sixth, eighteenth and nineteenth chords are mute and the remaining eighteen are classed under the seven primary notes in the following order:—

(1). *Shadja*,[10] is taken from the note of the peacock (and extends to the fourth chord). (2). *Rishabha*, is taken from the note of the *Papiha* (Coccystes Melanoleucos), and beginning after the fourth chord (omitting the fifth and sixth), extends from the seventh to the tenth. (3). *Gāndhāra*, is from the bleating of a he-goat and its compass extends from the ninth to the thirteenth. (4). *Madhyama*, resembles the cry of the Coolen Crane[11] (*Ardea Sibirica*), and its compass is from the thirteenth to the sixteenth. (5). *Panchama*, is taken from the note of the *Ka'il* (*Cuculus Indicus*), and is attuned on the seventeenth. (6). *Dhaivata*, is like the croak of the frog, and its compass extends from the twentieth[12] to the twenty-second. (7). *Nishāda* is taken from the sound of the elephant and its compass is from the twenty-second to the third of the next series (of twenty-two). Each heptachord occurs successively in each series, and in the third, *Nishāda*, cannot, of course, go beyond the twenty-second chord.

A system of intervals in which the whole seven notes of the gamut are employed, is termed *Sampurna*. If there be only six, the fundamental must be one of them, and it is styled *Shādava;* if five, *Audava*, the fundamental being of necessity one of them. None has fewer than these, but the *tāna* which is a separate intonation may consist of two.[13]

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[10] Pronounced *Sharja*. It means literally six-born, *i.e.*, the fundamental from which the other six notes arise.

[11] According to the *Sangita Darpana* the note is that of the *Krauncha*, or heron (*Arden Jaculator*).

[12] The text has eight, which must be an error for twenty. The seven notes of the scale are represented by the seven initial syllables of their names, after the manner of Guido's notation, thus: Sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, corresponding to our,—

D. E. F. G. A. B. C.

and the *S'rutis* are allotted to the several notes, as follows: to *Sa*, *ma* and *pa*, four; to *ri* and *dha*, three; to *ga* and *ni*, two.

[13] By the term *naghma* which I have rendered system of intervals, a *murchhanā* must be meant. Each *murchhanā* is said to

THE SECOND is *Rāga-vivekādhyāya*, on divers musical compositions and their variations.[14]

Their origin is ascribed to *Mahādeva* and (his wife) *Pārvati*. The first-mentioned had five mouths, from each of which issued a melody in the following order :—

(1). *Sri-rāga*. (2). *Vasanta*. (3). *Bhairava*. (4). *Panchama*. (5). *Megah*. (6). *Nata-Narāyana* was produced by *Pārvati*.

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be *sampurna*, or complete, when all seven notes are employed, and *asampurna* when defective. When wanting one it is called *Shādava* and wanting two Audava. In the *murchhanās of Sharja*, *a, ri, pa, ni*, and in those of *Madhyama, sa, ri, ga*, used to be omitted one at a time, to make *Shadavi Murchhanās* which were 49 in number, *viz.*, 28 of Sharja and 21 of Madhyama. The *Audavi murchhanās* of *Sharja* were formed by omitting *sa, pa*, or *ri, pa*, or *ga, ni*, and were therefore 21. The omission of *ri*, and *dha*, at one time, and at another of *ga* and *ni*, formed the twelve *Audavi murchhanās* of Madhyama. The total number of these latter is therefore 35 in the two *grāmas* which with the 49 *shādavis* make 84 *asampurna murchhanās* which were called *tānas* by some authors. The various combinations of the different notes in a *murchhanā*, are called *tānas*, each, from seven notes to one, having a separate name. The aggregate combinations of all these by a process of simple arithmetic show a total of 13,699.

[14] So I render "maqam" and "shubah" by which Abul Fazl signifies *rāgas* and *rāginis*. Willard and Carey dispute the usual translation of *rāga* by *mode*, and Sir S. M. Tagore confirms their dissent by his own ; he says there is no corresponding term in English for *rāga*. From an able article in the *Cal. Rev.*, CXXXVII. of 1879, by Sārada Prasāda Ghosha, the learned co-editor of the Sangita Ratnakāra, to which I am already indebted for the substance of this information on the *murchhanās* and *tānas*, I borrow the following explanation of the *rāga*. It is defined as a musical composition consisting of not less than five notes of a *Murchhanā* (mark his term) in accordance with certain rules with a view to a particular æsthetic effect. The chief rules are that a note is assumed with which the Rāga begins. This is called *graha* ; another with which it must invariably end. called *nyāsa* ; a third, which is the tonic or predominant. repeated oftener than the others, and perhaps more noticeable also in the *time*, and called *ansa* or *bādi* : a fourth, which is 9 or 13 *srutis* above or below the *bādi*, used almost as frequently and termed *sambādi*. A *rāga* differs from another consisting of notes of a different *murchhanā*, when a *bādi, sambādi* or *graha*, etc., in the one is not the same in the other. Other distinctions and subtleties of interchange and mutilations of the scale produce countless varieties of the *rāga*. It will be thus seen that the *rāga* depends chiefly on its *murchhanā* which can produce only *rāgas* in a certain setting, the change of the *murchhanā*, *bādi* and *sambādi* altering the class of the *rāga*.

Each of these six modes is called in Sanskrit *Rāga*, and they are reckoned the primary orders of sound. Each of them has numerous variations.

The *Sri-rāga* has the whole seven notes (*sampurna*) of the gamut. In this, *Rishabha* has a compass to the eighth chord, *Gandhāra* to the tenth, *Madhyama* to the thirteenth, and *Dhaivata* to the twenty-first: *Nishāda* is allotted but one. And in like manner other changes occur throughout all the modifications.

1. VARIATIONS OF SRI-RAGA:—(1). *Mālavi*. (2). *Tirovani*.[15] (3). *Gauri*. (4). *Kedāri*. (5). *Madhu-mādhavi*. (6). *Vihāri*.

2. VARIATIONS OF VASANTA:—(1). *Desi*. (2). *Devagiri*. (3). *Vairāti*. (4). *Todi*. (5). *Lālitā*. (6). *Hindoli*.

3. VARIATIONS OF BHAIRAVA:—(1). *Madhya-mādi*. (2). *Bhairavi*. [137] (3). *Bāngah*. (4). *Varātaka*. (5). *Sindavi*. (6). *Punarjneyā*.[16]

4. VARIATIONS OF PANCHAMA:—(1). *Vibhāsa*. (2). *Bhupāli*. (3). *Kānarā*. (4). *Badhansikā*. (5). *Malasri*. (6). *Padhamanjari*.

5. VARIATIONS OF MEGHA:—(1). *Malār*. (2). *Sorathi* (3). *Asāvari*. (4). *Kaisuki*. (5). *Gāndhāri*. (6). *Harsingāri*.

6. VARIATIONS OF NATA NARAYANA:—(1). *Kāmodi*. (2). *Kalyān*. (3). *Ahiri*. (4). *Suddhanāta*. (5). *Sālak*. (6). *Nat-Hamira*.

Some allow only five variations to each mode and numerous other differences occur. Others in place of *Vasanta*,

[15] I take the following variants from the *Sangita Darpana*,—*Trivanā*, *Kedārā*, and *Pahāri*. Many of the terms given by Abul Fazl below, also differ from the names in the *Sāhitya Darpana*.

[16] This is a blunder through ignorance of Sanskrit from which Abul Fazl's pandits should have saved him. This list is taken from *Hanumān* who gives but five *Raginis* in the exact order of the names in Abul Fazl and concludes the fifth in the S. D., with the *sloka* पुनर् ज्ञेया भैरवस्य वरांगना *i.e.*, "*and* (Sindavi, etc.) *are to be understood* as the beautiful wives of Bhairava". The words in italics have been mistaken by Abul Fazl for the name of a *Rāgini*.

Panchama and *Megha*, substitute *Mālakausika*, *Hindola* and *Dipaka*, and make five instead of six variations to each, with a few other discrepancies of less importance. [138] Others again, in place of the second, third, fourth and fifth modes, have *Suddha-bhairava*, *Hindola*, *Desakāra* and *Suddha-nāta*.

Songs are of two kinds. The first is called *Mārga* or the lofty style as chanted by the gods and great Rishis, which is in every country the same, and held in great veneration. The masters of this style are numerous in the Dekhan,[17] and the six modes abovementioned with numerous variations of which the following are examples, are held by them to appertain to it.

(1). *Surya-prakāsa*. (2). *Pancha-tālesvara*. (3). *Sarvatobhadra*. (4). *Chandra-prakāsa*. (5). *Rāga-kadamba*. (6). *Jhumara*. (7). *Svaravartani*.

The second kind is called *Desi* or applicable to the special locality, like the singing of the *Dhrupad* in Agra, Gwalior, Bāri and the adjacent country. When Mān Singh[18] (Tonwar) ruled as Rājā of Gwalior, with the assistance of *Nāyak Bakshu*, *Macchu*, and *Bhanu*, who were the most distinguished musicians of their day, he introduced a popular style of melody which was approved even by the most refined

[17] According to Capt. Day (*The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India*, Chap. VIII), from early times Tanjore has been the chief seat of Music in Southern India, and most of the chief Karnātik musicians have either lived there or were educated in the Tanjore School.

[18] See p. 611 n. Vol. I. The fame of the Gwalior School of Music dates from the reign of this prince. Bakshu continued at the court of Bikramājit, the son of Mān Singh, and after his death entered the service of Rājā Kirat of Kālinjar, whence he was invited to the court of Gujarāt. Bayley in his *History of Gujarāt*, speaks of a minstrel called *Bacchu* attached to Sultān Bahādur's court, who was taken before Humāyun on the capture of Mandu in 1535. The Emperor had given orders for a general massacre, but being told that this musician had not his equal in Hindustan, he was directed to sing and so charmed the royal ear, that he was given a dress of honour and attached to the court. He subsequently fled to Sultān Bahādur who was so rejoiced at his return that he declared his every wish fulfilled and sorrow banished from his heart.

taste. On his death, *Baḳshu* and *Machhu* passed into the service of Sultān Mahmud of Gujarāt where his new style came into universal favour.

The *Dhurpad*[19] (Dhruva-pada) consists of four rhythmical lines without any definite prosodial length of words or syllables. It treats of the fascinations of love and its wondrous effects upon the heart. In the Dekhan these songs are expressed in their language by the term *Chind*, and consist of three or four lines, and are chiefly laudatory. In the Tilanga and Carnatic [P. 139] dialects they are called *Dhruva*, and their subject is erotic. Those of Bengal are called *Bangala*, and those of Jounpur, *Chutḳala*, while the songs of Delhi are called *ḳaul* and *tarāna*. These last were introduced by *Amir Khusaru*, of Delhi, in concert with *Sāmit* and *Tatār*, and by combining the several styles of Persia and India, form a delightful variety. The songs of Mathura are called *Bishn-pad*, (Vishnu-pada) consisting of four, six and eight lines, sung in honour of Vishnu. Those of Sind are styled *Kāmi* and are amatory. Those in the dialect of *Tirhut* are called *Lahchāri*, and are the composition of *Biddyā-pat*, and in character highly erotic. In Lahor and the adjacent parts, they are called *Chhand;* those of Gujarāt, *Jaḳri.*[20]

[19] Willard calls the *Dhurpad* the heroic song of Hindustan, the subject being frequently the recital of the memorable actions of their heroes, and also treating of love and even of trifling and frivolous topics. Its origin he ascribes to Rājā Mān Singh whom he calls the father of *Dhurpad* singers. *Chind* in the text I suspect to be an error for *Chhand*, (Sansk. *Chhandas*) a sacred hymn and also a musical measures ; *Dhruva* signifies the introductory stanza or recurring verse of a poem or song repeated as a refrain. *Chutḳala* is a jest or pleasantry and these songs resemble probably the ancient Fescennine verses designed to catch the coarse and indelicate humour of the mob. The *Bishan-pad* according to Willard, was introduced by the blind (*sur*) poet and musician *Sur Das*. His name occurs in Blochmann's list, p. 617, I. Of Sāmit and Tatār I find no mention. Some of these singers came from Mashhad, Tabriz, Kashmir, and from beyond the Oxus.

[20] By Wiliard, *Zikri*, a much more probable name, as they are on the subject of morality. This class of religious song was introduced into Hindustan by *Qazi Mahmud*. V. Willard's treatise on *The Music of Hindustan*

The war songs and heroic chants called *Karkha*, they term *Sādara*, and these consist also of four, six, and eight lines, and are sung in various dialects.

Besides these that have been named, there are numerous other modes, amongst which are the following:—

Sārang; Purbi; Dhanāsri; Rāmkali; Kurāi, (which His Majesty has styled *Sughrāi*);[21] *Suha; Desakāla* and *Desākha*.

THE THIRD is called *Prakirnādhyāya* or a chapter of miscellaneous rules and treats of *Alāpa*,[22] which is of two kinds. (1). *Rāgālapa*, the development of the *rāga*, commonly termed (in Persian) *adā* and *tasarruf*, and (2). *Rupālāpa*: which comprises the metrical setting of the words to the air and their vocal expression. [P. 140]

THE FOURTH, or *Prabandhādhyāya*, is on the art of composing a rhythmic measure (*gita*)[23] to vocal music. It consists of six members, *viz.* (1). *Svara*, (notes as *sa, ri*, &c., taken at their proper pitch). (2). *Viruda*, panegyric. (3). *Pada*, name of its object. (4). *Tenā*, a cadence of notes on a symbolic standard, as *tena, tenā*, and the modulation of the lines. (5). *Pāta*, the continuous imitation of sounds (proceeding from percussion instruments) as *tena, tenā, mānā*, &c., from three letters to twenty, in a specific order as a supplementary guiding measure. (6). *Tāla*, rhythm expressed by beat. If the

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[21] Probably to change the ominous name, *Kurāi*, signifying stocks for the feet, and *Sughrāi*, beauty or grace.

[22] Sir S. M. Tagore explains in his "*Six Principal Rāgas*," that it is a practice with singers, before commencing a song to develop the character of the *rāga* by means of *gamakas*, and *tānas*. This is called *alāpa* in which the notes peculiar to the *rāga* are sung as a prelude to show its character.

[23] *Pada* technically is a sentence formed of words having a meaning. *Tena*, meaningless words used by singers to exhibit the air alone, unaccompanied by words. The six members of the *Gita* may be thus briefly exemplified:—

1st (*Svara*), *sa, ga, ri, sa*.
2nd (*Viruda*), Thou art my God.
3rd (*Pada*), I look to thee.
4th (*Tena*), Tena, na, te, na.
5th (*Pāta*), Dha Dhin, Kath, Thege.
6th (*Tāla*), beats by hand at equal intervals.

whole six members be present, the composition (*prabandha*) is called *medini*;[24] if one less, it is termed *ānandini*; if two less, *dipani*; if three less, *bhāvani*, and if four less, *tārāvali*; but with only two it does not (commonly) occur.

These four *adhyāyas* treat of the various refinements of melody.

THE FIFTH is *Tālādhyāya*, on the nature and quantity of the musical beats.

THE SIXTH is *Vādyādhyāya*, on the various musical instruments. These are of four kinds.

(1). *Tata*, stringed instruments. (2). *Vitata*, instruments over which skin is stretched. (3). *Ghana*, all that gives resonance by the concussion of two solid bodies. (4). *Sushira*, wind instruments.

THE FIRST KIND, OR STRINGED INSTRUMENTS.

The *Yantra*[25] is formed of a hollow neck of wood a yard in length, at each end of which are attached the halves of two gourds. Above the neck are sixteen frets over which are strung five steel wires fastened securely at both ends. The low and high notes and their variations are produced by the disposition of the frets.

The *Vinā* (Hindi *Bin*) resembles the *Yantra*, but has three strings.

The *Kinnar* resembles the *Vina*, but with a longer finger-board and has three gourds and two wires.[26]

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[24] Sir S. M. Tagore makes *tāla* synonymous with *chhandas*, or metre, and guiding its movement. The beat conforms to the variety of the metre, upon the rhythmic feet of which is based, as with the Greeks, their musical measure.

[25] *Yantra* (Hindi Jantra) signifies an instrument of any kind. I do not anywhere find mention of a particular musical instrument under this name.

[26] A coloured drawing of this instrument, as well as of the *Vinā* and most of those mentioned in the text, will be found in Capt. Day's superb volume, *Music of Southern India*. The plates, besides their utility as illustrations, are artistically beautiful and a description of the instrument accompanies each.

The *Sar-vinā* is also like the *Vinā* but without frets.

[141] The *Amriti* has the finger-board shorter than the *Sar-vinā*, and a small gourd below the upper side, and one steel wire upon which all the scales may be played.

The *Rabāb*[27] has six strings of gut, but some have twelve and others eighteen.

The *sarmandal*[28] is like the *Kānun*. It has twenty-one strings, some of steel, some of brass, and some of gut.

The *Sārangi* is smaller than the *Rabāb* and is played like the *Ghichak*.[29]

The *Pināk*, called also *Sur-bitāna*, is of wood about the length of a bow and slightly bent. A string of gut is fastened to it and a hollow cup inverted, is attached at either end. It is played like the *Ghichak*, but in the left hand a small gourd is held which is used in playing.

The *Adhati* has one gourd and two wires.

The *Kingara* resembles the *Vinā*, but has two strings of gut and smaller gourds.

The Second Kind of Instruments.

The *Pakhāwaj*[30] is made of a thick shell of wood shaped like a myrobolan and hollow. It is over a yard in length and if clasped round the middle, the fingers of the two hands will meet. The ends are a little larger in circumference than the

[27] This name, if not the instrument, is of Arabian origin. Specimens of the *Rabāb*, as well as of the *kānun*, the lute and other instruments are given in Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, Chap. XVIII.

[28] Capt. Day writes the name *Svara-Māndala*, and calls it the *Kānun* or Indian Dulcimer, the strings of brass and steel, and occasionally gut, and played with two plectra worn on the finger-tips.

[29] This is a kind of Persian lute. A specimen of the *Sārangi*, or fiddle, will be found in Day.

[30] One of Capt. Day's plates represents this drum under the name of the *Mridang* by which it is best known in Southern India. The two heads are tuned to the tonic, and fourth or fifth. The centre of the smaller head is coated with a composition of resin, oil, and wax and an embroidered cloth is commonly stretched over the upper side of the shell as an ornament. It is beaten by the hands, finger-tips and wrists, and is well enough known throughout India.

mouth of a pitcher and are covered with skin. It is furnishec with leather braces which are strained, as in the *nakāra* or kettle-drum, and four pieces of wood, under a span in length, are inserted (between the shell and the braces) on the left side and serve to tune the instrument.

The *Awaj* is made of a hollow piece of wood, and might be described as two kettle-drums joined at the reverse ends and their heads covered with skin and braced with thongs.

The *Duhul*[31] (drum) is well-known.

The *Dhadda* is like the *Duhul* but very small.

The *Ardhāwaj* is half the size of the *Awaj*.

The *Daf*, or tambourine, is well-known.[32]

The *Khanjari* is a tambourine smaller than the *Daf*, but with cymbals, and its surface is about the size of a pitcher.[33]

The Third Kind of Instruments.

The *Tāla* is a pair of brass cymbals like cups with broad mouths.

The *Kath Tāla*, or castanets, are small and fish-shaped. The set consists of four pieces, of wood or stone.

The Fourth Kind of Instruments.

[142] The *Shahnā*,[34] called in Persian *Surnā*.

[31] This is the Persian equivalent of the ordinary Dhol of Hindustan.

[32] Capt. Day describes it as an octagonal frame of wood, about 6 inches deep and 3 feet in diameter, covered on one side with skin and strained by means of a network of thin leather thongs. It is struck with the fingers of the right hand, and a thin switch held perpendicularly over it by the fingers of the left is made to strike the instrument at intervals, according to the time. It has no cymbals.

[33] It is a wooden hoop 8 or 9 inches in diameter and 3 or 4 inches deep, bored out of the solid. In the hoop are three or four slits containing pieces of metal strung together which clash as the tambourine is shaken.

[34] They are both Persian words, the *Shahnā*, or *Shahnāi*, being literally the king-pipe, a kind of clarion or oboe. The word *Surna* is also written as *Surnāi*.

The *Mashk*, or bagpipe, is composed of two reeds perforated according to rule and attached (to the bag). It is called in Persian *Nai-ambān*.

The *Murli* is a kind of flute.

The *Upang* is a hollow reed a yard long, the upper part of which has a hole in the centre in which a reed is inserted.

THE SEVENTH is *Nrityādhyāya*, or the art of dancing.

On the Classes of Singers.

Having cursorily reviewed the subject of vocal and instrumental music, I turn to a brief mention of their musicians.

The chanters of the ancient hymns which were everywhere the same, were called *Vaikāras*, and their teachers were styled *Sahakāras*. The *Kalāants*, or more commonly *Kalāvants* or bards, are well known, and sing the *Dhurpad*.

The *Dhādhis* are the Punjabi singers who play upon the *Dhadda* and the *Kingara*. They chiefly chant the praises of heroes on the field of battle and lend fresh spirit to the fight. The *Kawwālis*[36] are of this class, but sing mostly after the Delhi and Jounpur style, and Persian verses in the same manner.

The *Hurkiyah* men play upon the *Huruk*, which is also called *Awaj*, and the women the *Tāla*, and they also sing. Formerly they chanted the *Karkha*, but nowadays only the *Dhurpad*, and the like. Many of the women add great beauty to their musical accomplishments.

The *Dafzan*, or tambourine player. The *Dhādhi* women chiefly play on the *Daf* and the *Duhul*, and sing the *Dhurpad*

[35] The smaller of the two pipes is used to inflate the bag which is made of the skin of a kid. It is used merely as a drone ; the holes in the pipe are wholly or partially stopped with wax to tune the instrument to pitch. The drone is of cane, mounted in a stock of the same material which contains the reed. The whole reed is in one piece. Black wax is used to make the instrument wind-tight. It is also called *sruti-upanga*. Day's *Music of Southern India*, Plate XVI.

[36] The professional chanters and story-tellers.

and the *Sohlā* on occasions of nuptial and birthday festivities in a very accomplished manner. Formerly they appeared only before assemblies of women but now before audiences of men.

The *Sezdah-tāli*. The men of this class have large drums, and the women, while they sing, play upon thirteen pairs of *tālas* at once, two being on each wrist, two on the joint of each elbow, two on the junction of the shoulder blades, and two on each shoulder, one on the breast and two on the fingers of each hand. They are mostly from Gujarāt and Mālwah. [P. 143]

The *Natwas* exhibit some graceful dancing, and introduce various styles to which they sing. They play upon the *Pakhāwaj*, the *Rabāb* and the *Tāla*.

The *Kirtaniya* are Brāhmans, whose instruments are such as were in use among the ancients. They dress up smooth-faced boys as women and make them perform, singing the praises of Krishna and reciting his acts.

The *Bhagatiya* have songs similar to the above, but they dress up in various disguises and exhibit extraordinary mimicry. They perform at night.

The *Bhanvayya* resemble the last-named, but they exhibit both by night and day. Sitting and standing in the compass of a copper dish called in Hindi, *thāli*, they sing in various modes and go through wonderful performances.

The *Bhānd* play the *Duhul* and *Tāla* and sing and mimic men and animals.

The *Kanjari*: The men of this class play the *Pakhāwaj*, the *Rabāb* and the *Tāla*, while the women sing and dance. His Majesty calls them *Kanchanis*.

The *Nats* are rope-dancers, and perform wonderful acrobatic feats. They play on the *Tāla* and *Duhul*.

The *Bahu-rupi* exhibit their mimicry by day: youths disguise themselves as old men so successfully that they impose upon the most acute observers.

The *Bāzigar* performs wonderful feats of legerdemain and by his dexterous conjuring deceives the eye. For instance, one will carry an enormous stone on his back, or they will appear to cut a man into pieces and then restore him to his natural state.

Their extraordinary performances are beyond description and each of them affects a special style of vocal accompaniment.

[144] *The Akhārā*

is an entertainment held at night by the nobles of this country, some of whose (female) domestic servants are taught to sing and play. Four pretty women lead off a dance, and some graceful movements are executed. Four others are employed to sing, while four more accompany them with cymbals: two others play the *pakhāwaj*, two the *upang*, while the Dekhan *rabāb*, the *vinā* and the *yantra*, are each taken by one player. Besides the usual lamps of the entertainment, two women holding lamps stand near the circle of performers. Some employ more. It is more common for a band of these *natwās* to be retained in service who teach the young slave-girls to perform. Occasionally they instruct their own girls and take them to the nobles and profit largely by the commerce.

His Majesty has a considerable knowledge of the principles explained in the *Sangita* and other works, and what serves as an occasion to induce a lethargic sleep in other mortals, becomes to him a source of exceeding vigilance.

Gaja Sāstra

is the knowledge of elephants and all that concerns their various peculiarities, their care and health and the causes and symptoms of sickness and its remedies.

Salihotra,

or veterinary surgery, is the knowledge of all that appertains to the horse and its treatment.

Vāstuka

is the science of architecture and its characteristics.

Supa

treats of the arts of cookery and the properties of food.

Rājaniti

is the science of state-craft. As it behoves a monarch in the governance [P. 145] of the interior spirit, to avoid the evil results of desire and anger (Sanskrit, *Kāma* and *Krodha*), similarly the administration of temporal affairs is guided by observance of the like conduct. The principal occasions of unruliness of desires which cause the downfall of princes, are said to be ten:—(1) The pursuit of game. (2) Dicing. (3) Sleep. (4) Censoriousness. (5) Intercourse with women. (6) Singing songs.[37] (7) Dancing. (8) The society of musicians. (9) Wine. (10) Solitude.

The chief sources of the calamities [*i.e.*, vices born] of anger are:—(1) Confiscation of property. (2) Ungraciousness in acknowledgment of benefits. (3) Betraying a secret. (4) Unmindfulness of the service of dependants. (5) Abusive language. (6) Unjust suspicion. (7) Taking life without due deliberation, and the like. (8) Publishing the faults of others.

It is incumbent on monarchs to live free from the baneful consequences of desire and anger and not to sully their dignity

[37] I am not sure of this interpretation of *naqsh guftan*. From the context, the meaning I have given is the most appropriate, and Vüller admits this signification of *naqsh* in his lexicon.

This section has been taken from Manu's *Institutes*, 7th canto verses 47 *et seq*, where we have as the 8th and 10th of the vices born of desire,—"playing on musical instruments" and "sauntering or aimless wandering" in the places of the two mentioned above by Jarrett. The sixth in the Sanskrit original is really "singing". [J. Sarkar.]

with these eighteen sources of crime. If they are unable to avoid them altogether, they should never transgress due measure in their regard. They say that a prince should be God-fearing, circumspect and just, compassionate and bountiful, recognising virtue and the distinctions of rank and merit. He should be courteous in speech, kindly in aspect and condescending in his manner. He should be ever ambitious of extending his dominions, and should protect his subjects from the exactions of revenue-officers, from thieves, robbers and other evil-doers. He should proportion the punishment to the offence and be firm of purpose and yet clement. His intelligencers should be appointed from among men of trust and sagacity. He should never despise his enemy nor be remiss in vigilance nor be proud of his wealth and power. He should not admit to his court venal and corrupt designers. A king resembles a gardener and should carry out, in regard to his subjects, the course pursued in the care of his garden by the other, who puts away thorns and weeds and keeps his flower-beds in good order, allowing no depredations from without. In the same way a prince should transfer to the frontier of his dominions the turbulence of the seditious, and free the courts of his palace from their machinations, and allow no other evil designers to enter them. The gardener, likewise, from time to time, prunes the redundancy of leaf and branch on his trees, so the king should isolate from each other the more powerful nobles whose friends and dependants are dangerously numerous. The gardener also invigorates his weak saplings with water, and the king should similarly sustain with beneficence his impoverished soldiery.

The king should choose a circumspect person of exemplary piety, courteous in disposition, vigilant, zealous, and masterful, reading the signs of the times and divining the intentions of his lord, and ready of speech, and in consultation with him, provide for the spiritual and temporal affairs of his kingdom. But if he finds himself physically unable to carry

on these duties, he should entrust their complicated direction to him. In important affairs he should not consult with many advisers, because the qualifications necessary in such cases are fidelity, breadth of view, fortitude of spirit, and perspicacity, and the union of these four priceless virtues in any one man is uncommonly rare. Although some statesmen of former times consulted with men of a different stamp with the intention of acting directly contrary to their advice, in the majority of cases this course did not answer and many disasters were the consequence, for this special reason, that it is difficult to efface from the mind the suspicions aroused by the insinuations of cowardly, unprincipled, short-sighted and base men. [146] Former princes adopted the practice of selecting from four to eight intelligent counsellors with the qualifications above-mentioned, under the presidency of one of their number. The opinion of each of these was separately taken on matters concerning the welfare of the State and the revenues, after which they were assembled in consultation and their several opinions carefully weighed without disclosing the author.

Further, a prince is in need of a faithful attendant, a profound astrologer, and a skilful physician. His wide experience will enable him to surround himself with friends, to maintain a well-appointed force, and to fill his treasury. He will portion out his dominions and entrust them to just and circumspect governors, and unite them in a befitting co-operation of government. He is jealous in the construction and provision of his fortresses and careful in their maintenance.

With his equals in power he is on terms of amity and concord and exacts tribute from the weak. He sows dissensions in the armies of one more powerful than himself by skilful intrigue, or failing this, he conciliates him with presents. As long as possible he avoids hostilities with all, but when war is inevitable, he enters upon it with fearlessness and vigour and upholds his honour. He should consider a prince whose territories are conterminous with his own, as his

enemy though he be profuse in demonstrations of friendship. With one whose country is situated next beyond, he should form an alliance. With a third more remote, he should avoid all intercourse whether hostile or friendly.

After the above manner have statesmen laid down rules of government, suggesting approved modes of conduct and enforcing them with numerous happy illustrations, all of which are referrible to the qualities of wisdom, recognition of merit, bravery, good temper, reserve in speech, zeal, and benevolence.

VYAVAHARA

or

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.[38]

The learned among the Hindus say that litigation in its various kinds falls under eighteen titles, for each of which there is a separate course of procedure, *viz.*—(1). Non-payment of debt. (2). Deposits. (3). Sale without ownership. (4). Disputes in partnership. (5). Reclaiming a gift. (6). Disputes between master and servant regarding wages, under which head are included labourers and such as work for hire. (7). Default of revenue by the cultivator. (8). Recision of purchase between buyer and seller. (9). Mulcts on herdsmen. (10). Boundary disputes. (11). Slander. (12). Assault. (13). Theft. (14). Violence with bloodshed. (15). Adultery. (16). Altercation between man and wife. (17). Inheritance. (18). Gambling disputes.

[38] For Hindu Law, Hastings *Ency.* vii. 850-853. iv. 283 (crimes). Abul Fazl's authority seems to be the *Ordinances of Manu* of which the 8th chapter deals with Civil and Criminal law. The eighteen titles are somewhat differently worded in Manu, and I give them for comparison. Non-payment of debt; pledges; sale without ownership; partnership and non-delivery of what has been given; non-payment of wages; breach of contract; revocation of sale (and) purchase; disputes between master and servant; disputes about boundaries; assault (and) slander; theft; violence; adultery; the law between man and woman; partition; dicing; games with animals."

The king in his judicial character must erect his tribunal facing the east. He must conduct the duties of his office in person, and if he cannot always himself attend to them, he must delegate his authority to a wise, fearless and painstaking deputy. [P. 147]

The plaintiff is termed *Vādin* and the defendant *Prativādin*. A child under twelve years of age may not be summoned to court, nor one who is drunk; nor one crazy, nor one who is sick or engaged in the service of the State, nor a woman without relations, or of high family, or who has recently given birth to a child. A discreet person should be commissioned to interrogate in such cases, or they should be brought into the royal presence.

The plaintiff's statement is taken down in writing, with the date of the year, month, and day, and the names of the two parties and their ancestors for three descents, and many other particulars. The reply of the defendant is then recorded and both their statements are carefully investigated. The plaintiff is then asked for any documentary evidence and for his witnesses. These should not be fewer than four, though some allow only three, and even one is considered sufficient if he be a person of known veracity.

A child under five may not serve as a witness, nor a man broken down with age. The evidence of a Sudra is only available for a Sudra, and that of a handicraftsman for one of his own trade. The evidence of a blind man may not be taken, nor of one who is deaf, or diseased, or drunk, or crazy, nor a gambler, nor of a notorious evil-liver, nor of one oppressed by hunger and thirst, nor of an angry man, nor of a thief, nor of one who is being taken to execution. For women, women should serve as witnesses. A friend may not witness for a friend, nor an enemy against an enemy, nor partners for each other. In all oral litigation, dryness of the lips, and biting them, and licking the sides of the mouth,

alteration of voice and change of colour, should be taken into consideration as collateral proof.

In all suits these conditions of evidence are imperative except under titles eleven to fourteen.

If there be no documentary evidence or witnesses, the judge must decide to the best of his ability, with caution and prudence; but if he cannot discover the facts of the case, he must cause the plaintiff or, as some say, either of the two parties, as he thinks best, to undergo the ordeal.[39] This is of eight kinds.

The first kind. The man is weighed and taken out of the scales, and after some prayers and incantations, he is again weighed. If his scale rises, his claim is allowed, but an even balance or his scale preponderating, are proofs of its falsehood. Some authorities say that the balance is never even. This ordeal is only for Brāhmans.

The second kind. Seven or nine circles are drawn with a distance of sixteen fingers breadth between each periphery. The person is then bathed and religious ceremonies and incantations, as above described, are gone through. His two hands are then rubbed over with rice-bran, and seven green leaves of the pipal-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) are placed upon them and bound round seven times with raw silk. A piece of iron, weighing 3⅓ *sers* and heated red-hot, is then placed upon the leaves which, thus heated, he carries and advances taking one step between each circle, till, on arriving at the last, he throws the iron down. If there is no sign of a burn, his word is accepted. If the iron fall from his hands mid-way, he must begin again.

The third kind. The person is made to stand in water up to his naval and dips under with his face to the east. Then,

[39] The word used in the text is *oath*, a translation of the Sanskrit *sapatha*, which means also ordeal. It is an asseveration by imprecating curses on the head of the taker of the oath. In this case, ordeal is evidently the true signification.

from a bow measuring 106 fingers breadth, a reed arrow without an iron point, is shot off so that it shall fly with the wind and a fast runner is sent to fetch it. If he can keep under water from the time the shaft is loosed till the runner returns with it, his cause is declared just. This ordeal is especially for the Vaisya caste. [P. 148]

The fourth kind. Seven barley corns of a deadly poison are administered in the spring season (*Vasanta*), or five in the heats (*Grishma*), or four in the rains (*Varsha*), six in the autumn (*Sarad*), and seven in the winter (*Haimanta*). These are to be mixed with thirty-three times the quantity of clarified butter and given to the man after certain incantations. The face of the patient must be towards the south, and the person who administers must face the east or north. If during a period in which the hands may be clapped 500 times, the poison does not take effect, his truth is proved. Antidotes are then given to him to prevent any fatal effects. This ordeal is peculiar to the Sudra caste.

The fifth kind. An idol is first washed, and after worship is paid to it, incantations are pronounced over the water it was washed with, and three mouthfuls of it are given to the person under ordeal. If no misfortune happens to him within a fortnight, the justness of his cause is acknowledged.

The sixth kind. Rice of the class called *Sāthi*[40] is placed in an earthen vessel and kept all night. Incantations are next morning pronounced over it, and the person is made to eat it while facing the east. He is then required to spit upon a leaf of the pipal (*Ficus religiosa*), or the *bhojpatra* (*Betula bhojpatra*). If there should be any marks of blood, or the corners of the mouth swell, or symptoms of ague supervene, the untruth of his case is inferred.

The seventh kind. An earthen or stone vessel is taken, measuring sixteen fingers in length and breadth, and four

[40] Produced in the rains, and so called because it ripens in 60 days from the time of sowing.

fingers deep. Into this forty *dāms* weight of clarified butter or sesame-oil is poured and brought to boiling point, and one *māsha* of gold, which is equal to four *surkhs*, is thrown into the boiling-oil. If the person can take out the gold with two fingers without being scalded, his cause is just.

The eighth kind. A symbol of *Dharma*, or Innocence, is fashioned of silver, and one of *Adharma*, or Guilt, of lead or iron; or the former word is written on a piece of a white cloth, or a leaf of the *bhoj* tree, and the latter on a piece of black cloth, and these are put into a jar which has never held water. The person under ordeal is then told to draw out one of these. If the symbol of innocence is drawn out, his cause is just. This ordeal is applicable in determining the righteousness of all four castes.

If a suit cannot be decided in one day, bail is taken; and a second suit may not be brought against the same person till the first is disposed of. When a claim is proved, the plaintiff is put in possession, and a fine of an amount equal to the value of the suit is exacted of the defendant. If the plaintiff loses his cause, he pays double the value of the suit.

Having cursorily explained the procedure regarding suits, evidence and ordeal, I now as briefly record the mode of adjudication under the eighteen titles of law-suits.

1. *Non-payment of debt.* If the debt be without deposit and the dispute be regarding the amount of interest, a Brāhman shall pay two per cent. (per mensem), a Kshatriya three, a Vaisya four, and a Sudra five per cent. If there be security, only one-fourth of the above amounts are recoverable though a higher rate may have been agreed to. For risks by land-travel, up to ten per cent. is allowed, and not exceeding twenty-five per cent. for risks at sea. If interest has been agreed upon, and ten times the length of the stipulated period has elapsed, a claim shall not be allowed for [149] more

than double the principal.[11] When the interest is paid on corn, the sum of the interest and principal should not be more than five times the principal. If the debtor is unable to pay, he must renew the obligation bringing the instrument[12] and witnesses for its verification.

2. *Deposits.* If the receiver of a deposit make use of it without the owner's permission and delay its restoration when claimed, he shall forego half the interest due (in compensation). If he deny the deposit and there be no documentary evidence or witnesses, the judge may privately direct a third person to make a deposit with the same man and after some time to demand it back. If he acts as before, he shall be compelled to satisfy the first claim, or submit to trial by ordeal; but if the pledge be stolen by a thief, or if it be burnt, or washed away by water, or plundered by an enemy, restitution shall not be made. If he has dealt fraudulently with it, he shall make restitution and pay a similar amount as a fine.

3. *Sale without ownership.* If a man claim possession of property, it shall be restored to him free on proof of ownership, and the money taken back from the seller. And if it be sold privately or under its value, or by a person not entitled to do so, the judge shall fine the offender as he thinks proper. And if he brings forward the thief,[13] it shall not be imputed

[11] That is, the sum of interest *plus* principal must not exceed twice the original debt. According to Manu, five times the principal is payable on corn, fruit, wool and draught animals.

[12] It is worth while noticing that the Sanskrit for this term *karanam* is translated by Hopkins 'proof', while stating in a note that the meaning 'document' given by commentators is not necessary and seems improbable. Yet this is exactly the translation of Abul Fazl, the word '*Sanad*' employed by him signifying document or instrument.

[13] Or "if he appear a thief." The elliptical language of the text can be understood only by comparison with the text of Manu: verses 197-198 run as follows:—(197.) "If a man not being himself the owner, sells the property of another without the owner's permission, one should not allow him to be a witness, (since he is) a thief (although) he may not think he is a thief.

as the crime of a thief, but a fine shall be exacted from him as a thief.

4. *Partnership.* If there be a dispute between partners and any formal deed of partnership exist and be proved, it shall be carried out in accordance with its terms; otherwise the profit and loss shall be divided according to the proportions of capital invested. If one of the partners dissipate the joint property or, without the consent of the other, remove it or otherwise fraudulently deal with it, he shall make it good to the other by a fine. Or if on the other hand, he make a profit, he shall not be required to give more than one-tenth to his partner. If one of them is guilty of fraud, he shall be ejected from partnership and the interest due to him shall be exacted by the judge. If one of the partners be left in charge of the joint property and any deficiency or injury occurs through his neglect, he shall make it good.

5. *Reclaiming a gift.* If a gift is made under the influence of anger, sickness, grief, fear, or as a bribe, or in jest, it may be recalled: also what has been given by a child, or a drunken or crazy man. In other cases it may not be reclaimed. And if the gift be made for a future benefit or in exchange, it may not, under any pretence, be resumed.

6. *Wages, Hire, Rent.* If wages, hire, or rent be received in advance, the agreement may not be violated. If it be broken, the offender shall be fined to the amount of double the sum; but if the money has not been actually paid, the fine shall extend only to the amount originally fixed. If a servant loses his master's property, he must make good the equivalent, but if it be taken from him by violence, he is not liable to restitution.

7. *Revenue.* If any one fail to pay the usual revenue,

(198.) He should be held to a fine of 600 *panas* if he is a near relation: if he is not a near relation and has no excuse, he would incur the fine of a thief."

if the abuse is from a Kshatriya to a Brāhman. If a Vaisya reviles a Brāhman he is fined seventy-five *dāms*, but in the opposite case the fine is twelve-and-a-half. If a Sudra thus offends against a Brāhman, he is fined one hundred *dāms*, a Brāhman reviling a Sudra pays six-and-a-quarter. A Vaisya reviling a Kshatriya pays fifty, and the fine in the opposite case is twelve-and-a-half; and the same proportion between a Vaisya and a Sudra. If one of the gods be reviled, or the king, or a Brāhman who has read the four Vedas, the fine is 540 *dāms*. If the abuse be directed against the people of a quarter, half of the above; and one-fourth if against the inhabitants of the city.

12. *Assault.* This is of four kinds: (1) Throwing earth, clay or filth upon any one. (2) Putting him in bodily fear by threatening him with the fist, a stick, or other weapon. (3) Striking with the hands or feet and the like. (4) Wounding with any weapon.

The first kind. In the first case, the fine is five *dāms*, but if filth is thrown, ten, provided the parties are equals; but twice as much if it be an inferior against a superior, and only half in the opposite cases.

The second kind. Threatening with the hand, etc., five *dāms*, and (with stick or other weapon) between equals, eleven; between superiors and inferiors, as above.

[151] *The third kind.* If the blow cause a swelling or pain in the limb, 270 *dāms*. If by an inferior against a superior, the hand or foot, or other offending member be cut off, or a suitable fine inflicted. In the instance of a Kshatriya against a Brāhman, the fine is 540 *dāms;* a Vaisya against a Brāhman, 1,080; a Sudra against a Brāhman, 2,160, a Vaisya against a Kshatriya or a Sudra against a Vaisya 540; a Sudra against a Kshatriya, 1,080; a Brāhman against a Kshatriya, 135; or against a Vaisya, 67½; or against a Sudra, 33¾; a Kshatriya against a Vaisya, 135; against a Sudra 67½

The fourth kind. Between those of like caste if the skin be abraded, fifty *dāms,* and if the flesh is cut, twenty *tolahs* of gold, and if a bone be broken, the offender is banished. If an inferior against a higher caste, the fine is doubled, and in the opposite case, it shall be a-half. If treatment is necessary, the offender shall pay the expenses of medicine and daily 'keep' till the injured man be restored to health.

In the case of a sheep, antelope[47] and the like, if there be hurt, the fine is eight *dāms;* if it be rendered useless, the value must be paid to the owner, with a fine of 125 *dāms;* and twice as much, if it be killed. For a horse, camel, or ox, the fine is also double. When damage is done to valuable plants, the value must be paid to the owner and a fine of ten *dāms,* but eight *dāms* if they be of small value.

13. *Theft.* If any one steal above one hundred *tolahs* of gold or silver or any valuables up to this amount, or more than 66⅔ *mans* of corn, or the child or the wife of any person of distinction, he shall be liable to the punishment of death. If the amount be less than one hundred and more than fifty *tolahs,* he shall suffer the loss of his hand. If fifty or less, he shall pay eleven times the amount as a fine. The same applies to corn. In all cases the equivalent of the amount stolen shall be made good to the owner, and if the thief is unable to pay, he shall work out the amount in menial service. In other cases of theft, corporal punishment, imprisonment or fine, is at the discretion of the judge.

14. *Violence with bloodshed.* If a man of inferior caste kill a man of a higher caste, the penalty i- ' ath. If a Brāhman slay a Brāhman, his entire estate shall be confiscated, his head shaved, his forehead branded and he shall be banished from the kingdom. If a Brāhman slay a Kshatriya, he shall pay a fine of 1,000 cows and a bull; if he slay a Vaisya, 100 cows

[47] Different sorts of antelopes and deer, flamingoes and parrots, are "propitious" forest animals, and a fine imposed for killing them: also the small animals, such as crows, cats, etc.

and a bull, or if a Sudra, 10 cows and a bull. The same rule applies to Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. If a Sudra slay a Sudra, he shall be fined 500 cows and a bull. If the murderer be not found, the people of the city, village, or quarter in which the murder was committed shall produce some of his family or pay in default any fine that the king may inflict.

15. *Adultery.* Commerce between a woman and a man other than her husband, is of three kinds: (1) When they converse and jest together in private. (2) When a present is sent to the house of the other. (3) When they meet and criminal intercourse ensues. In the second case, a fine may be inflicted at the discretion of the king. The third is of two kinds, *viz.*, with a maiden and one who is not a maiden. The former may be dishonoured. . . . . The latter may be women who are guarded, or such as gad abroad.[48] In each of these four cases it may occur with the woman's consent or otherwise, and of these eight, the criminality may take place between two of a like caste. In the latter instance if it be a girl and she consent in all these offences, and no force is offered on one side or resistance on the other, the man shall be compelled to marry her whether he will or no. In the case of pollution and the like, he must pay a fine of 200 *dāms*. If he violate her without her consent, he shall be put to death, but the woman is not liable to punishment. If he forcibly pollute her, he must suffer the loss of his fingers, and pay a fine of 600 *dāms*. If the offender be a Brāhman, he shall be banished, but no other penalty is exacted. If the man be of higher caste, he shall be made to take her in marriage, even if he be unwilling, in which case an additional fine is imposed. If she be not a maiden, and both be of like caste, and she be guarded,[49] and give her consent, the man is fined 270 dāms, but if without

[48] Hopkins translates 'wandering women' (*Manu*. VIII. 363), and supposes them to be possibly Buddhistic nuns. Sir W. Jones interprets 'female anchorets of an heretical religion'. Abul Fazl's rendering is *kucha gard*, gadding about the streets'.

[49] Under the protection of her husband or other male relative.

her consent, the fine shall be 540 *dāms*. If she be one used to gad abroad and consents, the fine is 250 *dāms;* if forced, 500. If the man be of higher caste, the fine in all cases shall be 250 *dāms;* if of inferior caste, death is the penalty in every instance, and the ears and nose of the woman shall be cut off

16. *Altercation between man and wife.* If after marriage a man discovers any natural defect in his wife, he may put her away without remedy on her part, but the woman's father shall be fined. If a man offer one daughter in marriage and substitute another in her place, he shall be compelled to give both. When a man has journeyed on a pilgrimage to holy shrines and is absent beyond the term agreed upon, the wife shall wait at home for eight years whatever her position in life may be.[50] If he has gone abroad for the sake of knowledge or fame or wealth, she shall wait six years : if he journeys to seek another wife, three years. At the expiration of these periods, she is at liberty to leave her husband's house to obtain a livelihood. The husband on his return from abroad, if he wishes to put her away on account of her departure, is not permitted to do so. If the wife does not observe the condition of these periods, the husband is at liberty to put her away. If the husband fall sick and the wife does not minister to him, he may not, on his recovery, for this cause divorce her, but he may refuse intercourse with her for three months and deprive her of all that she possesses, after which period he shall be reconciled to her. With Brāhmans, divorce does not take place but a husband may avoid the sight and presence of his wife : her maintenance must nevertheless be continued. The wife may not take another husband. If he be guilty of great crimes or have any contagious disease, the wife is at liberty to separate from him. If a Brāhman have a wife of

[50] One commentator's opinion is, that, after the eight years she must follow him. Another states that she may marry another husband. The former opinion, says Hopkins, rests on a later view of second marriages.

each of the four castes, he shall assign them their respective social functions. In religious ceremonies, and personal attendance such as anointing with oil and adorning[51] him and similar duties, he must employ only his own caste.

17. *Inheritance.* While a son lives, no other relation or kinsman shares the estate except the wife who is equal to the son. If there be neither son nor wife, the unmarried daughter inherits. If there be also no daughter, the mother is the heir. [P. 153]

If there be no mother, the father takes possession.

If there be no father alive, his brother shall be heir.

In default of a brother, the brother's son inherits.

In default of a brother's son, the estate is divided amongst the surviving kindred.

If he leave no relations, the teacher inherits, or in default of the teacher, his fellow pupils.

In the absence of all these the estate lapses to the Crown.

18. *Gambling.* Whosoever plays with false dice shall be banished. If he refuse to pay his stake, it shall be taken from him, and of his winnings, the king shall receive one-tenth, and one-twentieth shall be taken for dues.[52]

To each of these eighteen titles there are many illustrations, and conflicting opinions are recorded. I content myself with this short exposition.

[51] The duties of a Brāhman's wife are to give food to beggar guests, and attend to her part of the sacrificial preparations. She bathes and adorns her husband, cleans his teeth and anoints him; and since she holds the highest rank she gives him his food, drink, wreaths, clothes and ornaments.

[52] I presume the reading is questionable. It probably refers to a licence for the tables, or permission to play. For Hindu gambling rules, Hastings, Ency. iv. 284.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FOUR PERIODS OF RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Having reviewed the various branches of learning in their scientific aspects, I proceed to some account of their practical modes of life.

Among the Brāhmans, the period of individual life, after the intelligence is to some degree matured, is divided into four portions, to each of which is assigned its special important duties. These periods severally receive the name of *Asrama.*[1]

THE FIRST PERIOD is the *Brahma-charya,* or religious studentship. Investiture with the sacred thread is regarded by the Brāhmans as the first principle of their creed, and the three superior castes do not acknowledge the right of due membership without it. With a Brāhman it must be made in the eighth year, or if this auspicious time is suffered to elapse, it may be performed up to sixteen years of age. A Kshatriya may be invested between eleven and twenty-two years of age, and a Vaisya from twelve to twenty-four, but a Sudra is not considered a fitting recipient. It is imperative that the investiture should take place for each caste within the prescribed periods from which date the initiation is reckoned, otherwise there is exclusion from caste. The Brāhman receives the sacred string from his father or teacher, and the two other castes from a Brāhman. None but a Brāhman may twist the string, and that which he wears for the first time must be twisted by his father or teacher or by himself. The teacher's son has also the same privilege. Three strands, in length ninety-six times the circumference of the fist, are united and twisted, making a twist of nine strands. This is again folded into three without twisting and secured

[1] For Asramas, Hastings *Encyclo.* ii. 128-131 (by Deussen) and details about the duties in each stage of life. Wilson's *Vishnu Purāna,* Ch. ix—xii and *Manu Samhita.*

by a knot at each end. This is the sacred thread. It is placed on the left shoulder and carried across the body to the right side, and thus the length is from the shoulder to the thumb of the right side, and thus the length is from the shoulder to the thumb of the right hand. It is worn diagonally like a belt. A Brāhman wears five together, the other two castes, but three. Some authorities say that a cotton thread is for the special use of the Brāhman, woollen for the Kshatriya and hempen thread for the Vaisya. Similarly, a thong of deer-skin, three fingers in breadth, is worn with it but not of the same length. A Brāhman [154] uses the skin of the black antelope; a Kshatriya the skin of any other kind of deer, and a Vaisya of a goat. At this period they also wear round the waist a girdle of a particular kind of grass called in Sanskrit *Munja* (*Saccharum Munja*).

He next learns the *gāyatri*,[2] which are certain words in praise of the sun, resembling the *kalimah* or profession of faith in Islām. He also receives a staff of *palāsa* wood (*Butea frondosa*), but for the other two castes it is made of some other wood.

He leaves his father's house and chooses a lodging near his teacher, learns his letters and begins reading the Vedas. He first reads that Veda which it is his special duty to learn, and then the remaining three. They relate that when the sage *Vyāsa* divided the Vedas into four parts, he instructed one of his pupils in each, from which time the descendants and the pupils of these respectively read their own Veda first. The Vedas are never read during the first degree of the moon's

[2] The *Gāyatri* verse is taken from the *Rig Veda* III. 62, and is repeated by every Brāhman at his morning and evening devotions. From being addressed to the sun (*Savita*) as generator, it is also called Sāvitri. The verse runs:

तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥१०॥

"Of the god-like sun this surpassing radiance we contemplate which excites to action our intelligence."

course (*pariwā*), nor during the eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, or thirtieth, nor on the night of the fourth, eighth, or fourteenth, nor during an eclipse of the sun, but any of the other acts may be performed at those times.

When a Brāhman goes to relieve the necessities of nature, he hangs the sacred thread upon his right ear, and on such an occasion by day, turns his face to the north and by night to the south. He washes himself five times, each time first mixing the water with earth, and then washes the left hand ten times in the same manner, and next both hands seven times, and lastly both his feet in the same way. After he urines, he washes the part as above described and the left hand three times and each hand and foot once. From the day of his investiture till sixteen years of age, this number of purifications must be observed and doubled after he exceeds that age. Next, in a chosen spot, he should sit down on his haunches facing the east or north, keeping his knees erect and with his hand between them should drink three fills of his palm. A Brāhman should swallow as much water as will reach his chest: a Kshatriya as much as will suffice to reach his throat; a Vaisya, as far as the root of his tongue. A Sudra may drink but once. He then uses a tooth stick (*miswāk*) twelve fingers breadth in length, taking a fresh one every day.

He may not wear more than four coverings for his person. These are: (1) *Langoti*, or waist-cloth, which is worn to cover only two parts of his body. (2) A small *lung*[3] worn above the other. (3) A sheet without suture, over his shoulders. (4) A small cap for his head. He should bathe before sunrise, wearing only the sacred thread, the girdle of *munja*, and the *langoti*. He first takes up a little water in his right hand, saying: "I pray that any fault I have committed may be put

[3] This is a cloth worn round the loins and passed between the legs and tucked in behind. It differs from the *langoti* in reaching to the knees.

away from me." After which he throws the water away. With this intention his ablutions are entered upon. Then he rubs himself all over with earth, and if he be in a river, he dips three times, otherwise, he pours water over himself thrice and rubs his body all over with his hands. He then pronounces the name of God, and taking water three times in [P. 155] the hollow of his hand sips a little and begins to repeat certain prayers, at the conclusion of which he continues sprinkling water upon his head. He next closes his nostrils with two fingers and dashing water over his face, repeats other prayers and dips or throws water over himself thrice. Then wetting both his hands, he sprinkles his forehead, chest and both shoulders seven times, and taking up water with joined hands, casts it towards the sun eight times, repeating special prayers, and sips some water thrice. He next performs the *prānāyāma* as described in the section on the Pātanjala system. The ablutions are meritorious in degree according to their performance in the following order—in a river, a tank, a well, or a house. He then clothes himself. If he be a follower of *Rāma,* he marks his forehead horizontally with ashes; if of Krishna, he draws the sectarial mark in twelve places, *viz.*, on his forehead, his breast, his navel, the right and left sides thereof, his right and left shoulders, the two lobes of his ears, his loins, the crown of his head and the throat. The clay of the Ganges is considered the most efficacious for this purpose but saffron and the like are also used. A Sudra marks his forehead with only a circle. After this he takes his staff and slings across his shoulders the deer-skin and occupies himself with the *Sandhyā,* which consists of certain religious exercises, sprinkling and sipping water, and the like.[4] Next comes the lighting of the fire and certain burnt offerings are made which is called the *Homa* sacrifice.

[4] These rites are performed at morning, mid-day, and evening.

When these ceremonies are concluded, he goes to his teacher and gains merit by waiting upon him and reading the Vedas. At midday, the ablution and the ceremonies aforesaid are repeated with some variation and some increase in their number. When these are over he sets out begging alms and solicits from three, five, or seven houses, but avoids a Sudra. After cooking a sufficient meal he carries it to his teacher and with his permission, eats it. He precedes his meal with prayers and a few ceremonies and eats in silence and then repeats other prayers. When it is near dusk, he again performs the *Sandhyā* and *Homa* rites and occupies himself with reading. After a watch of the night has elapsed, he sleeps upon the ground, making his couch of straw or a tiger's skin or deer-skin or the like. He should avoid honey, betel-leaf, and perfumes. He should shave his head, keeping a tuft only, but the hair of the other parts of the body should be suffered to grow. He should not use collyrium nor anoint himself with oil, and should abstain from singing, dancing and gaming. He should not kill any animal nor have any commerce with women nor eat of anything not tasted first by his teacher. He should abstain from falsehood, anger, avarice and envy, and not defile his tongue by speaking ill of any one though he deserve it, and make his days meritorious by practices of piety. In prayer he should turn to the east or north and he should not look towards the sun in its rising or setting. Some pass forty-eight years in the *Brahmacharya* stage, allowing twelve years for the study of each Veda. Some take only five years, and others till the Vedas are learnt. Others again spend their lives in this manner and undergo austerities in the hope of final liberation.

[156] *The Second Period* is the *Gārhasthya*, or a state in which the duties of a householder are observed and the person so engaged is called *Grihastha*. When the *Brahmachārin* has completed his studies, if he feels called to the religious life and his heart is estranged from the world, nothing

can more conduce to his welfare than the endeavour to attain eternal bliss, but if he has no such vocation, he should seek the consent of his teacher and, having obtained permission, return to his father's house. He then puts away all but his sacred thread, but continues the oblations and some other ceremonies, the number of the oblations being the same as during his period of pupilage as *Brahmachārin*. If he be a Brāhman, he wears a turban, and a sheet eight cubits in length and two in breadth is put on in the fashion of a loin-cloth, one end being passed between his legs and fastened behind to the waist-piece, and the other end brought forward and tied similarly in front. Another sheet, five cubits long and two broad, is worn over the shoulders, and this may have a suture. A householder of other castes wears different garments. He now marries in the manner that shall be presently described.

The householder repeats certain prayers and thus performs the *Homa* sacrifice. He takes in his hand a stick of *pipal* or *palās* wood, a span in length and burns it in the *Homa* fire. Another stick of the same kind is taken and passed into the fire and reserved, and when the next *Homa* takes place, this stick is burnt and another like the first is scorched and reserved, and this is continued till the time of the *Agni-hotra*.[5] This is a special kind of *Homa* or oblation. A *pipal* stick is set alight by means of two other sticks and a cord forcibly worked by the hand, and the fire is placed in three round earthen vessels. The figure of a tortoise is then made of a *ser* and-a-quarter of rice-flour, and the three portions are cooked in one lump and dressed with oil, and part of this is thrown into the three fires as an oblation to the deities, and the remainder is given to Brāhmans. One of the three portions of the sacrificial fire is reserved, and throughout his whole life,

[5] This is a Vedic oblation to *Agni*, chiefly of milk, oil and sour gruel; there are two kinds, *nitya*, or of constant obligation, and *kāmyā*, or optional.

the daily *Homa* oblation is made with that fire; the oblations cast into the fire in the name of the deities consist of any barley, rice, clarified butter, milk, wheat, that may be available, and once every fifteen days in the first degree of the moon's course he carries out the ceremony as before. The ceremony of the *Agni-hotra* may not take place till the period has elapsed between the fourth day after his marriage and that on which the bride leaves her father's house (to join her husband).[6] With the exception of the Sudra and the *Mlechchha*, the rest of the people come generally under this second denomination. Four *gharis* before day-break, the householder awakes and passes some little time on his bed in prayer. He divides his day into eight portions, thus profitably employing his time.

First, when the rays of the sun appear, he refreshes his sight with its lustre, and next by looking upon fire, water, gold, a just prince, a Brāhman, a cow, and clarified butter. If none of these eight be present, he must look upon the palms of his hands, and proceed to wash his mouth and perform the *Sandhyā* ceremonies. The *second* portion of his time he must employ in study and occupy himself in the interpretation of the Vedas [P. 157] and other branches of knowledge. The *third* he spends in attendance on his prince, and engages in state affairs. The *fourth* is occupied with his own household. The *fifth*, which is about the entry of noon, he spends in ablutions and the *Sandhyā* ceremonies, and taking up water in both hands, offers it to the deities, the great *Rishis* and (the manes of) his ancestors, and repeats certain prayers. This libation is called *tarpana*. During the *sixth*, he prays to Vishnu, Mahādeva, the Sun, Durga, and Ganesa. This is called *Deva-pujā*, or worship of the gods, as will be more fully described hereafter. In the *seventh*,

[6] This is the true interpretation of the sentence, as I learn from a Brāhman pandit. Abul Fazl's language is terse to obscurity without a knowledge of the subjects he treats of. The Agni-hotra ceremony cannot be performed till after marriage, and the presence of the wife is a necessary part of it.

he casts into the fire some of his food as an offering to the gods, and makes the *Homa* sacrifice. Next follows the *Atithi-pujā* (or the religious reception of a guest). He waits expectantly for any hungry person, and when he meets him, treats him with respect and satisfies his need, after which he himself eats, and this act is called the *Vaisvadeva-pujā* (or offering to *all deities*). A Brāhman obtains his food in the following way. When the husbandman has reaped his field and the poor have gleaned their fill, the Brāhman then follows in quest, and takes what he can find, and if he does not feel content with this, he may receive from his own people; and if this is insufficient, he may accept whatever is given to him without solicitation by another Brāhman, a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya. If this is not his choice, he may beg; and if he will not submit to this, he may cultivate land. Trade is considered more objectionable. A Brāhman should not keep more than twelve days' supply of food, but to others an abundance is permitted, as has been explained. In the *eighth*, he listens to the recital of the lives of former holy men and performs the ceremonies of the *Homa* and *Sandhyā*. If he is hungry, he takes his meal. He then occupies himself till the first watch of the night, in studying works of philosophy and reading the lives of ancient sages, after which he goes to rest. Such are the means by which he profitably employs his day and night. Other ceremonies performed during times of eclipse and festivals, are numerous. Those practised by the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas who follow their special occupations, are fewer as shall be presently described.

The third period is that of the *Vānaprastha* or anchorite, a name given also to the person so engaged. This is forbidden to a Sudra.

When one (of the other castes) arrives at old age, or has a grandson, he may wisely give up the management of his household to his son or to a relation, abandon worldly concerns, and leaving the city, retire into the desert. He

may there build himself a hermitage, and putting away the outward pleasures of sense, practise mortification of his body in preparation for his last journey. If his wife, through affection, desire to accompany him, he may suffer it and not deny her, but he must resist all carnal inclinations. Here he preserves the sacred fire of his daily sacrifice and clothes himself with the leaves of trees or with skins, and he may wear [158] a coarse loin-cloth. He should never cut his hair or his nails and morning, noon, and evening he should perform the prescribed ablutions and the *Sandhyā*. Like the *Grihastha*, he should perform the *Homa* sacrifice morning and evening, but his ablutions are three times more numerous, in as much as he performs them ten times to the other's three. He must always keep his head bowed down and follow the instructions given in the Pātanjala system and carefully control the emotions of the spirit. He should employ his time in reading the Vedas, sleep only at night, and lie on the bare ground. During the four months of the hot season he sits between five fires, lighting four about him, and having the sun burning over head. During the four months of the rains he should live upon a stage sustained by four poles, so that he may not be in danger from a flood nor injure minute animals by his movements, nor must he protect himself from the weather. During the four months of the cold season, he should pass the night sitting in cold water. He should always observe the *Chāndrāyana* fast and eat only at night. He is permitted to keep a store of food sufficient for a year and should accept nothing from others, living on grain and gathering wild fruits that have fallen. He eats nothing that is cooked, but he may moisten his food. If he can obtain naught else, he may beg of other anchorites, and failing them, he may go into the town to seek the necessaries of life but he must not remain there.

If he is unable to live in this manner, he abandons all sustenance and journeys onwards to the east or north till his

bodily powers are exhausted, or he throws himself into fire or water in self-destruction, or casts himself down from a precipice and thus ends his life. They consider that heaven is the reward of this course and final liberation is dependent on the profession of asceticism. What is understood by some as *mukti*, or final liberation, is, that in a former birth, this stage of abandonment of the world had been attained.

The fourth period is *Sannyāsa*, which is an extraordinary state of austerity that nothing can surpass, and which when duly carried out is rewarded by final liberation. Such a person His Majesty calls *Sannyāsi*.[1]

After the completion of the third stage, and the habit of self-denial in all sensual pleasures is acquired, the disciple first obtains the permission of his teacher and then quits his wife, shaves his head, beard, and the hair of his face and abandons all worldly concerns. His teacher presents him with a loin-cloth and some covering and accepts a trifle in return. He does not occupy himself with reading, but applies himself entirely to spiritual contemplation. He passes his life alone in the wilds, performs his ablutions morning, noon, and evening, and is scrupulous in self-purification and practises the duties described in the Pātanjala system, carrying them out after his own method. He performs the *Sandhyā* and then repeats from one to twelve thousand times the word *Om*, which is the beginning of the Vedas. At the fourth *ghari* before the close of day, he goes into the city, and repeats the name of God, begging at three, five, or seven houses of Brāhmans, but does not take more than a handful of food [159] from each. If they put it into his hand he straightway eats it, or if they throw it on the ground, he takes it up with his mouth or gathers it in a cloth and eats it after cleansing it in a stream. He then retires to a place where there is no sign of the cooking of food or lighting of a fire.

[1] The term *Sannyāsin* was applied many centuries before his Majesty was born.

He avoids a Sudra or a Mlechchha and if he is not quickly supplied with food, he does not wait. After eating he directs his eyes to the tip of his nose or to his brow and passes a brief space in meditation. He walks with his head and feet bare and does not remain in any one place. If he is compelled to pass through a city or village, he does not remain in the former more than three days nor in the latter more than one. In the rains he abides in one spot and thus is his life passed. Some adopt the course of religious abandonment both during the first and second periods.

Some say that the first period extends to twenty-five years, and the same is allowed for the three other periods. The second is lawful to all the four castes; the first and third to all but Sudras, but the fourth is exclusively for Brāhmans.

WORSHIP OF THE DEITY

The Hindu sages declare that whoever seeks to do the will of God, must devote certain works exclusively to purposes of worship and the first six of the nine schools already alluded to, comprise this under four heads.

The *First* is—

ISVARA-PUJA,

or

Divine Worship.

Since according to their belief, the Supreme Deity can assume an elemental form without defiling the skirt of the robe of omnipotence, they first make various idols of gold and other substances to represent this ideal and gradually withdrawing the mind from this material worship, they become meditatively absorbed in the ocean of His mysterious Being. Sixteen ceremonies conduce to this end. After the performance of the *Homa* and *Sandhyā* obligations, the devotee sits

down facing the east or north, and taking up a little rice and water sprinkles (the idol) with the intention of beginning the worship of God. Then follows the *Kalasa-pujā* or pitcher-worship. The water of the pitcher which is required for the ceremony is venerated after a special manner.[8] He next performs the *Sankha--pujā*, wherein the white shell is venerated which is filled with water to be poured over the idol. Next follows the *Ghantā-pujā*, in which the gong is plastered with sandalwood unguent and worshipped. When these are concluded, he sprinkles a little rice with the intention of soliciting the manifestation of the deity. Such is the first of the sixteen ceremonies. (2) The intention is made that the prayer of the supplicant may be accepted. A throne of metal or other [P. 160] substance is placed as a seat for the deity. (3) He pours water into a vessel that he may wash his feet when he comes, it being the custom of the country to wash the feet of superiors when they enter a house. (4) He throws down water thrice on the ground to represent the rinsing of the mouth by that mystical being, as it is also a custom of this country among the more refined classes to offer this service to a superior before meal-time. (5) Sandal, flowers, betel, and rice are thrown into water and thus offered. (6) The idol is lifted up with its seat and carried to another place. With the right hand a white conch-shell is held while with the left a gong is struck and the water is poured over the idol which is then washed. (7) The idol is then dried with a cloth and placed upon its throne and it is dressed in such costly robes as circumstances can furnish. (8) It is then invested with the sacred string. (9) The sectarial mark is next made in twelve places with sandal. (10) Flowers or leaves are then strewn over it. (11) It is fumigated with perfumes. (12) A lamp is lit with clarified butter. (13) Food according to ability is then

[8] A twig of each of the following sacred trees: *Ficus religiosa*, *Ficus indica*, *Ficus glomerata*, *Mimosa albida* and the *Mangifera Indica* are placed in the pitcher of water as an oblation.

placed on a table before the idol, which is then distributed to people as the idol's leavings. (14) Is the *Namas-kāra* which is a posture of supplication. He repeats the praises of God with heart and tongue and falls prostrate with his whole body like a staff. This prostration is called *danda-vat* (staff-like); he so prostrates himself that eight of his limbs touch the earth,—the two knees, the two hands, the forehead, the nose, and the right and left cheeks. This is called *Sāshtāngā*, (eight members). Many perform one of these two obeisances in supplication before the great. (15) Circumambulating the idol several times. (16) Standing like a slave before it, and taking leave.

In each of these ceremonies, prayers are repeated and particular acts are performed. Some consider only five of these ceremonies from the 7th to the 13th, as imperative, others practice more; except a Sudra and a *Sannyāsin*, all others perform this worship thrice daily.

Worship is of six kinds: (1) In the heart. (2) Making the sun a means of divine adoration. (3) Causing fire to serve the purpose of spiritual recollection. (4) Worshipping in presence of water. (5) Cleaning a spot of ground as a place for worship. (6) Making an idol a representative object of prayer. They also make images of those who have attained to God and account their veneration as a means of salvation.

The *Second kind* is—

YAJNA,[9]
or
Sacrifice.

By this the favour of the deities is obtained and it becomes the means [P. 161] of securing the blessing of God. The

[9] For the Hindu *yajna*, Hastings *Encyclop.* ii. 800-801, xii. 611-618, iv. 770-771, v. 13-16, and ii. 160. *Jāg* is the popular Hindi form of the Sanskrit *yajna*.

term *Jāg* is also used. *Pāḳa-yajna* (simple or domestic sacrifice) is making the *Homa* in the name of the deities and bestowing charity before taking food. This is variously performed. *Japa-yajna* is the *muttering* of incantations and the names of God. These two, like the first, are of daily practice. *Vidhi-yajna* or *ceremonial* act of worship is of numerous kinds, in each of which important conditions are prescribed, large sums of money expended and many animals sacrificed. One of these is the *Asvamedha*, or *horse-sacrifice*, which is performed by sovereign princes. When its necessary preparations are completed, a white horse having the right ear black, is brought out and consecrated by certain incantations, and (being turned loose) it is followed in its march by an army for conquest which in a short time subdues the world and the king of every territory (which it enters) tenders submission and joins the victorious forces. They pretend that whoever performs this sacrifice a hundred times, becomes lord of heaven. Many are said to have attained this rank and marvellous legends are told of them. If he cannot perform that number he obtains an eminent place in that region.[10] Another is the *Rāja-suya-yajna*, one of the conditions attached to which is the presence of all the princes of the world at the great festival, each of whom is appointed to a particular duty, and the service at the banquet can be performed only by them. Whoever has twice inaugurated this ceremony becomes lord of heaven, and many (are said) to have obtained this happiness. There are manifold kinds of these sacrifices, but the two herein mentioned must suffice.

[10] After the return of the king, if successful, with the vanquished princes in his train, the horse was sometimes immolated, after the festival of rejoicing. Failure in conquest was followed by contempt and ridicule of overweening pretension. The antiquity of this sacrifice goes back to Vedic times. Albiruni briefly describes it in Chap. LXV. *Asvamedha* in Hastings, ii. 160.

The *Third kind* is—

DANA,
or
Alms giving.

There are numerous forms of this meritorious precept and various are the modes by which the provision for man's last journey is secured. The following sixteen are accounted the most important:—

(1) *Tulā-dāna* or the *weighing* of the person against gold, silver and other valuables. (2) *Hiranyagarbha-dana*: an idol of Brahmā is fashioned of gold, having four faces in each of which are two eyes, two ears, a mouth and nose. It must have four hands, and the rest of the members are after the form of men. It must be 72 fingers high and 48 in breadth. Its weight may vary between a minimum of 33 *tolahs* and 4 *māshas* and a maximum of 3,410 *tolahs*. It is decked with jewels, and incantations are pronounced over it. (3) *Brahmānda-dāna*, or alms of the *egg of Brahmā*. An egg is made of gold in two parts which when joined together have an oval shape. Its weight varies between a minimum of 66 *tolahs* and 7 *māshas* and a maximum of 3,633 *tolahs* and 4 *māshas*. [162] Its length and breadth may not be less than twelve fingers nor greater than one hundred. (4) *Kalpa-taru-dāna*. This is the name of a tree[11] (*taru*) which is one of the fourteen treasures brought out of the sea, as will be related. A similar tree is made of gold, and birds are represented sitting on its branches. It should weigh not less than 12 *tolahs*, and the maximum weight as above. (5) *Go-sahasra-dāna*, is the alms of a *thousand cows* with one bull, having the tips of their horns, according to ability, plated with gold or silver and their humps covered with copper, with bells and tassels of yāk's hair round their necks, and pearls in the tails.

[11] Of Indra's paradise, granting all desires. *Dāna*, Hastings, iii. 387-389 (under *Charity*).

(6) *Hiranya-kāmadhenu-dān.*[12] A *golden cow and calf* are made; they may be of three kinds; the first weighs 3,410 *tolas;* the second, the half of this weight, and the third weighs one-fourth. (7) *Hiranyāsva-dāna.* A *golden horse* is fashioned weighing from ten *tolahs* to 3,633 *tolahs* and four *māshas.* (8) *Hiranyāsva-ratha.* A *chariot of gold* of the first of the above-mentioned weights is made with four wheels and from four to eight *horses* weighing from ten to 6,606 *tolahs* and eight *māshas.* (9) *Hemahasti-ratha-dāna* is an alms of a *chariot of gold* drawn by four *elephants.* Its weight is from sixteen *tolahs* and eight *māshas* to the maximum aforesaid. (10) *Pancha-lāngala-dāna* is a gift of *five ploughs* of gold of the above weight. (11) *Dhara-dāna,* is a figure of the surface of the *earth* made of gold, upon which are represented mountains, woods and seas, weighing not less than sixteen *tolahs,* eight *māshas,* and not more than 3,633 *tolahs.* (12) *Visva-chakra-dāna.* A *complete radiate* of eight petals is made of gold representing the entire dome of the heavens, and is of four weights, *viz.* 3,333 *tolahs,* four *māshas*: half of the above: one-fourth: 66 *tolahs,* 8 *māshas.* (13) *Kalpa-latadāna* is in the shape of a *creeper.* [P. 163] Ten tendrils are made of gold, weighing from sixteen to 3,330 *tolahs,* four *māshas.* (14) *Sapta-sāgara-dāna.* The *seven seas* are represented in gold weighing not less than twenty-three *tolahs,* four *māshas,* and not more than the weight above given. The length and breadth of each of these are twenty-one fingers, or the half thereof. The first sea is filled with salt; the second, with milk; the third, with clarified butter; the fourth, with molasses; the fifth, with butter-milk; the sixth, with sugar; the seventh with Ganges-water. (15) *Ratna-dhenu-dāna,* the

[12] *Dhenu* is a milch-cow, or a cow that has calved. *Kāma-dhenu* is the cow of plenty, belonging to the sage Vasishtha, yielding all that is desired. For *Hiranya-garbha.* See p. 163.

[13] *Mahā-bhuta* signifies a 'huge creature' and '*ghata*' is the frontal sinus of an elephant. Ganesa was the son of Siva and Pārvati and is invoked at the beginning of undertakings as removing

representation of a *cow* with *a calf* made up of jewels. (16) *Mahābhuta-ghata-dāna,* is a representation in gold of the figure of a man surmounted by the head of an elephant. which is called *Ganesa.* Its weight is from sixteen *tolahs,* eight *māshas* to 3,330 *tolas,* four *māshas.*

In some works the first or *Tulā-dāna,* the weight whereof should be not less than 106 *tolahs,* eight *māshas,* nor more than 833 *tolahs,* four *māshas,* is alone given, and the remaining forms are omitted. There is also some difference of opinion regarding the distribution. Some give only to the *Achārya* or teacher who shares the alms with others, while some bestow it also upon other Brāhmans.

For each of these forms of charity, there are various injunctions. Although no distinct season is fixed, they are regarded as of more efficacy in times of eclipse and when the sun enters Capricorn and on some other occasions. Strange legends are told of them and of their results, as for instance regarding the first kind, if the giver weighs himself against gold, he will remain in paradise for a thousand million *kalpas* and advance from degree to degree of beatitude, and when he re-assumes human form will become a mighty monarch.

The *Fourth kind* is—

SRADDHA,

or

Ceremonies in honour of deceased ancestors.

The charity is given in the name of deceased ancestors and is of various kinds, but four are specially observed: (1) On the day of decease and its anniversary. (2) On the first day of the first quarter of the new moon. (3) On the sixteenth lunar day of the month of *Kuär,* (Sept -Oct.).

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obstacles. He is represented as a short pot-bellied man frequently mounted on a rat or attended by one, and to denote his sagacity, has the head of an elephant. with, however, but one tusk.—Monier Williams.

(4) Bestowing charity in a place of worship in the name of the deceased.

[164] The manner of performing it is to bestow money and gifts in kind, dressed and undressed, on Brāhmans in the name of father, grandfather and great grandfather including their wives, and in the same way on the three directly ascending male ancestors of the mother and their wives. All four castes may perform this ceremony.

When these four duties of worship, sacrifice, alms-giving and commemoration of the deceased, as now described, are performed, the worship of God is accounted to be perfectly carried out, and without them it is not effected.

AVATARAS
or
Incarnations of the Deity.[14]

They believe that the Supreme Being in the wisdom of His counsel, assumes an elementary form of a special character for the good of the creation, and many of the wisest of the Hindus accept this doctrine. Such a *complete* incarnation is called *Purnāvatāra*, and that principle which in some created forms is scintillant with the rays of the divinity and bestows extraordinary powers is called *Ansāvatāra* or *partial* incarnation. These latter will not be here considered.

Of the first kind they say that in the whole four *Yugas*, ten manifestations will take place, and that nine have up to the present time appeared.

MATSYAVATARA,
or
Fish-Incarnation.

The Deity was herein manifested under the form of a fish. They say that in the Drāvidā country at the extremity

[14] For the Avatārs, see Hastings, *Encyclop.* vii. 193-197 (by Jacobi).

of the Dekhan in the city of Bhadrāvati, during the *Satya Yuga* on the eleventh lunar day of the month of *Phālguna* (Feb.-March), Rājā Manu, having withdrawn himself from all worldly concerns, and being then ten hundred thousand years of age, lived in the practice of great austerities. He was performing his ablutions on the banks of the river Kritamāla when a fish came into his hand and said "preserve me." It remained in his hand a day and night and as it increased in size, he put it into a cup, and when it grew larger, he placed it in a pitcher. When the latter could not contain it, he put it into a well and thence transferred it to a lake and afterwards to the Ganges. As the Ganges could not hold it, he gave it place in the ocean, and when it filled the ocean, the Rājā recognised the origin of the miracle and worshipped it and prayed for a revelation. He heard the following answer: "I am the Supreme Being. I have assumed the form of this creature for thy salvation and that of a few of the elect. After seven days the world will be destroyed and a flood shall cover the earth. Get thou into a certain ark with a few of the righteous together with the divine books and choice medicinal herbs and fasten the ark to this horn which cometh out of me." The deluge continued one million, seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand years after which it subsided.[15]

[15] The story is told in the Mahābhārata with reference to the Matsya Purāna as its authority which would imply that the poem is later than the Purāna, but according to Wilson, the great epic is much older than any extant Purāna, and the simplicity of the story in the Mahābhārata is of much more antique complexion than the extravagance of the actual Matsya Purāna. In the former, Manu collects the seeds of existing things in the ark, explained in the latter, as effected by the power of Yoga. In the latter, the great serpents come to serve as cords to fasten the ark to the horn of the fish ; in the former, a cable of ropes is used. As the ark is borne on the waters, Manu enters into converse with the fish, and its replies which concern the creation, regal dynasties and the duties of the different orders, form the subject of the Purāna. —Wilson, *V. P.*

KURMAVATARA,
or
Tortoise-Incarnation.

In the *Satya Yuga* in the light half of the month of *Kārttika* (Oct.-Nov.), on the twelfth lunar day, the Creator manifested himself in the shape of a tortoise. They relate that the deities wished to obtain the water of immortality after the manner of butter by churning the ocean [165] of milk. Instead of a churning-stick, they used the largest of the mountains, *Mandāra*. From its excessive weight the mountain sank into the ocean, and great were their difficulties. The Deity assumed this shape and bore up the mountain on his back and the gods obtained their desire.

By this miraculous act, fourteen priceless objects were brought up from the sea:—(1). *Lakshmi*, the goddess of fortune, appeared as a bride and thus a source of happiness to all creatures was obtained. (2). *Kaustabha-mani*, or the wonderful jewel *Kaustabha*, of extraordinary lustre and in value beyond price. (3). *Parijātaka-vriksha*, the miraculous tree *Parijātaka*[16] whose flowers never fade and whose fragrance fills the universe. Some say that it grants all desires. It is called also *Kalpavriksha*. (4). *Sura*, (the goddess of) wine. (5). *Dhanvantari*, the physician (of the gods) who could heal the sick and raise the dead to life. In his right hand, he held a leech and in his left (a branch of) the myrobalan tree. His Majesty considers that these two should be regarded separately and the number of treasures be accounted sixteen. (6). *Chandra-mani*, the (moon-gem or) world-illumining moon. (7). *Kāma-dhenu*, the miraculous cow which gave forth from her udders the gratification of every wish. (8). *Airāvata*, the white elephant (of Indra) with four tusks. (9). *Sankha*, the white conch-shell of wondrous sound that bestowed victory

[16] The coral tree, *Erythrina Indica*, one of the five trees of Paradise.

on whomsoever possessed it. (10). *Visha*, deadly poison. (11). *Amrita*, the water of life. (12). *Rambhā*,[17] the nymph, beautiful and sweet-dispositioned. (13). *Asva*, the horse with eight heads. (14). *Sārangadhanus*, or the bow *Sāranga* of which the unerring arrow carried to any distance.

After producing these inestimable treasures, the tortoise descended into the earth and is believed still to exist.

VARAHAVATARA,
or
Boar-Incarnation.

In the *Satya Yuga*, on the day of the full moon in the month of *Kārttika* (Oct.-Nov.) in the city of *Brahmāvarta* near *Nimishāra*[18] and Ayodhya, this manifestation took place. [P. 166] One of the *Daityas* named *Hiranyāksha* had passed a long period in the practice of austerities and the worship of God. One day the Deity appeared to him in visible form and asked him what he desired. Rejoiced at these gracious words, he enumerated many noxious animals and prayed for exemption from their injury and that he might be monarch of the whole universe. Shortly after he obtained his wishes, and dispossessing Indra of the sovereignty of heaven, committed its charge to one of his own kindred. The deities and Brahmā

[17] A nymph of Indra's paradise, sometimes regarded as a form of Lakshmi, and popularly accepted as a type of female beauty. The order and number of these ocean treasures varies in different accounts. See the *Vishnu Purāna* on the churning of the ocean. I. IX.

[18] Or *Naimisha* from *S. nimisha*, a twinkling; the name of a forest and shrine, celebrated as the residence of certain Rishis to whom Sauti related the Mahābhārata. The district was so-called because the sage Gaura-mukha destroyed an army of Asuras in a *twinkling*. Monier Williams, who refers to the *Mahābh.* Adi., p. 7275, Vana, p. 6079. It is called Nimkhār in the *I. G.*, a town in the Sitapur Dist., Oudh, on the left bank of the Gumti, 20 miles from Sitapur town. Lat. 27° 20′ 55″ N. and long. 80° 31′ 40″. It is described as a place of great sanctity with numerous tanks and temples. In one of the tanks, Rāma is said to have washed away his sin of slaying a Brāhman in the person of Rāvana, the ravisher of Sitā.

hastened to Vishnu and besought his aid. As in the request for exemption the name of the boar had been omitted, they received this answer, "I will manifest myself under that form and deprive him of life."

Soon afterwards, Vishnu took this shape and entering his capital, destroyed him. This is pointed out as having taken place at Soron.[19] The earth was again peopled with the virtuous and Indra recovered his sovereignty of the world above.

The period of this manifestation was a thousand years.

NARA-SINHA,
or
Man-Lion-Incarnation.

This was a form from the head to the waist like a lion and the lower parts resembling a man, and was manifested in the *Satya Yuga* on the fourteenth of the light half of the month of *Vaisākha* (April-May), in the city of *Hiranyapura* now commonly called Hindaun[20] near the metropolis of Agra. They say that *Hiranyakasipu* of the Daitya race spent many long years in a life of austerity until the Deity appeared to him and asked his desire. His first prayer was that his death might not take place by night nor by day, and next, he begged protection against all noxious animals which he severally named, and lastly, that he might obtain sovereignty over the realms above and below. His request was granted. The deities yielded submission to him and the world was filled with the unrighteous. The chief spirits implored aid of Vishnu through Brahmā and their prayer was heard. It is

[19] In the Etah district, N. W. P. It is a town of great antiquity according to the *I. G.* and was originally known as Ukala-Kshetra, but after the destruction of Hiranyāksha, the name was changed to Sukara-Kshetra (beneficent-region). Devout Hindus after visiting Mathurā, go on to Soron to bathe in the Barhgangā which is here lined with handsome temples and *ghāts*.

[20] In the Jaipur State, situated in 26° 44′ N., and long. 77° 5′ E., on the old route from Agra to Mhow, 71 miles S. W. of the former.

said that *Hiranyakasipu* had a son called *Prahlāda* who, like the deities, worshipped the Supreme God and followed the path of truth in spite of his father, who though he subjected his son to much persecution, was unable to turn him from that course. One evening his father asked him where the Supreme Being dwelt. He replied that he was omnipresent and to explain his meaning, pointed to a pillar in which also he declared the Deity to be. The king in folly smote it with his sword, and by a miracle from heaven, the above form came forth from it and tore him to pieces at the interval of time between night and day, and his death was caused by an animal of a specially-created type. It is said that this divine form asked *Prahlāda* to choose some boon. The great-souled youth prayed only for final liberation (*jivan-mukti*), [167] which is eternal life freed from the defilement of corporal existence and from the bonds of joy and sorrow. This manifestation continued one hundred years.[21]

VAMANA,
or
Dwarf-Incarnation.

In the *Tretā Yuga*, on the twelfth day of the light half of the month of *Bhādrapada* (H. *Bhādon*, Aug-Sept.) in the city of *Sonbhadrā* on the banks of the Narbadā, this new manifestation was born of Aditi in the house of Kasyapa, the son of Marichi, the son of the legendary Brahmā. This incarnation continued a thousand years. *Bali* of the Daitya race underwent an austere penance to obtain the sovereignty of the three worlds. The Bountiful Giver of all desires revealed himself and granted his wish and Bali thus obtained a mighty dominion. Having subdued the throned princes of the gods, he left them in possession of their principalities.

[21] Four chapters of the *Vishnu Purāna*, from the 17th to the 21st, are taken up with the history of the legend. The story is told in detail only in the *Bhāgavata Purāna*.

He performed many sacrifices, but neglected to present to the deities their customary offerings. The latter, through the intercession of Brahmā, implored Vishnu to dethrone him who comforted them by revealing the issue of events. In the same year this moon-orb displayed its radiance, and when the child grew in wisdom, in conformity with rule and custom he was placed under the tuition of the sage *Bharadwāja*. With his preceptor he attended the sacrifice which the king had inaugurated at Kurukshetra, and after the royal custom, Bali asked him what boon he desired. He replied, "I ask of thee as much ground as I can cover with three steps." The king in amazement rejoined, "Is so slight a gift craved of a monarch so illustrious and powerful?" When at last, after some debate he consented, the first step was so great that it covered the earth and the lower regions. The second measured the extent of the celestial world. The Rājā delivered himself up in bonds in commutation of the third step. On account of the natural goodness of the Rājā's disposition, after depriving him of his universal sovereignty, he conceded to him the rule of the nether world.

PARASURAMAVATARA,

or

Incarnation of Rāma with the axe.

In the house of Jamadagni a Brāhman, and of his wife Renukā, during the *Tretā Yuga*, on the third day of the light half of the month of *Vaisākha*, in the village of Rankatta near Agra, this human form was born.

Kārttavirya of the Daitya[22] race, who had neither hands nor feet, was at that time on the throne. In great affliction

[22] This is an error, probably of a copyist. He was sovereign of the Haihaya tribe, descendants of Yadu from the twelfth prince of the lunar line. Of this tribe there were five great divisions, the Tālojanghas, Vitihotras, Avantyas, Tundikeras and Jātas. They dwelt in Central India. The capital of the first named was Māhishmati or Chuli Maheswar, still called, according to Col. Todd

on account of his misfortune, he abandoned the world and retired to the Kailāsa mountain to undergo penance. Mahādeva vouchsafing his favour, gave him a thousand arms and at his prayer bestowed on him the sovereignty of the three worlds. But he oppressed the deities for which reason they implored his destruction, and their supplication was heard. They say that Jamadagni was descended from Mahādeva and Renukā from Aditi mother of the deities (*Adityas*). She had five sons, the fifth being Parasurāma. He was [168] instructed by Mahādeva in the Kailāsa mountain, and Jamadagni his father worshipped in the desert. Kārttavirya was one day engaged in the pastime of hunting and he happened to pass by the hermitage of Jamadagni and sought there to satisfy his hunger and thirst. The hermit brought forth food and drink, besides jewels and valuable presents befitting a monarch. The king was amazed and refused to touch them till he was informed concerning their possession. He replied that Indra, the ruler of the celestial regions, had bestowed upon him the cow *Kāmadhenu* which supplied him with all that he required. The king, seized with avarice, demanded the cow. He answered that he could not comply with his request without the sanction of Indra, and that no earthly power could take possession of it. The king enraged determined to use force, but notwithstanding all the troops he could collect and his hostile attempts, he could not prevail. At length one

Sahasra-bāhu ki basti, 'village of the thousand armed,' *i.e.*, of Kārttavirya. (*Rajāsthān*, I. 39, n.). These tribes must have preceded the Rājput tribes by whom their country, Mālwa, Ujjain and the valley of the Narbadā, is now occupied. A remnant of the Haihaya still exists at the top of the valley of Sohāgpur in Bagel-khand, aware of their ancient lineage and celebrated for their valour. Their predatory connection with the Sakas, suggests their Scythian origin, which the word Haya, meaning in Sansk. a horse, is supposed to confirm, perhaps from their nomadic habit implied in the Homeric name, Hippemolgi. Wilson hints their connection with the Huns. See his notes to Book, IV, Chap. rs III and XI, *V. P.* The Kailāsa mountain, the fabled Paradise of Śiva is placed by the Hindus, north of the Mānasa lake and regarded as one of the loftiest peaks of the Himalayas. *Vide* Vol. II, 313, n. 2.

night he came secretly and slew Jamadagni, but found no trace of the cow. Renukā sent for her son Parasurāma, and performing the funeral ceremonies of the deceased, burnt herself according to the custom of her people and laid upon her son the injunction to avenge her. Parasurāma, endued with miraculous power, set out to engage the king, and twenty pitched battles took place In the last, the king was slain and the deities recovered their sovereignty. He then collected the wealth of the universe and bestowed it in alms at a sacrificial ceremony, and then abandoning the world, retired to the obscurity of a solitude.[23]

He is still believed to be living and his habitation is pointed out in the mountain Mahendra of the Konkan.

RAMAVATARA,

or

Rāma-Incarnation.

They relate that Rāvana one of the *Rākshasas* two generations in descent from Brahmā,[24] had ten heads and twenty hands. He underwent austerities for a period of ten thousand years in the Kailāsa mountain and devoted his heads, one after another in this penance in the hope of obtaining the sovereignty of the three worlds. The Deity appeared to him and granted his prayer. The gods were afflicted by his rule and as in the former instances, solicited his dethronement which was vouchsafed, and Rāma was appointed to accomplish this end. He was accordingly born during the *Tretā Yuga* on the ninth of the light half of the month of *Chaitra*

[23] This fable is taken from the *Mahābhārata* and inserted in the 7th Chapter, Book IV, of the *Vishnu Purāna*. In this, Rāma uses his axe to cut off his mother's head at the command of his father, who restored her again to life at his son's request. The sons of Kārttavirya are there said to revenge the death of their father by slaying Jamadagni in Rāma's absence.

[24] He was the son of Visravas, son of Pulastya, son of Brahmā:

(March-April) in the city of Ayodhya, of Kausalya wife of Rājā Dasaratha. At the first dawn of intelligence, he acquired much learning and withdrawing from all worldly pursuits, set out journeying through wilds and gave a fresh beauty to his life by visiting holy shrines. He became lord of the earth and slew Rāvana. He ruled for eleven thousand years and introduced just laws of administration.[25]

KRISHNAVATARA,

or

Incarnation as Krishna.

More than four thousand years ago, Ugrasena of the Yadu race bore sway in his capital of Mathurā. His son Kansa rebelled and dethroning his father ruled with a persecuting hand, while at the same time Jarāsandha, Sisupāla and other princes of the Daityas exercised unbounded tyranny. [P. 169] The afflicted earth assuming the form of a cow, hastened with Brahmā to Vishnu and implored their destruction. The prayer was granted and the divine commission was entrusted to Krishna. They say that the astrologers foretold to Kansa that a child would shortly be born and that his reign would be at an end. He thereupon ordered the slaughter of all infants and thus each year the blood of many innocent children was shed until his sister Devaki married Vasudeva of the Yadu race. Now Kansa heard a report that Devaki's eighth son would be the cause of his death. He therefore confined them both in prison and put to death every son that was born to them. In the beginning of the *Kali Yuga*, on the eighth lunar day of the dark half of the month of *Bhādrapada* (Aug.-Sept.), in the city of Mathurā near the metropolis

[25] The literature of the *Rāmāyana* in various languages is sufficiently well-known to dispense with a reference to the details of this *Avatāra*. For the *Rāmāyana*, see Hastings, *Encyclo.* x. 574-578 and Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*.

of Agra, the child was born while the guards were negligent. The fetters fell off and the doors were opened and the child spoke thus. "On the other side of the Jamuna, a girl has even now been born in the house of the cowherd Nanda, and the family are asleep. Take and leave me there and bring the girl hither." As Vasudeva set out to fulfill this injunction, the river became fordable and the command was obeyed. Krishna in his ninth year killed Kansa, released Ugrasena from prison and seated him on the throne. He also engaged the other tyrants and overthrew them.

He lived one hundred and twenty-five years and had 16,108 wives, each of whom gave birth to ten sons and one daughter, and each wife thought that she alone shared her husband's bed.

BUDDHAVATARA,
or
Buddha-Incarnation.

He was born of Māya in the house of Rājā Sudhodhana of the race of Rāmachandra during the *Kali Yuga*, on the eighth of the light half of the month of *Vaisākha* in the city of Magadh.

They say that as many sacrifices were performed at this period and the number of animals sacrificed was very large, Vishnu willed to appear in human form to condemn the Vedic institutions and their sacrificial rites. For this reason he became incarnate in that year and lived to the age of a hundred. Some account of him has already preceded.

KALKYAVATARA,
or
Kalki-Incarnation.

At the close of the *Kali Yuga*, in the tenth of the light half of the month of *Vaisākha*, this birth will take place in

the family of the Brāhman Vishnuyasas from the womb of his wife Yasovati in the town of Sambhala.[26]

They say that a time will come when a just prince will not be left upon the earth, iniquity will abound, grain become excessively dear, and [P. 170] the age of men will become shortened so that they will not live beyond thirty years, and deaths will be rife. For the remedy of these disorders, the Deity will become incarnate and renew the world in righteousness.

Some add fourteen other *Avatāras*, making them twenty-four, and have written works on the histories of each, relating many extraordinary legends.

Many men fashion images of these *Avatāras* in silver and gold and worship them, but the Jainas and Buddhas do not believe in the complete incarnations (*Purnavatāras*).

Unclean Things.

These are,—wine, blood, semen, excrement, urine, excretions from the mouth, nose, ears and eyes, sweat, hair, detached nails, bones of animals whose flesh is forbidden, a woman in her courses, and one newly delivered during the period hereinafter stated, any dead animal, forbidden food, a sweeper, an ass, a dog, (tame) swine, the dust that rises from off an ass, goat, sheep or broom, and the mud shaken out of a garment, a sinner guilty of the five great sins, or whoever touches such, a crow, a (tame domestic) cock, a mouse, a eunuch, the smoke from a burnt corpse, a washerman, a hunter, a fisherman, a gamester, a spirit-seller, an executioner, a tanner, a dyer, a currier, and an oilman.

[26] See Vol II. He is to appear on a white horse with a flashing sword for the final destruction of Mlechchhas and those that love iniquity, and to re-establish righteousness. The similarity of the idea and expression to the Apocalyptic vision of the white horse and its rider will readily occur to mind and the analogy between some of these manifestations and certain scenes in the New Testament has often been observed, and is not the result of accident.

PURIFIERS.

Knowledge, austerity, suspension of breath (*prānāyāma*), religious exercises of the *Sandhyā*, sun-light, moon-light, fire, water, air, earth, ashes, mustard-seed, wild produce of the earth, shade of a tree, the back and legs of a cow, a plough, a broom, sour things, salt-water, mouth of a horse or goat, eating certain food, the lapse of time, milk, butter-milk, clarified butter, and the dung and urine of a cow.

STATE OF PURIFICATION.[27]

Knowledge and austerity purify the soul. When the inward person is unclean by improper food, it is purified by suppression of breath and the wild produce of the earth: a drunkard by molten glass. When the body is defiled by ordure, wine, blood and the like, it becomes pure by cleansing below the navel with earth and water, and above it with earth and water, rinsing the teeth, washing the eyes, bathing, abstaining for a day and a night from food and drink, and afterwards eating five things from a cow.[28] A pathway or water that has been polluted by the shadow of a *Chandāl* (pariah) is again purified by sunlight, moonlight, and air. If the ordure of any animal falls into a well, sixty pitchers full of water must be taken out; if into a tank, a hundred pitchers;

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[27] On Hindu ideas of purification, Hastings, *Encyclo.* x. 490-491, and food, vi. 63-65. Prohibitions and permissions in regard to food and ceremonial purification are treated in the V. Lecture of Manu's *Ordinances*. Albiruni says that he was informed by Hindus that before the time of Bhārata, the meat of cows was permitted, and cows were killed at certain sacrifices and that the reason of the prohibition was their unwholesomeness as food. In a hot climate the inner parts of the body are cold, the natural warmth is feeble and the digestion is so weak, that it has to be strengthened by chewing the betel-nut. The betel inflames the bodily heat, the chalk in the betel leaves dries up everything wet, and the betel-nut acts as an astringent on the teeth, gums and stomach. Hence cow's meat was forbidden as it is essentially thick and cold. II. Chapter 58.

[28] Milk, buttermilk, ghee, dung of a cow and its urine. [Sanskr. *pancha gavya*.]

any part of a river, is purified by its own flow. From oil that is defiled, the contaminating matter is taken out and the oil is boiled. Milk cannot be purified except only when the shadow of a *Chandāl* may have fallen upon it, in which case it becomes pure by boiling. Cotton, leaves, molasses, grain become pure by the sprinking of a little water after removing the defilement. Gold, silver, stone, vegetable produce, rope and whatever grows beneath [P. 171] the earth and utensils of cane are purified by water, and if they have been defiled by unclean oil and the like, by hot water. Clothes are purified by water. Wooden vessels if defiled by the touch of a *Chandāl* cannot be made pure, but if touched by a *Sudra* or any unclean thing, may be purified by scraping; and wood and bone and horn must be treated in the same manner. Anything made of stone after being washed must be buried for seven days. A sieve, a winnowing basket, a deer-skin, and the like, and a pestle-and-mortar, are purified by being sprinkled with water. A cart may be scraped in the part defiled and the rest dashed with water. An earthen vessel is purified by being heated in the fire; and the ground by one of the following: sweeping, lighting a fire thereon, ploughing, lapse of a considerable time, being touched by the feet or back of a cow, sprinkling with water, digging or plastering with cow-dung. Food smelt by a cow or into which hair, flies or lice have fallen, is purified with ashes and water. If any thing is defiled by excretions from the mouth, nose, eyes, ears, or sweat, or touched by hair or nails detached from one's own body, it should be first washed, and then scoured with clean earth, and again washed until the smear and smell have gone. Excretions from the mouth, nose, ears, or eyes of another, if they come from above the navel, must if possible, be purified as above described, after which he must bathe: all below the navel, and the two hands are purified by cleansing in the same way. If he be defiled with spirituous liquor, semen, blood, catamenia, (the touch of) a lying-in woman,

ordure and urine, he must wash with water and scour with earth, and again wash with water if the defilement be above the navel; if it extend below, after the second washing, he must rub himself with butter from a cow and then with its milk, and afterwards with its butter-milk, and next smear himself with cowdung and wash in its urine, and finally drink three handfuls of water from the river. If he touch a washerman, or a dyer, or a currier, or an executioner, or a hunter, or a fisherman, or an oilman, or tame swine, he is purified by water only. But if he touch a woman in her courses or a lying-in woman, or a sweeper, or a great sinner, or a corpse, or a dog, or an ass, cat, crow, domestic cock, mouse or a eunuch, or the smoke of a burning corpse, or the dust from an ass, dog, goat or sheep reach him, he must enter the water in his clothes and bathe and look at the sun and pronounce incantations to it. After touching a greasy human bone, he must bathe with his clothes on or else wash himself and drink three handfuls of water and look at the sun and put his hand upon a cow. Where the sun is not visible, he must look upon fire. If silk or wool come in contact with any thing the touch of which (in a man) would require his bathing, it is purified by air and sunshine if it be not actually defiled, otherwise it must also be washed. A woman in her courses becomes pure after the fourth day.

If it is not known whether a thing be clean or unclean, they accept the decision of some virtuous person regarding it or sprinkle it with water. The details on this subject are numerous.

IMPROPER DRESS.

[172] A blue garment, unless it be of silk or wool, is improper for any caste except a Sudra, but a Brâhman's wife at night, and a Kshatriya woman as a bride or at a feast, may wear it, and a Vaisya woman must avoid it when perform-

ing the *Srāddha* or funeral rites. The women of all three castes may not wear it when cooking or eating.

PROHIBITED FOOD.

Human flesh, beef, horse-flesh, domestic cocks and hens, the parrot, the *Sārika*, the *Mynah*, the pigeon, the owl, the vulture, the chameleon, the bustard, the *Sāras* (Ardea antigone), the *Papiha* and waterfowl, frogs, snakes, weasels and animals whose toes are joined (web-footed birds): animals that abide in towns, except the goat; the ruddy goose (Anas casarca), the pond-heron (Ardea torra), dried fish or flesh, five kinds of fish, *viz.*:—(1). The *Rohu*, (Cyprinus Rohita). (2). The *Patthar Chatā* (Stone licker). (3). The *Sankara* (probably a skate the *Raia Sankar*). (4). The *Rājiva*. (5) The *Bārahi*[29]: carnivorous animals, the camel, the elephant, the rhinoceros, the monkey, the various reptiles; all that produces intoxication, camel's milk, mare's milk, and the milk of all animals that divide not the hoof; goat's and ewe's milk, the milk of forest animals, woman's milk, milk from a cow in the first ten days after calving, milk of a cow whose calf has died, till she calves again; garlic, leeks, carrots, the Sebesten plum (Cordia Sebestena) the produce from unclean land, or food which a man's foot has touched or the hand of a woman in her courses; anything from the house of a courtesan, or a thief, or a carpenter, or a usurer, or a blacksmith, or a polisher, or a goldsmith, or a washerman, or a weaver, or a tanner, or a currier, or a singer or dancer, or an armourer, or

[29] The last named, of which there are several variants, and the second and third, are not in Manu who mentions the *pathina* and *simhatunda* which together with the *rājiva* and *rohu* or *rohita* are declared to be *lawful*, but the commentator Medha-tithi limits the two latter to use at sacrificial ceremonies. I do not find the Patthar-chata mentioned in Day's *Fishes of India*. Stone-licking is common to a good many if not to all. The Sankāra is perhaps, a skate, the Raia *Sankar*. Rājiva signifies streaked or striped, and is mentioned by Monier Williams as a fish whose spawn is said to be poisonous. I cannot identify it nor the following name Bārahi. The rhinoceros is a disputed animal, *M. V.* 18. n. 6.

a dog keeper, or a seller of spirits, or a physician, or a surgeon, or a hunter, or a eunuch; food set apart or the food of one who has committed the five great sins;[30] food dressed for offerings to the deities, leavings of food of one in mourning during the period of mourning, food of an unchaste woman, cheese and the like that is made of milk,[31] all food dressed with oil or water and left all night; whatever becomes sour from being left long; food in which hair or insects may have fallen; food eaten without the five ceremonies which are obligatory before meals, as will be now described.

These details are already numerous and what has been said must suffice.

Ceremonies in Cooking and Eating.

Each time before cooking, if it be in the house, the floor and part of the wall should be plastered with cowdung and earth, and if it be in the woods, as much ground as will hold the materials and the cooking utensils. No one but the person who cooks may occupy the spot, and he must first bathe and put on a loin-cloth and cover his head and thus complete his meal. If a piece of paper or dirty rag or other such thing fall on the plastered space, the food is spoilt. He must bathe again and newly plaster the ground and provide fresh materials. The cook must be either the mistress of the family or a Brāhman whose special duty this may be, or a relation, or the master of the house himself. [173.]

Before eating, the place where they sit must be plastered in the same way, and they occupy it without spreading any covering on the ground, but a stool or a wooden board, bare as aforesaid, may be used.

[30] Slaying a Brāhman, drinking spirituous liquor, theft, adultery with the wife of a Guru are the four great crimes; associating with those who commit them is the fifth. Manu IX, 235, and X, 55.

[31] Curdled milk and all produced from it are expressly allowed. V. 10.

Next, the following five ceremonies are regarded as indispensable:—(1). Reading some portion of the *Vedas*. (2). Sprinkling water as a libation to departed ancestors. (3). Placing some food in front of the idol. (4). Throwing a little food on the ground in the name of the deities. (5). Giving some to the poor. First the children eat, then the relations satisfy themselves, after which the man himself partakes, but not out of the same dish with another even though it be a child. None but the cook may bring any provisions to the gathering. If by accident his hand touches any one, or he is touched by others, whatever food he holds in his hand at the time he must throw away, and bathing anew, bring fresh materials; unless the cook be a woman, for whom it will suffice to wash her hands and feet. The cook eats last of all. In drinking also, each person must have a separate vessel.

Formerly it was the custom for a Brāhman to eat at the house of a Brāhman or of a Kshātriya or of a Vaisya, and a Kshātriya might eat at any house but that of a Sudra; and a Vaisya in the same way; but in this cycle of *Kali Yuga*, each must take his meal in the house of his own caste. The utensils from which they eat are generally the leaves of trees, and fashioned of gold, silver, brass, and also of bell-metal, and they avoid the use of copper, earthenware, and stone vessels. They also consider it improper to eat from a broken dish or from the leaves of the *bar* or banyan tree (*ficus Indica*), the *pipal*, (*ficus religiosa* and the swallow-wort (*Asclepeas gigantea*).[32] To eat twice either in the night or day is not approved.

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[32] These being sacred; the flowers of the *Asclepeas* are placed upon the idol Mahādeva. It secretes an acrid milky juice which flows from wounds in the shrub, and is applied to various medicinal purposes, and preparations of the plant are employed to cure all kinds of fits, epilepsy, hysterics, convulsions, poisonous bites. The flowers are large and beautiful, a mixture of rose and purple; there is also a white-flowered variety. Roxburgh, *Flora Indica*.

RULES OF FASTING.

These are of numerous kinds, but a few will be mentioned.

The first kind is when they neither eat nor drink during the day and night, and twenty-nine of these days are obligatory during the year, *viz.*, on the eleventh day of each lunar fortnight of every month; the *Sivarātri*;[33] the fourteenth of the light half of the month of *Vaisākha* (April-May) in which the birth of the *Nara-Sinha*, or Man-lion took place; the third of the light half of the same month being the anniversary of the birth of *Parasurāma;* the ninth of the light half of the month of *Chaitra* (March-April), the nativity of *Rāma;* and the eighth of the dark half of the month of *Bhādra-pada* (*Bhādon*, Aug.-Sept.), the nativity of Krishna. On these occasions, some abstain from grain only, and other authorities lay down particular details.

The second kind. They eat only at night.

The third kind. They take only water, fruit and milk.

The fourth kind. They eat but once during the day and night, but may drink water at any time.

The fifth kind. They do not of their own desire eat during twenty-four hours, but if pressed to do so, they may partake of food not more than once.

The sixth kind is the Chandrāyana, which is in five ways:—(1). On the first day of the month, one mouthful is taken and an increase of one mouthful made daily till the fifteenth, from which date it diminishes daily by the like quantity. [P. 174] (2). Or on the first of the month, fifteen mouthfuls are taken and the consumption daily diminishes till the fifteenth, when it is reduced to one mouthful; after which it again increases by one mouthful daily. (3). Some

[33] Siva's night, a popular festival in honour of Siva kept on the 14th of the dark half of the month of *Māgha* (Jan.-Feb.). When Siva is worshipped under the type of the *Linga*, a rigorous fast is observed. Monier Williams. Hindu fasting, Hastings, *Encyclop.*, v. 761, vii. 362.

say that instead of this, three mouthfuls, should be taken each half-day, and nothing else should be touched. (4). Or, again, eight mouthfuls each half-day, four in the morning and four in the evening. (5). Or two hundred and forty mouthfuls may be eaten (during the month) in any manner at will: The size of the mouthful should be that of a pea-hen's egg, and the faster should bathe regularly morning, noon, and evening.

The seventh kind. They neither eat nor drink for twelve days.

The eighth kind. Out of twelve days, they eat a little once daily for three days consecutively, and once at night only for three days; during three other days and nights they do not eat unless some one brings them food, and for the remaining three, they fast altogether.

The ninth kind. For three days and nights they eat no more than one handful, and for three other days the same allowance only at night: for three more days and nights if any food is brought to them, they may take one handful, and for three days and nights they eat nothing.

The tenth kind. For three days and nights, they swallow only warm water: for three other such periods only hot milk, and again for three days and nights hot clarified butter, and for three days and nights they light a fire and put the mouth against an opening by which the hot air enters, which they inhale.

The eleventh kind. Out of fifteen days, for three days and nights they eat only leaves, and for three days and nights only the Indian fig; for three days and nights they are content with the seeds of the lotus; for three days and nights, leaves of the *pipal;* for three days and nights, the kind of grass called *dābha.*[34]

[34] Or *darbha,* the name specially of the *kusa-grass* (*Poa Cynosuroides*) used at sacrificial ceremonies, but also applied to the *Saccharum spontaneum* and *S. cylindricum.*

The twelfth kind. For six days out of the week they must content themselves with one of the following six consecutively, the produce of the cow:—(1). Urine. (2). Dung. (3). Milk. (4). Buttermilk. (5). Butter. (6). Water. On the seventh he must abstain from food altogether.

During every kind of fast they must abstain from meat, the pulse *Adas*, (*Cicer lens*), the bean *Lobiyā*, (*Dolichos Sinensis*), honey and molasses; they must sleep on the ground; they may not play at such games as *chaupar* and *solah*;[35] nor approach their wives at night, nor anoint themselves with oil, nor shave, and the like, and they must give alms daily and perform other good works.

Enumeration of Sins.

Although these exceed expression, and a volume could not contain them, they may be classed in seven degrees.

The first degree comprises five kinds which cannot be expiated.

(1). Killing a Brāhman. (2) Incest with the mother. (3). Drinking spirituous liquors by a Brāhman, Kshātriya or Vaisya; accounted no sin, however, in a Sudra. Some authorities name three kinds of spirits, *viz.*, distilled from rice or other grain: from *mahwā* (*Bassia Latifolia*), and the like: from molasses and similar things. All three are forbidden to the Brāhman; the first-named only to the Kshātriya and the Vaisya. (4). Stealing ten *māshas* of gold. (5). Associating for one year with anyone guilty of these four.

The second degree. Untruth in regard to genealogy, carrying a slander to the king, and false accusation of a Guru, are equivalent to slaying a Brāhman.

[35] Both are games of hazard: the latter is also called *solah-bagghu*. The names are derivatives from the numerals four and sixteen respectively, *chaupar* having two transverse bars in the form of a cross drawn on the playing cloth, and the other played with a number of lines drawn on the ground.

Carnal connection with sisters by the same mother,[36] with immature girls, with women of the lowest class, and the wives of curriers, painters, rope-dancers, fishermen and fowlers, and the wife of one's friend or son, is equivalent to the second great sin (of the first degree). [P. 175]

Forgetting the Vedas, or showing them contempt, false testimony (without a bad motive), killing a relation (without malice), and eating prohibited things, are equivalent to the third sin of the first degree.

Betrayal of trust in regard to a deposit, and stealing a human creature, a horse, jewels, silver and land, are equivalent to stealing gold.

Third degree. Killing a cow, adultery with other than the above named women, theft of other things besides (gold), killing a woman,[37] a Kshatriya, a Vaisya or a Sudra (without malice), bewitching, oppression of others, exacting illegal imposts, procuring for immoral purposes, prostitution and making a livelihood thereby, deserting a teacher or father or mother, usury as has been noticed, trading in a Brāhman or Kshatriya unless through necessity, in which case they may not deal in oil, salt, sweetmeats, cooked food, sesame-seed, stone, living animals, red cloths, hempen, linen or woollen cloths, fruits, medicines, arms, poison, flesh, perfumes, milk, honey, buttermilk, spirituous liquors, indigo, lac, grass, water and leather goods: non-payment of the three debts,[39] that is to the gods, which is sacrifice; to spiritual teachers, which is reading the *Vedas;* and to ancestors for the procreation of their kind: omitting investiture of the sacred thread at the

[36] Taken in this sense by Sir W. Jones, and confirmed by the commentator Medhātithi, but Hopkins translates "with women born of one's own mother." Manu, XI. 59. For sins, see Hastings, xi. 560-562.

[37] The variant in the notes is correct and I have adopted it instead of the reading of the text which makes the woman the wife of the castes that follow. See Manu, XI, 67.

[38] To the gods, manes and men, are the three debts with which man is born. XI. 66, n. 1 Hopkins.

proper time, deserting one's kindred, selling a son, a wife, a garden, a well, or a holy pool, digging up green produce from the ground having no need of it, performing the *pāka* sacrifice with a selfish view merely, application to the books of a false religion, doing service for hire as a Brāhman,[39] marrying before an elder brother: all these are considered equivalent to killing a cow.

Fourth degree. Dissimulation, sodomy, molesting a Brāhman, smelling any spirituous liquor, and anything extremely fœtid or unfit to be smelt.

Fifth degree. Killing an elephant, a horse, a camel, a deer, a goat, a sheep, a buffalo, a *nilgao*, a fish, an ass, a dog, a cat, a pig and the like; receiving property from forbidden persons as a Chandāla or pariah, and the like; trading in the things aforesaid without necessity, falsehood, and serving a Sudra.

Sixth degree. Killing small insects like ants; eating from the hand or vessel of a wine-seller.

Seventh degree. Stealing fruit, flowers, and firewood; want of mental firmness on important occasions.

For each of these degrees of sin certain penances have been appointed, the performance of which releases from further penalty: for instance, they say that whoever kills a Brāhman will transmigrate into the form of a deer, a dog, a camel, or boar. When he takes human form he will be subject to diseases and end his life in great afflictions. The expiation is to cut off pieces of his own flesh and skin and throw them into the fire, or for twelve years forsake his family and taking a human skull in his hand, go abegging and from street to street and door to door proclaim his wickedness; this is, provided it was accidental, otherwise this penance lasts twenty-four years.

[39] That is, teaching the Vedas for hire working in mines and dykes and bridges and other mechanical works, serving a Sudra all of which are forbidden.

Interior Sins.

[176] Although they hold these to be very numerous twelve are accounted heinous:—(1). *Krodha*, being under the influence of anger. (2). *Lobha*, inordinate desire of rank and wealth. (3). *Dvesha*, hatred towards men. (4). *Rāga*, love of worldly pleasures. (5). *Māna*, esteeming one's self above others. (6). *Moha*, ignorance. (7). *Mada*, intoxication from spirituous liquors or wealth or youth or station or knowledge. (8). *Soka*, absorption in grief through loss of goods, reputation or honour, or separation from friends. (9). *Mamatva*, considering the things of the world as one's own. (10). *Ahankāra*, egoism. (11). *Bhaya*, fearing other than God. (12). *Harsha*, joy in one's own virtue and the evil of others

The endeavour of such as desire to know God should be first to restrain themselves from these twelve sins until they acquire virtuous dispositions and become worthy to attain to the divine union. Some say that all evil actions are reducible to ten heads,[40] of which three corrupt the heart, *viz.*, coveting the goods of another; resolving on any forbidden deed; scepticism in regard to the chosen servants of God. The same number defile the members of the body, *viz.*, taking the goods of another by force; injury to the innocent; adultery.

The sins of the tongue are four, *viz.*, scurrilous language, falsehood, slander, and useless tattle.

May the omnipotent Lord keep us from these ten sins and bring us to the goal of our desire.

[40] This is taken from Manu, XII. 5, 6, 7. F. solving on forbidden things is defined by a commentator as desiring to kill a Brāhman and the like, and the third in conceiving notions of materialism and atheism.

CHAPTER IX.

SACRED PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE.

Although profound and enlightened moralists are convinced that true happiness consists in the acquisition of virtue and recognise no other temple of God but a pure heart, nevertheless the physicians of the spiritual order, from their knowledge of the pulsation of human feeling, have bestowed on certain places a reputation for sanctity and thus rousing the slumberers in forgetfulness and instilling in them the enthusiastic desire of seeking God, have made these shrines instruments for their reverencing of the just, and the toils of the pilgrimage a means of facilitating the attainment of their aim.

These holy places are of four degrees.

The first is termed *deva* or divine and dedicated to Brahmā, Vishnu and Mahādeva. The greatest among these are twenty-eight rivers in the following order:—[P. 177]

(1). Ganges. (2) Sarasvati. (3). Jamuna. (4). Narbadā. (5). Vipāsā, known as Biāh (Hyphasis). (6). Vitastā (Hydaspes or Bidaspes) known as the Bihat. (7). Kausiki, a river near Rhotās in the Panjāb, but some place it in the neighbourhood of Garhi in the eastern districts. (8). Nandāvati. (9). Chandrabhāgā, known as the Chenāb. (10). Sarayu (Sarju) known as the Sarāu. (11). Satyavati. (12). Tāpi known as Tapti upon the (north) bank of which is Burhānpur. (13). Pārāvati. (14). Pāsāvati. (15). Gomati (Gumti) near Dvārakā. (16). Gandaki, upon the banks of which is Sultānpur of the Subah of Oudh. (17). Bāhudā. (18). Devikā (Deva or Gogra). (19). Godāvari, called also Bānganga. Pattan of the Dekhan is situated on its bank. (20). Tāmraparni at the extremity of the Dekhan. Here pearls are found. (21). Charmanvati. (22). Varana, near Benares. (23). Irāvati,

known as the Rāvi (Hydraotęs). Lahor is on its bank. (24). Satadru (the hundred-channelled), known as the Sutlej. Ludhiana is upon its bank. (25). Bhimarathi, [178] called also the Bhimā, in the Dekhan. (26). Parnasonā. (27). Vanjara, in the Dekhan. (28). Achamiyyā. Some include the Indus, but it is not of the same sanctity.[1]

Each of these rivers as dedicated to one of these deities, has peculiar characteristics ascribed to it: Some of the places situated on their banks are esteemed holy, as, for example, the village of Soron on the Ganges, to which multitudes flock on the twelfth of the month of *Aghan* (Nov.-Dec.). Some regard certain cities as dedicated to the divinities. Among these are *Kāsi*, commonly called Benares. The adjacent

[1] Sacred rivers—An earlier list of names is given in Alberuni's *India* (Sachau's trans.), i. 257-262. Abul Fazl's transliteration of Sanskrit geographical names is even more puzzling than Alberuni's and any attempt to identify the doubtful names must be largely conjectural.

Kausiki, evidently the Kosi in North Bihar, and therefore Abul F.'s location of it "near Rhotas in the Panjab" is incorrect; he probably confounded it with Rohtas in south Bihar, near which there is no sacred river. "Garhi is a parganā of Purnia (N. Bihar) through which the Kosi flows." A. F.'s *Nandāvati*—Alberuni's *Nandanā*, A. F.'s *Pārāvati*=Alberuni's *Parā* and *Pāvani*, probably the Pārvati river (a tributary of the Bias) in the Kāngra district, or a lesser river of the same name in Mālwa. *Satyavati* of A. F.= *Sailodā* of Alberuni. But Jarrett suggests that it is "the same as the Kausiki, because Satyavati the mother of Jamadagni (the father of Parasurāma) became the Kausiki river." On this view Abul F.'s Kausiki cannot be the Kosi of North Bihar, but the Kausikā, "one of the seven mouths of the Godāvari, branching off from the Gautami, near Mandapalle." A. F.'s *Bāhadā*=Alberuni's *Bāhudāsa* (probably a mistake for the Mahānandā near Mālda or for the *Bhadrā*, which joins the Tungā in the Deccan). A. F.'s *Parna Sonā* stands for the *Son* river (the name of which means gold, *sonā*), Parnā being the old name of *Panna* (popularly called Jharnā-Parnā) through which State the Son flows. For *Pāsāvati* (Alberuni's *Pisāvika*) I suggest the *Pampā-nadi* in Travancore, or more probably the Pampā lake near old Vijaynagar. A. F.'s *Vanjara* is evidently a mistake for the *Manjarā* river, a tributary of the Godāvari. For A. F.'s *Achamiyyā* I hazard the guess *Ujjainia* or the river of Ujjain, known as the *Siprā*, a very sacred water, which Alberuni gives under its proper name. The *Tāmraparni* flows in the Tinnevelli district of Madras. (J. Sarkar).

country for five *kos* around the city is held sacred. Although pilgrimages take place throughout the year, on the *Siva-rātri* multitudes resort thither from distant parts and it is considered one of the most chosen places in which to die. Final liberation is said to be fourfold:—(1). *Sālokya*,[2] passing from the degrees of paradise to Kailāsa. They say that when a man goes to heaven through good works, he must return to earth, but when after various transmigrations, he attains that region, he returns no more. (2). *Sārupya* (assimilation to the deity); when a man partakes of the divine elementary form, he does not revisit the earth. (3). *Sāmipya* (nearness to the deity) is when a man after breaking the elemental bonds, by the power of good works is admitted into the presence of God's elect, and does not return to earth. (4). *Sāyujya* (absorption into the deity); after passing through all intermediate stages, he obtains the bliss of true liberation. They have likewise divided the territory of Benares into four kinds. The characteristic of two parts is that when a being dies therein, he attains the fourth degree of *Mukti;* if he dies in one of the others, he reaches the third degree, and if in the remaining one, the second degree.

Ayodhyā, commonly called Awadh. The distance of forty *kos* to the east, and twenty to the north is regarded as sacred ground. On the ninth of the light half of the month of *Chaitra* a great religious festival is held.[3]

Avantikā, Ujjain. All around it for thirty-two *kos* is accounted holy and a large concourse takes place on the *Siva-rātri*.

Kāṇchi (Conjevaram) in the Dekhan. For twenty *kos* around it is considered sacred. On the eighth of every Hindu

[2] I read *bihisht* for *hasht*. *Sālokya* signifies being in the same heaven with any particular deity. *Kailāsa* is the paradise of Siva placed according to their belief in the Himālaya range.

[3] The anniversary of the birth of Rāma, *Rāma-navami*.

month that falls on a Tuesday, there is a great concourse of pilgrims.

Mathurā is sacred for forty-eight *kos* around, and even before it became the birthplace of Krishna, was held in veneration. Religious festivals are held on the 23rd of the month of *Bhādra* (Aug.-Sept.) and the 15th of *Kārttika* (Oct.-Nov.).[4]

Dvārakā. The country for forty *kos* in length and twenty in breadth is esteemed holy. On the *Diwāli*[5] festival, crowds resort hither.

Māyā, known as Haridvāra (Hardwar) on the Ganges. It is held sacred for eighteen *kos* in length. Large numbers of pilgrims assemble on the 10th of *Chaitra*.

These seven are called the seven (sacred) cities.

Prayāga now called Illahābās. The distance for twenty *kos* around is venerated. They say that the desires of a man that dies here are gratified in his next birth. They also hold that whoever commits suicide is guilty of a great crime except in this spot where it meets with exceeding reward. Throughout the year it is considered holy, but especially so during the month of *Māghà* (Jan.-Feb.).

Nagarkot.[6] For eight *kos* round it is venerated. On the eighth of the months of *Chaitra* and *Kārttika*, many pilgrims assemble.

Kāshmir is also accounted of this class and is dedicated to Mahādeva. Many places in it are held in great veneration.

The second are the shrines of the Asuras, which are

[4] The former is the anniversary of the birth of Krishna, *i.e.*, adding 15 days of the light half to 8 of the dark half, making it the 23rd day. The second festival is connected with the legend of the Serpent Kāliyā. See Vish. Pur. V. 7.

[5] *Dipāli* in Sansk., a row of lamps. The day of the new moon in the month of *Kārttika*, on which there are nocturnal illuminations in honour of Kārttikeya, the god of war. The night is often spent in gambling.

[6] Kāngra. See Vol. II.

temples dedicated to the Daitya race. In many things they share the privileges of the *devatās;* but the latter are more pure, while the others are filled with the principle of *tamas* (darkness).[7] Their temples are said to be in the lower regions (Pātāla).

The third are called *Arsha,* or shrines of the great *Rishis,* men who by virtue of austerities and good works are in near proximity to the deity. [180] Their shrines are counted by thousands. Amongst them are Nimkhār (Nimishāra), Pukhra (Pushkara), Khushāb, and Baddiri.[8]

The fourth are called *Mānusha,* or appertaining to men who by their power of good works are superior to mankind in general, though they do not obtain the rank of the third degree. Their shrines also are numerous. Among them is *Kurukshetra,* which for forty *kos* around is considered holy, and numerous pilgrims resort thither during eclipses of the sun and moon.

Ceremonies are laid down for each pilgrimage and their various meritorious results are declared.

O THOU! that seekest after divine knowledge, learn wisdom of these Hindu legends! Each particle among created atoms is a sublime temple of worship. May the Almighty deliver mankind from the wanderings of a vain imagination troubled over many things.

[7] "Brahmā, then, being desirous of creating the four orders of being termed gods, demons, progenitors, and men, collected his mind into itself; whilst thus concentrated the quality of darkness pervaded his body and thence the demons (the Asuras) were first born, issuing from his thigh. This form abandoned by him which embodied darkness became night; the quality of goodness then becoming embodied, from his mouth issued the gods; this form abandoned became day. Thus the gods are powerful by day, the demons at night. *Vish. Pur.* I. 5.

[8] *Nimkhār* (Sansk. *Naimisha*) a town in the Sitapur district of Oudh. *Pushkar* in the Ajmer dist.; *Badrināth* in the Garhwāl dist. Can *Khushāb* be a mistake for *Joshi* (math) in the Central Himalayas, which pilgrims to Badri-nāth also visit? [J. S.]

CUSTOMS OF MARRIAGE.

This is of eight kinds:—

1. *Brāhmya*. The girl's father with other elders of the family visit the bridegroom and bring him to his house where the relations assemble. Then the grandfather, or brother, or any other male relation, or the mother, says before the company:—"I have bestowed such and such a maiden upon such and such a man." The bridegroom in the presence of the same company gives his consent. Certain incantations are then pronounced and the *Homa* sacrifice is performed. It is then declared that the girl's mother has borne male children and was of smaller stature than her husband,[10] and that the bridegroom is not impotent, and both parties declare that they have not been subject to leprosy, phthisis, dyspepsia, hemorrhoids, piles, chronic issue of blood, deformity of limb, or epilepsy. At the nuptials an attendant of the bride washes the feet of the bride and bridegroom and draws the sectarial marks upon them. Three vessels filled severally with rice and curds, after certain incantations have been pronounced, are then given to them to eat. When this is concluded they are dressed out and taken to a retired chamber and a curtain is hung between the bride and bridegroom. The father takes each of the young people and turns them facing the east and

[9] For Hindu marriages, see Hastings, viii. 449-454.

[10] I do not find this condition. It might possibly mean inferior in caste but in that sense Abul Fazl uses *sāfl*. Manu requires a bridegroom to avoid the ten following families whatever their wealth in gold or kine, *viz.*, the family which has omitted prescribed acts of religion; that which has produced no male children; that in which the Veda has not been read; that which has thick hair on the body; and those subject to hemorrhoids, phthisis, dyspepsia, epilepsy, leprosy and albinoism, also a girl with reddish hair, a deformed limb, troubled with habitual sickness: and one with no hair or too much, and immoderately talkative and with inflamed eyes. She must not bear the name of a constellation, of a tree, of a river, of a barbarous nation, of a mountain, of a winged creature, a snake, or a slave. She must have no defect, walk like a goose or an elephant, have hair and teeth of moderate quantity and length, and have exquisite softness of person. M. III. 7, 8, 9, 10.

a Brāhman repeats certain prayers and places in the hand of each some rice and five betel-nuts. The curtain is then removed and they present to each other what they hold in their hands. The Brāhman next places the two hands of the bride in those of the bridegroom and repeats certain prayers and then reverses the ceremony; after which he binds them both with loose-spun cotton thread, and the girl's father taking [P. 181] her hand gives her to the bridegroom and says, 'May there be ever participation between you and this nursling of happiness in three things—in good works, in worldly goods, and tranquillity of life. Finally, a fire is lit and the pair are led round it seven times,[11] and the marriage is completed. Until this is done, the engagement may be lawfully cancelled.

2. *Daiva* (of the Devas). At the time of a sacrifice, all is given away in alms and a maiden is bestowed on the Brāhman performing the sacrifice. The betrothal is then made and the other ceremonies are conducted as aforesaid.

3. *Arsha* (of the Rishis). This rite takes place when a pair of kine have been received from the bridegroom.

4. *Prājāpatya*[12] (of the Prajāpatis). The man and woman are brought together and united by this bond.

5. *Asura* (of the Asuras). The maiden is received in marriage after as much wealth has been presented to her kinsmen (as the suitor can afford).[13]

6. *Gāndharva* (of the Gāndharvas). The pair enter-

[11] Properly in seven steps. The marriage is not completed till the seventh step is taken. Manu, VIII. 227, and note. Hopkins.

[12] "The gift of the maiden is called the Prājāpatya rite (when made) after reverencing and addressing (the pair) with the words, 'together do ye both your duty.'" *Ibid.* 30. The Arsha rite is the commonest form now Burnell.

[13] A recognised sale is here meant. This form is practised at the present day by people claiming to be Brāhmans, *e.g.*, the Saiva Brāhmans called Gurukkal in Southern India, who seldom can get wives for less than a thousand rupees. It often happens that low caste girls are palmed off upon them. Manu, III. 31, n. 2.

tain a mutual affection and are voluntarily united in wedlock without the knowledge of others.

7. *Rākshasa* (of the Rākshasas), is the forcible seizure and abduction of a girl from her people by the ravisher to his own house and there marrying her.

8. *Paisācha* (of the Pisāchas). This rite receives this name when the lover secretly approaches a girl when asleep or intoxicated or disordered in mind.

Everywhere there is some difference in the preliminary betrothals, but the concluding ceremonies are after the manner above described. The four rites are lawful for a Brāhman; and besides the second, all are within his privilege. The fifth is lawful to Vaisya or a Sudra; the sixth and seventh for a Kshatriya. The eighth is held disgraceful by all.

A dower is not mentioned in the case of Brāhmans, and divorce is not customary: In the former ages of the world, it was the rule for Bāhmans to take wives from among all the castes, while the other three castes considered it unlawful to wed a Brāhman woman. The same practice obtained between all superior and inferior castes reciprocally. In the present *Kali Yuga* no one chooses a wife out of his own caste, nay, each of these four being subdivided into various branches, each subdivision asks in marriage only the daughters of their own equals.

Although there are numberous classes of Brāhmans, the noblest by descent are from the (seven) Rishis, Kāsyapa, Atri, Bharadvāja, Visvā-mitra, Gotāma, Angiras, and Pulastya.[14] Each of these has numerous ramifications. [P. 182] When any member of one of these families attains to any worldly and spiritual eminence and becomes the founder of any class of institutes, his posterity are called by his name. The family

[14] The *Satapatha Brāhmana*, and the *Mahābhārata* differ a little from the text and from each other; in Manu they are reckoned as ten. The seven Rishis form in Astronomy, the Great Bear. Monier Williams. S. D.

caste of each is called *Kula* (Hindi *kul*) or *gotra*,[15] (Hindi *gotar*), and the rule is that if a youth and maid be of the same *gotra*, however distant be the relationship, their marriage is unlawful: but if one be of a separate *kula*, they may lawfully marry. Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras are dependent for their marriage ceremony on a family priest (*purohita*), and each class has a special Brāhman from one of the seven lines of descent. If the maid and the youth have their several family priests belonging to the same *kula*, their marriage is held unlawful. When united in marriage, the wife leaves her own *gotra* and enters that of her husband.

When the betrothal is first proposed the lines of paternal and maternal ancestry of both the woman and the man are scrutinised. In computing either of the two genealogies, if within each fifth degree of ascent the lines unite, the marriage is not lawful. Also if in the two paternal genealogies, they unite in any generation, the marriage cannot take place. Scrutiny of the maternal descent on both sides is not necessary. If in the paternal genealogies of both parties, consanguinity through a female occurs in the eighth generation, it is held lawful, but if in the paternal lines of both, consanguinity through a female occurs in the sixth generation it constitutes a fresh (impediment of) kinship. The same result occurs if the consanguinity occurs in the sixth generation by the mother's side.

Until the elder brother is married, the younger may not lawfully be so.

It is held expedient that the bride should not be under eight,[16] and any age over ten is thought improper. The man

[15] Among the Brāhmans, twenty-four *gotras* are reckoned, supposed to be sprung from and named after celebrated teachers, as Sāndilya, Kāsyapa, Gautama, Bharad-vāja, &c. *Ibid.*

[16] "A man aged thirty years, may marry a girl of twelve, if he find one dear to his heart, or a man of twenty-four years, a damsel of eight; but if he should finish his studentship earlier and the duties of his next order would otherwise be impeded, let him marry immediately." M. IX. 94. Sir W. Jones.

should be twenty-five, and marriage after fifty years of age, they regard as unbecoming. Excepting in the king, it is not considered right for a man to have more than one wife, unless his first wife is sickly or proves barren, or her children die. In these cases, he may marry ten wives, but if the tenth proves defective, he may not marry again. If his first wife is suitable, and he desires to take another, he must give the first a third part of his estate.

It was the custom in ancient times for the daughters of kings when they sought a husband, to hold a great festival. Her suitors were assembled together and the damsel attended the banquet in person. Of whomsoever she made choice, she placed upon his neck a string of pearls and flowers. [183] This custom was called *Svayamvara*, or self-choice.[17]

Quando mulier mensium suorum expers sit quod post quatriduum contingit, si maritus ejus intra duodecim dies proximos in quibus satis probabile est conceptus, ineat eam, necesse est illi perlutum esse. In reliquis temporibus dissimilis est ratio et manus pedesque lavare satis esse censeant. Per totum tempus mensium coitum in crimine ponunt. In diebus his, vivit mulier in secessu, neque cibum mariti nec vestimenta tangit neque ad culinam accedit ne contaminet eam.

SRINGARA,

or

Ornaments of Dress.

A man is adorned by twelve things:—(1). Trimming his beard. (2). Ablution of his body. (3). Drawing the

[17] An instance occurs, among many, in th : well-known epic of Nala and Damayanti. The practice is conceded in Manu (IX. 92). but as Hopkins observes, only out of respect for the old custom and was not practised at that date. Yājnavalkya and others permit it when there are no relatives to give away the girl in marriage. Some early writers conceded it without distinction of caste: in the epic it is confined to royal maidens: among later commentators it is restricted to the lower castes.

sectarial marks of caste. (4). Anointing with perfumes and oil. (5). Wearing gold earrings. (6). Wearing the *jāma*[18] fastened on the left side. (7). Bearing the *mukuta* which is a golden tiara worn on the turban. (8). Wearing a sword. (9). Carrying a dagger and the like, at the waist. (10). Wearing a ring on the finger. (11). Eating betel. (12). Wearing sandals or shoes.

A woman is adorned by sixteen things:—(1). Bathing. (2). Anointing with oil. (3). Braiding the hair. (4). Decking the crown of her head with jewels. (5). Anointing with sandal-wood unguent. (6). The wearing of dresses and these are of various kinds. The sleeves of some reach to the fingers, of others to the elbows. A jacket without a skirt called *angiyā* (Sansk. *angikā*) was chiefly worn, and instead of drawers, a *lahangā* which is a waist-cloth joined at both ends with a band sewn at the top through which the cord passes for fastening. It is also made in other forms. Others wear the *dandiyā* which is a large sheet worn over the *lahangā*, part of which is drawn over the head and the other end fastened at the waist. These three garments are of necessity. The wealthy wear other garments over this. Some wear the veil[19] and *pāe-jāmas*. (7). Sectarial marks of caste, and often decked with pearls and golden ornaments. (8) Tinting with lamp-black like collyrium. (9). Wearing ear-rings. (10). Adorning with nose-rings of pearls and gold. (11). Wearing ornaments round the neck. (12). Decking with garlands of flowers or pearls. (13). Staining the hands. (14). Wearing a belt hung with small bells. (15). Decorat-

[18] The *jāma* is described in the dictionaries as being a long gown from eleven to thirty breadths in the skirt, folded into many plaits in the upper part and double-breasted on the body and tied in two places on each side.

[19] In the text, *m'ajar* which I conceive corresponds to the Hindi, *orhani*—the sheet or mantle covering the head and upper part of the body.

ing the feet with gold ornaments. (16). Eating *pān*. Finally blandishments and artfulness. [P. 184]

JEWELS.

These are of many kinds[20]:—(1). The *Sis-phul*, an ornament for the head resembling the marigold. (2). *Māng*, worn on the parting of the hair to add to its beauty. (3). *Kot-bilādar*, worn on the forehead consisting of five bands and a long centre-drop. (4). *Sekrā*, seven or more strings of pearls linked to studs and hung from the forehead in such a manner as to conceal the face. It is chiefly worn at marriages and births. (5). *Binduli*, smaller than a (gold) *muhār* and worn on the forehead. (6). *Khuntilā*, a earring tapering in shape. (7). *Karnphul* (ear-flower), shaped like the flower of the *Magrela*,[21] a decoration for the ear. (8). *Durbachh*, a earring. (9). *Pipal-patti*, (*Pipal*-leaf) crescent-shaped, eight or nine being worn in each ear. (10). *Bāli*, a circlet with a pearl worn in the ear. (11). *Champakali*, smaller than the red rose, and worn on the shell of the ear. (12). *Mor-Bhanwar*, shaped like a peacock, a ear-pendant. (13). *Besar* is a broad piece of gold to the upper ends of which a pearl is attached and at the other a golden wire which is clasped on to the pearl and hung from the nose by gold wire. (14). *Phuli* is like a bud, the stalk of which is attached to

[20] I refer the reader for an explanation of these ornaments to the Persian text of the 1st Vol. of the Ain-i-Akbari which contains in the pages succeeding the preface, plates of the jewels here mentioned and a descriptive catalogue of the whole series.

[21] Dr. King, Superintendent, Royal Botanical Gardens, whose invaluable aid is never withheld and never at fault, on my reference to him informs me that, this is the *Nigella sativa* sometimes called the *N. Indica*, and is not a native of Hindustan, but domesticated. The seeds are largely used in cookery, and in Bengal are named *Kala jira* or black Cumin-seed. The flower has a calyx of delicate fibres dishevelled in appearance and is commonly known as "Love-in-mist." From the specimen Dr. King has been good enough to send me, the ornament imitates the appearance admirably.

the nose. (15). *Laung*, an ornament for the nose in the shape of a clove. (16). *Nath* is a golden circlet with a ruby between two pearls, or other jewels. It is worn in the nostril. (17). *Guluband* consists of five or seven rose-shaped buttons of gold strung on to silk and worn round the neck. (18). *Hār* is a necklace of strings of pearls inter-connected by golden roses. (19). *Hāns* is a necklace. (20). *Kangan* is a bracelet. [185] (21). *Gajrah*, a bracelet made of gold and pearls. (22). *Jawe*, consisting of five golden barley-corns (*jau*) strung on silk and fastened on each wrist. (23). *Chur*, (a bracelet) worn above the wrist. (24). *Bāhu* is like the *chur* but a little smaller. (25). *Churin*, a little thinner than the (ordinary) bracelet. Some seven are worn together. (26). *Bāzuband*, (armlet); of these there are various kinds. (27). *Tād*, a hollow circle worn on the arm. (28). *Anguthi*, finger ring. Various forms are made. (29). *Chhudr-Khantikā*, golden bells strung on gold wire and twisted round the waist. (30). *Kati-mekhlā*, a golden belt, highly decorative. (31). *Jehar*, three gold rings, as ankle-ornaments. The first is called *Churā*, consisting of two hollow half-circlets which when joined together form a complete ring. The second is called *dundhani*, and resembles the former only engraved somewhat. The third is called *masuchi* and is like the second but differently engraved. (32). *Pāil*, the anklet, called *Khalkhāl* (in Arabic). (34). *Ghunghru*, small golden bells, six on each ankle strung upon silk and worn between the *Jehar* and *Khalkhāl*. (35). *Bhānk*, an ornament for the instep, triangular and square. (36). *Bichhwah*, an ornament for the instep shaped like half a bell. (37). *Anwat*, an ornament for the great toe.

All these ornaments are made either plain or studded with jewels, and are of many styles. What words can express the exquisite workmanship of the trade? Their delicacy and skill is such that the cost of the work is ten *tolahs* for each *tolah* of gold. Her Majesty has suggested

new patterns in each kind. A few of these have been represented in plates for illustration. [P. 186]

WORKMEN IN DECORATIVE ART.

In other countries the jewels are secured in the sockets made for them, with lac, but in Hindustan, it is effected with *kundan* which is gold made so pure and ductile that the fable of the gold of Parviz which he could mould with his hand becomes credible.[22]

The mode of preparation is as follows:—Of a *māsha* of gold they draw out a wire eight fingers long and one finger in breadth. Then the wire is coated with a mixture of two parts of the ashes of dried field-cowdung[23] and one part of Sāmbhar salt, after which it is wrapped in a coarse cloth and covered with clay. This is generally of not more than ten *tolahs* weight, and it is placed in a fire of four *sers* of cowdung which is then suffered to cool down. If there is but little alloy in it, it will become of standard fineness after three fires, otherwise it must be coated with the same mixture and passed through three more fires. It is generally found that three coatings and three fires are sufficient for the purpose. It must then be washed and placed in an earthen vessel filled with limejuice or some other (acid) which is heated to boiling. It is then cleaned and wound round a cane and taken off (when required), and re-heated from time

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[22] This was one of the seven unequalled treasures possessed by Khusrau Parviz. It was said to be a piece of gold that might be held in the hand and as ductile as wax. The others were his throne *Tāghdis*; his treasure called the *Bādāvard*, or wind-borne, because being conveyed by sea to the Roman emperor, the vessel was cast upon his shores; his horse *shabdiz*; his minstrel *Bārbud*; his minister *Shāhpur*, and above all his incomparable wife *Shirin*.

[23] *Sargin gāo sahrāi* is translated by Blochmann (I. 21) incorrectly the dry dung of the *wild cow*. It merely means the cowdung picked up in the fields and jungles; in Hindi *pāchak* and *kanda*.

Sāmbhar, the well-known great salt-lake in the States of Jaipur and Jodhpur.

to time, and used for setting by means of an iron style and so adheres that it will not become detached for a long period of time. At first the ornament is fashioned quite plain and here and there they leave sockets for the setting of the jewels. These sockets are filled with lac and a little of the gold is inserted above it, and on this the jewel is pressed down. The overflow of the lac is scraped off and it is then weighed. They next cover the lac with the *kundan* by means of a needle, and finally scrape and polish it with a steel-pointed tool.

The fee of a skilled artificer for this work is sixty-four *dāms* on each *tolah*.

The *Zarnishān* or gold inlayer, is a workman who cuts silver agate, crystal and other gems in various ways and sets them on gold. He inlays silver and steel with lines of gold and embellishes agates and other stones by engraving and cutting them. On steel and gems, if he uses one *tolah* of gold, he receives one and a half as his charge; if he inlays on ivory, fish-bone, tortoise-shell, rhinoceros-horn or silver, his charge for every *tolah* of gold is one *tolah* of the same.

The *Koftgar* or gold-beater, inlays on steel and other metals, markings more delicate than the teeth of a file, and damascenes with gold and silver wire. He receives one hundred *dāms* for each *tolah* of gold and sixty for a *tolah* of silver. His work is principally on weapons.

The *Minākār* or enameller, works on cups, flagons, rings and other articles with gold and silver. He polishes his delicate enamels separately on various colours, sets them in their suitable places and puts them to the fire. This is done several times. His charge is sixteen *dāms* for each *tolah* of gold, and seven for a *tolah* of silver.

The *Sādah-kār*, a plain goldsmith, fashions gold-work and other articles [187] of gold and silver. His charge is five and a half *dāms* on every *tolah* of gold and two for every *tolah* of silver.

The *Shabakah-kār*[24] executes pierced-work in ornaments and vessels. His charge is double that of the *Sādah-kār*.

The *Munabbat-kār* works plain figures or impressions on a gold ground, so that they appear in relief. His charge is ten *dāms* for a *tolah* of gold and four for a *tolah* of silver.

The *Charm-kār*[25] incrusts granulations of gold and silver like poppy-seeds on ornaments and vessels. For every *tolah* weight of golden grains his charge is one rupee, and half of this for silver.

The *Sim-bāf* or plaiter of silver, draws out gold and silver wire and plaits them into belts for swords, daggers and the like. He receives twenty-four *dāms* on a *tolah* of gold and sixteen for a *tolah* of silver.

The *Sawād-kār* grinds a black composition (*sawād*) and lays it smoothly over traceries of gold and then polishes the ground evenly with a file. The *sawād* consists of gold, silver, copper, lead and sulphur mixed together in certain proportions. The work is of several kinds. The finest is on gold and the charge is two rupees per *tolah* of *sawād*. For the midddling kind, the charge is one rupee, and for the lowest, eight annas.

The *Zar-kob* or gold beater, makes gold and silver leaf.

Lapidaries, metal casters, and other artificers produce designs which excite astonishment, but this exposition is already sufficiently protracted. Artists of all kinds are constantly employed at the Imperial Court where their work is subjected to the test of criticism. [P. 188]

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[24] From the Arabic *Shabakat*, a fishing net, a lattice ; *i.e.*, any reticulated work. *Munabbat* comes from the Arabic root *'nabt'* and is pass. part. of II. conj., to cause to grow out' ; hence repousse-work.

[25] *Charm* signifies leather and the granulated kind of it called *kimukht* or shagreen (from the Pers. *Sāghari*) would represent the style of work which the text refers to. The granulation of the shagreen is produced by embedding in the leather when it is soft, the seeds of a kind of chenopodium and afterwards shaving down the surface. The green colour is produced by the action of salammoniac on copper filings.

CEREMONIES AT CHILDBIRTH.

As soon as a child is born, the father bathes himself in cold water, worships the deities and performs the *Srāddha* ceremonies, and stirring some honey and ghee together with a gold ring, puts it into the infant's mouth. The midwife then cuts the umbilical cord, and immediately upon its severance the whole family become unclean. In this state they refrain from the *Homa* sacrifice and the worship of the deities and from repeating the *gāyatri* and many other ceremonies, contenting themselves with interior remembrance of the Deity. If this takes place in a Brāhman's family, his children and relations to the fourth degree of consanguinity are ceremonially unclean for ten days; the relations of the fifth degree, for six days; those of the sixth degree, for four days; of the seventh, for three; of the eighth for one day and night, and those of the ninth continue so for four *pahrs*.

At the close of these periods they are freed after ablution of the body. But the usual rule is that a Brāhman together with his kindred to the seventh degree, are unclean for ten days; a Kshatriya, for twelve days; a Vaisya and the superior[26] class of Sudra for fifteen days, and the inferior Sudras for thirty days. During this time strangers avoid associating or eating with them. This state is called *Sutaka* (impurity from childbirth). A prince and his attendants, his physician, cook, overseer, and other servants of the crown are not subjected to this condition, but on the sixth day certain prayers are offered to the Deity and rejoicings are made, and the mother and child are bathed.

The day after the expiration of the *Sutaka*, they name the child and look in the astronomical table for the sign and station of the rising of the moon. The initial of his name is

[26] By these are meant the *Ahir* and *Kurmi* castes or shepherds and agriculturists, from whose hands Brāhmans and Kshatriyas will drink, the inferior Sudras being *Chamārs* and the like who are held unclean.

taken from the letter which is therewith connected[27] and a name of more than four letters is considered blameworthy. In the fourth month they bring it into the sun before which time it is never carried out of the house. In the fifth month they bore the lobe of the right ear. In the sixth month, if the child be a boy, they place various kinds of food around him, and feed him with that for which he shows a preference. If it be a girl, this is not done till the sixth or seventh month. When it is a year old, or in the third year, they shave his head, but by some this is delayed till the fifth year, by others till the seventh, and by others again till the eighth year, when a festival is held. In the fifth year they send him to school and meet together in rejoicing.

They observe the birthday and annually celebrate it with a feast, and at the close of each year make a knot on a thread of silk. He is invested with the sacred string at the appointed time. At each of these occasions they perform certain works and go through some extraordinary ceremonies.

THE NUMBER OF FESTIVALS.

Certain auspicious days are religiously observed and celebrated as festivals. These are called *te'ohār* and a few of them are here indicated.

[27] This requires explanation. The day is divided into 60 *dandas*=24 hours, the four divisions of which allow 15 *dandas* to every six hours. Now each of the 28 asterisms (v. p. 21) is symbolised by a fanciful name of four letters: *e.g.*, the first asterism *Asvini* is called *chu, che, cho, lā*, the second *Bharani lo, lu, le, lā*. To each of the periods of six hours a letter is allotted, as *chu* from 6 A.M. to noon, *che* from noon to 6 P.M., *cho* from 6 P.M. to midnight, and *lā* from midnight to 6 A.M. A child born in the first period has a name beginning with *chu*, as Churāmani: in the second with *che*, as *Chet-Rām*, and so on. This is termed the *rāsi* name from Sanskrit *rāsi*, the passage of any planet through a sign of the Zodiac. A second name is subsequently given when the child is two or three, at the fancy of the parents without any ceremonial observance. Thus a man's *rāsi* name will be Panna Lāl, and the name by which he is generally called, Dāmodar. This practice is mostly confined to the more cultivated classes.

During the month of *Chaitra* (March-April, Hind. *Chait*) eight occur:—[P. 189] (1). *Srishtyādi*,[28] the first lunar day of the light half of the month. (2). *Nava-rātra* (Hind. *Naurātr*); the nine first nights of the year are chiefly employed in ceremonial worship and prayer and pilgrims from afar assemble at Nagarkot (Kāngra) and other places dedicated to the worship of Durga. (3). *Sri-panchami*, the fifth lunar day (of the light half of the month). (4). *Asokāshtami*,[29] the eighth of the light half of the month. (5). *Rāma-navami*, ninth day of the light half of the month, the birthday of Rāma. (6). *Chaturdasa* (Hind. *Chaudas*) the fourteenth. (7). *Purna-māsa* (Hind. *Purnamāsi*), the fifteenth. (8). *Parivā* (Sansk. *Pratipada*) the sixteenth calculating from the *Sukla-paksha* or light fortnight, or counting from *Krishna-paksha* (dark fortnight), the 1st, and according to the computation by which the beginning of the month is taken from *Krishna-paksha*, this day will fall in the beginning of the second month which is *Vaisākha*. Therefore with those who hold this view, the festival will occur on the 1st of *Krishna-paksha* which preceded the aforesaid *Sukla-paksha*,[30] and so with all the festivals that fall in *Krishna-paksha*, the difference of a month one way or the other arises between the two methods of calculation.

[28] The transliteration is incorrect. The luni-solar year of Vikramāditya begins from this festival.

[29] *Asoka* is the tree Jonesia Asoka which is held sacred. In a grove of these trees Sita, the wife of Rāma, was imprisoned in Lanka by Rāvana. *Rāmāyana*; Sundar Kānda.

[30] *Cf.* p. 17, Vol. II. The two modes of reckoning, *viz.*, by the *mukhya chāndra* or principal lunar month which ends with the conjunction, and the *gauna-chāndra* or secondary lunar month which ends with the opposition, are both authorized by the Purānas. The latter mode begins the month with the *Krishna-paksha* or dark half of the month, in which differences of reckoning occur: the *Sukla-paksha* or light half from which the *mukhya-chāndr* reckoning begins, is the same, of course, for both modes, and therefore no difference can arise. *Cf.* Sir W. Jones. "Lunar months of the Hindus." *Works* I. 374.

During *Vaisākha* (April-May) there are four:—(1). *Tij* (Sansk. *Tritiya*), during the third lunar day of the light fortnight, the birthday of Parasurāma. (2). *Saptami*, the seventh. (3). *Chaturdasi*, the fourteenth, the birthday of Nara-Sinha. (4). *Amāvasa*, the thirtieth.

During the month of *Jyeshtha* (Hind. *Jeth*, May-June), there are three:—(1). *Chaturthi*, the fourth lunar day. (2). *Navami*, the ninth. (3). *Dasami*, the tenth which is called *Dasa-harā*.[31]

[190] In the month of *Ashādha* (Hind. *Asārh*, June-July), the seventh, eighth and eleventh, and according to some the fifteenth.[32]

In the month of *Srāvana* (Hind. *Sāwan*, July-Aug.) three:—(1). *Purnamāsa*, the fifteenth of the light half of the month. This is the greatest festival with the Brāhmans throughout the year upon which they fasten the amulet called *raksha-bandhana* on the right wrists of the principal people. It is a cord of silk and the like, decorated by some with jewels and pearls. (2). (*Nāga-panchami*)[33] the fifth of the light fortnight.

In the month of *Bhādra-pada* (Hind. *Bhādon*, Aug.-Sept.) there are five; the fourth, fifth, sixth, twelfth, and

[31] Vulg. *Dusserah*. There are two festivals, *viz.*, that in the text, which is the birthday of Ganga, in which whoever bathes in the Ganges is said to be purified from ten sorts of sins, and the second on the 10th of Asvin *Sukla-paksha* (Hind. *Kuār*, Sept.-Oct.) in honour of Durga. This worship continues for nine nights, and images of Devi are thrown into the river. Rāma is said to have marched against Rāvana on this day and hence it is called *Vijaydasami* or the Victorious Tenth. It is held as a most auspicious day for all undertakings and especially for operations of war.

[32] This is called the Vyāsa-puja, in honour of *Vyāsa* the *divider* of the Vedas. He is supposed to be represented on this festival by the teachers or *gurus*.

[33] Abul Fazl has omitted the name. A snake is worshipped on this day to preserve children from their bites. The text also omits altogether the third festival, the *Srāvani*, held by Brāhmans only, spent in reading the Vedas and bathing, and changing the sacred thread.

twenty-third. The latter is the birthday of Krishna. Some hold this to be on the eighth of (the dark half of) Srāvana.[34]

In the month of *Asvin* there are two. As aforesaid (in the month of *Chaitra*) nine nights are accounted holy and the tenth (of the light fortnight) is called *Dasa-harā*. According to their writings the festival previously mentioned is called *Dasa-harā* and this is known as the *Vijay-dasami*. On this day they pay particular attention to their horses and decorate them and place green sprouts of barley on their heads, and all workmen venerate their tools, and it is held as a great festival and particularly for the Kshatriyas. (Another) they call *Srāddha-Kanya-gata*[35] on the fifteenth of *Krishna-paksha* of the month of Asvin by common consent, but those who compute the beginning of the month from its *Krishna-paksha* place it in the month preceding. During these fifteen days (of the dark fortnight) they give alms in the name of their deceased ancestors, either in money or kind, as has been related.

In the month of *Kārttika* (Oct.-Nov.) there are six. The 1st or *parivā*. This is called *Balirājya* or the principality of Bali.[36] On this day they deck themselves and their cattle and buffaloes.

[34] That is, with those who take the beginning of the month from *Krishna-paksha* of Srāvana or Bhādra-pada, it will fall on the 8th; with those who begin with the following *Sukla-paksha* of Bhādra-pada, it will fall on the 23rd of Bhādra-Asvin, making the difference of the month as before stated. The festival of the fourth is called *Ganesha-chaturthi*, the birthday of Ganesha. The fifth is *Rishi-panchami*, a fast in honour of the Rishis. The sixth is called *Lalitā Shashthi*, and in Hindi *Lalhi chhat* and also *Gayhat* as Albiruni observes (XVI). In Kanauj it is known by the latter name.

[35] *Kanyā-gata* is the dark lunar fortnight of this month and the name and period mark the position of a planet, escpecially Jupiter in the sign Virgo (*Kanyā*).

[36] This is the name of the Daitya prince whom Vishnu subdued in the dwarf incarnation. A great deal of gambling goes on for three nights. They give alms and bathe and make presents of areca nuts to each other. It is said that Lakshmi, wife of Vasudeva, once a year on this day liberates Bali from the nether world and allows him to go about the earth. *Cf.* Albiruni.

The second, ninth, eleventh and twelfth are also festivals. The thirtieth is the *Dipāli* or row of lamps (Hind. *Diwāli*). A difference occurs in the calculation of its date. According to the *Sukla-paksha* computation, it is as above stated, but by the *Krishna-paksha* this is called the 15th of *Mārgasirsha* (Hind. *Aghan*, Nov.-Dec.) and they therefore hold this festival on the 15th of the *Krishna-paksha* of *Kārttika*. Lamps are lit as on the (Muhammedan) festival of *Shab-i-barāt*. It begins on the 29th, and this night is considered auspicious for dicing and many strange traditions are told regarding it. It is the greatest of the festivals for the Vaisya caste.

In the month of *Mārgasirsha*, there are three *viz.*, the seventh of *Sukla-paksha* and the eighth and ninth of *Krishna-paksha*. In both these last a difference of computation as above occurs.

In the month of *Pausha* (Hind. *Pus*, Dec.-Jan.) the eighth of *Sukla-paksha* is held sacred.

In the month of *Māgha* (Jan.-Feb.) there are four, *viz.*, the third, [191] fourth, fifth and seventh. On the fifth a great festival is held called *Vasanta* in which they throw different coloured powders upon each other, and sing songs.

This is the beginning of the spring among the Hindus. Although this is much regarded among the people, yet in old works the seventh was considered the greater festival.

In the month of *Phālguna* (Feb.-March) there are two. The fifteenth of *Sukla-paksha* is called the *Holi*[17] and extends from the 13th to the 17th. They light fires and throw various articles into them and fling coloured powder upon each other

[17] 'Holikā' is said to be the name of a female *Rākshasi*, killed and burnt by Siva on this day, but her penitence for the fault of a too turbulent disposition secured for her the promise of this annual celebration in her remembrance, and that all who perform this worship, in this month, would be prosperous for the year. See *Māhātmya* of *Phālguna*, which quotes the *Bhavishya Purana*. Songs are sung in honour of Krishna of the broadest and coarsest kind

and indulge in much merriment. It is a great festival among the Sudras. The night and day of the 29th are held sacred: the night is called *Siva-rātri*. Some make this occur on the 14th of *Krishna-paksha* and by this computation the *Siva-rātri* falls on the 14th of the dark fortnight of *Phālguna*,[38] a month earlier. They keep the night in vigil, narrating wonderful legends. The Brāhmans also consider five days in each month sacred, the 8th, 14th, 15th and 30th, and *Sankrānti* which is the day on which the sun passes from one Zodiacal sign into another.

Regarding the celebration of the various festivals marvellous legends are told, and they are the subject of entertaining narratives.

Ceremonies at Death.

When a person is near unto death, they take him off his bed and lay him on the ground and shave his head, except in the case of a married woman, and wash the body. The Brāhmans read some prayers over him and alms are given. They then plaster the ground with cowdung and strew it over with green grass and lay him down at full length face upwards, with his head to the north and his feet to the south. If a river or tank be hard by, they place him up to his middle in water. When his dissolution is at hand they put into his mouth Ganges water, gold, ruby, diamond and pearl, and give away a cow in charity, and place upon his breast a leaf of the *Tulasi* (Ocymum sanctum) which they hold sacred, and draw the sectarial mark on his forehead with a particular kind of earth.[39]

[38] V. p. 298, n. 7. It is mentioned in some Dictionaries as occurring on the 14th of the dark half of *Māgha*, but this is also counted as *Phālguna* by those who begin the month with the *Krishna-paksha*, the same fortnight being either one or the other according to the order of the primary or secondary lunar months.

[39] This is either earth taken from the banks of the Ganges if possible, or ashes from the *Homa* fire.

When he expires, his youngest son,[40] his brother, and his pupil and particular friends shave their heads and beards. Some defer this till the tenth day. The body dressed in its loin-cloth is wrapped in a sheet. The corpse of a married woman is dressed in the clothes she wore in life. The body is borne to the river side and a funeral pile of *Palāsa*-wood (Butea frondosa) is formed, upon which the body is laid. Prayers are read over ghee, which is put into the mouth and a few grains of gold are put into the eyes, nostrils, ears and other apertures. It is advisable that the son should set fire to the pile, otherwise the youngest brother of the deceased or, failing him, the eldest. All his wives deck themselves out and with cheerful countenances are burnt together with him in their embrace. A pile of lignum aloes and sandal-wood is fired for those who are wealthy. The wives are first advised not to give their bodies to the flames. [P. 192]

This mode of expressing grief among Hindu women applies to five classes:—(1). Those who expire on learning the death of their husbands and are burnt by their relations. (2). Those who out of affection for their husbands voluntarily consign themselves to the flames. (3). Who from fear of reproach surrender themselves to be burnt. (4). Who undergo this death regarding it as sanctioned by custom. (5). Who against their will are forced into the fire by their relatives.

If an ascetic (*Sannyāsin*) dies or a child that has not yet teethed, the body is consigned to earth or launched into the river, and they do not burn those who disbelieve the *Vedas* or who are not bound by the rules of any of the four castes, nor a thief, nor a woman who has murdered her husband, nor an evil liver, nor a drunkard.

[40] The ceremonies of cremation are under the authority of the youngest son, and in his absence, of the eldest. The intervening sons have generally no ceremonial powers. For *Sati* see Hastings, *Encyclo.* iv. 428-429, xi. 207 and its later history in Edward Thompson's *Sati*.

If the corpse cannot be found, an effigy of it is made with flour and leaves of the *Butea frondosa* and reeds covered with deer-skin, a cocoanut serving for the head. Over this prayers are said and it is then burnt.

A pregnant woman is not suffered to be burnt till after her delivery. If the man dies on a journey, his wives burn themselves with his garments or whatever else may belong to him. Some women whom their relations have dissuaded from burning themselves, or whom their good sense has convinced that burning is a fictitious grief, live afterwards in such unhappiness that death becomes preferable.

On the day on which the corpse is burnt, the relations and friends repair to the riverside and undo their hair, put on the sacred string across the other shoulder, and bathe themselves and place two handfuls of sesame-seed on the bank. They then collect in any open space and the friends of the deceased after a consolatory address to the mourners, accompany them home, the younger members of the family walking in front and the elders following. When they reach the door of the house, they chew a bit of Nimba leaf (Hind. *Nim*, *Melia Azadirachta*) and then enter.

On the fourth day after the death of a Brāhman, the fifth after the death of a Kshatriya, the ninth and tenth after that of a Vaisya and Sudra respectively, the person who had set fire to the funeral pile, proceeds to the place, performs some ceremonies, and collecting the ashes and remnants of bones together, throws them into the Ganges. If the river be at any distance, he places them in a vessel and buries them in the jungle, and, at a convenient time, exhumes them. puts them into a bag of deer-skin and conveys them to the stream, and concludes with certain ceremonies.

If the deceased is a Brāhman, all his relations for ten days sleep on the ground on a bed of grass and eat only what is sent to them, or what may be procured from the market (cooking nothing for themselves).

During ten days, the person who had fired the pile cooks some rice and milk and makes an offering of it as nourishment to the new body of the deceased. When the natural body dies, the soul takes a subtle frame which they call *Preta*.[1] Their belief is that while it is invested with this body, it cannot enter Paradise, and during the space of ten days this body continues in being. Subsequently, on the conclusion of certain ceremonies, it abandons this form and assumes another fitted for Paradise, and by the performance of manifold works, it finally receives its heavenly body. For other castes the time of detention (in the *Preta*) continues throughout their respective *Sutaka* periods.

Some further ceremonies for Brāhmans and others take place on the eleventh and twelfth days also. [P 193]

If a Brāhman dies out of his own house and information of his death is received within ten days of it, his family during the remaining period of those days, continue unclean. If the news arrives after the ten days, they are unclean for three days, but his son, at whatever time he hears of it, is unclean for ten days. If the death take place before investiture with the sacred string, or (if a child) before it has teethed, or is of seven months, the impurity lasts one day, and is removed by bathing. If the deceased child be above this age up to two years old, the impurity lasts one day and night; from the time of cutting the hair to that of investiture with the sacred thread, three days and nights. For the death of a daughter up to ten years of age, ablution suffices to purify. After that age till the time of proposal when she is betrothed before marriage, there is one day's impurity. After betrothal, the father's family and that of the suitor are unclean for three days.

[1] This is properly the spirit of the deceased before the obsequial rites are performed and is supposed still to haunt its abode. Hastings, *Ency.* ii. 810.

MERITORIOUS MANNER OF DEATH.

The most efficacious kinds of death are five:—(1). Abstaining from food and drink till dissolution. (2). Covering the person with broken dried cowdung like a quilt or pall, and at the feet setting it on fire which creeps gradually from the toe-nails to the hair of the head, while the mind is fixed on divine contemplation till death. (3). Voluntarily plunging into snow. (4). At the extremity of Bengal where the Ganges divided into a thousand channels falls into the sea, the foe of his carnal desires wades into the sea, and confessing his sins and supplicating the Supreme Being, waits till the alligators come and devour him. (5). Cutting the throat at Illahabās at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna.

Each of these modes is described with its appropriate details.

CHAPTER X.

COMERS INTO INDIA.

For asmuch as the fenced city of tradition is unfrequented and the wastes of legend are stony places, knowledge that seeks after truth kept me from connection therewith, but the decree of fate unexpectedly drew me from silence into speech, and intent on freshening the interest of my narrative, I have been led into entering upon a multiplicity of details. A review of the general history of Hindustan has induced me to mention the comers into this vast country, and thus by recalling the memory of the great give a promise of currency to this important exposition.

ADAM.

They say that Adam after his fall from Paradise was thrown on the island of Ceylon, his consort on Juddah,[1] Azrāil in Sistān, the Serpent in Ispāhān, and the Peacock in

[1] This is the true orthography, but commonly written Jiddah, on the Red Sea. Azrāil is the angel of death who though connected with the creation of Adam, having been sent by God to bring various kinds of clay from the earth for the formation of his body, and having fulfilled the mission in which Gabriel and Michael had previously failed, is not mentioned as sharing his sin or punishment. Iblis or Satan must be here meant whom the chroniclers unanimously declare to have been cast out of Paradise, though they differ as to the place of his fall, Masaudi naming Baisān; and Tabari, Simnān near Jurjān. He penetrated into Paradise notwithstanding the vigilance of its porter, by entering the mouth of the serpent that had on one occasion strayed outside. The latter was at that time a quadruped, but being cursed at the fall, was deprived of its feet and condemned to the form of a reptile. The peacock is said to have conducted Eve to the forbidden tree. At its expulsion it was deprived of its voice. The relation of these puerilities may be pursued in Ṭabari, Masaudi, D'Herbelot. For Adam, *Ency. Islam*, i. 127 and in Sale's Koran, and in most general histories of Muhammadan chroniclers who are never more at home or more precise than when referring to events of which they can know nothing.

Hindustan. Imaginative writers have embellished this fable with abundant details, but in Sanscrit works which treat of the events of myriads of past ages not a trace of this story is to be found.

HUSHANG

Was the son of Siyāmak and grandson of Kayumars, and succeeded his great ancestor, ruling with justice and liberality. He is accounted the first to whom the name of sovereign virtually applies.[2] He came to India where he displayed the lustre of virtue. [194] The work called 'Eternal Wisdom' (*Javidān Khirad*) is said to be the fruit of his mature experience.

Hāfiz,[3] in his *Istitālah* (*Per illustris*) says that when Māmun conquered Khurāsān, the various chiefs sent presents to his court. The governor of Kābul sent a sage named Dubān[4] on an embassy to Mamun and mentioned in his letter of homage that he was despatching to his court an offering of great price, than which nothing more valuable was known. The Caliph on receiving this information appointed his minister Fadhl (Ibn-i-Sahl) to inquire what it referred to. The envoy replied that the allusion was to himself. They said to him, "How doth a distinction so great concern such as thee?" He answered, "In enlightened knowledge, judicious counsel, and right guidance," and he spoke such parables of wisdom that all were amazed. It happened that at this time the Caliph designed to enter upon hostilities against his brother Muhammad u'l Amin and all parties were endeavouring to dissuade

[2] Firdausi imputes to him the discovery of fire from the concussion of two stones. Hushang obtained by merit or adulation the epithet of *Peshdād* or the Lawgiver, when the *Peshdadian* kings took the name of their dynasty.

[3] See Vol. II, p. 36, n. 4. Of the Tārikh of Hāfiz Abru, no copy was known by Sir H. Elliot, to exist in India The Istitālah is not mentioned by Hāji Khalifah under that title.

[4] The reader will recall the story of the Greçian king and his physician dubān in the thirteenth of the "Arabian Nights."

him from it. He therefore consulted Dubān, whose clear-sighted reasoning confirmed his resolution of marching into Irāq and pressing on the war. The sage's advice was the means of resolving all political difficulties. Māmun treated him with great favour and commanded that a large sum of gold should be bestowed upon him. Dubān excused himself saying, "It is not the practice of my sovereign to allow his envoy to receive anything, but there is a work called 'Eternal Wisdom'[5] composed by the farsighted intellect of Hushang and is said to be in the Madāin.[6] On the conquest of that country, when the Caliph obtains the work let him graciously bestow it upon me." His proposal was assented to. When Madāin was taken, he pointed out that in a certain quarter of the city, by a certain tree there was a large stone. This they were to lift and to dig down till they came to a subterranean chamber in which were a number of chests and a large quantity of valuables, none of which were to be touched as the time for removing them had not arrived. In a certain corner of the chamber a box of certain shape would be found which they were to bring out, wherein would be discovered the work they sought. Sharp-eyed and experienced men were sent in search, and all happened exactly as he had described. Some portion of this work was translated into Arabic at the pressing insistance of Fadhl, but as it was treasured by Dubān, he did not suffer its translation to be completed.

[5] The original of this collection of moral fables is the Sanskrit *Panca-tantra*, from which were made the Arabic version named *Kalila-wa-Dimna* and the Persian translation named *Anwār-i-Suhaili*. De Sacy supposes that in this last "we have the olden *Jāvidān Khirad*." [See *Ency. Isl.* ii. 694-698. J. S.] Known to Europe as the *Fables of Pilpay*.

[6] The ancient Ctesiphon. It passed into the possession of the Arabs in the Caliphate of Omar in A.D. 637. During the insurrection against al Mamun by the Alide party under the leading of Abu Sarāya, Madāin was taken by the latter, but recaptured during the same year, A.D. 815.

HAM

Was the son of Noah. After the subsidence of the deluge he came to Hindustan. Annalists of other countries than this believe the Hindus to be descended from him.

JAMSHID

Was the son of Tahmuras *Devband* or the binder of the demons.[7] When by the Almighty decrees he became a wanderer in the desert of misfortune, he happened to pass through Zābulistān. For sixteen years he dwelt in Kābul and secretly married the daughter of the prince Kaurnak. When the news was bruited abroad the prince bade him, one night, take his departure for Hindustan. The poet Asadi[8] says of this night: [P. 195]

Black as an Ethiop grew the night whose veil
O'er the moon's face its sable shadow flung,
Sad as the stifled sob whose scarce-heard wail
Dies on the ear from some despairing tongue.

[7] He receives this surname in the Shāh Nāmah, His justice and vigour cleansed the country of crime, and produced the rebellion of the Devs or demons, probably the barbarous neighbouring peoples who resented his iron control. They were defeated by him and bound. He introduced the solar year among the Persians, the first day of which, when according to Tabari he administered justice in open darbar, was called Nauroz when the sun enters Aries. His prosperity turned his head and he proclaimed himself a deity, which disgusted his subjects and led to the invasion of the Syrian prince Zohāk, the descendant of Shedād, and according to some the nephew of Jamshid. Malcolm says that the wanderings of the exiled prince are wrought into a tale which is amongst the most popular in Persian romance. He was pursued through Seistān, India and China by the agents of Zohāk and carried before his enemy who, after every contumely he could inflict, placed him between two boards and had him sawn asunder. When the news of his death reached his widow in Seistān she put an end to her life by poison. The son of this marriage was Atrut, whose son was Garshāsp, whose son was Narimān, father of Sām, whose son Zāl was the father of Rustam. See Malcolm, Hist. Persia, I. 3, and Atkinson's Abridgment of the Shāh Nāmah.

[8] The quotation must be from the Garshāsp Nāmah of Hakim Asadi of Tus, one of the seven poets at the court of Mahmud of Ghazni.

For some time he employed himself in the profession of arms and when his secret was on the point of being discovered, he set out for China by way of Bengal, and on the road fell in with the emissaries of Zohāk.

ZOHAK

Was the son of Mardās, the Arabian. He passed into India several times as Asadi says:

Zohāk the conqueror ere the year had gone,
To Kābul swiftly passed from Babylon,
Resolved to launch o'er India's plains once more
The invading legions he had led before.

GARSHASP

Was the son of Utrut.[9] The *Garshasp Nāmah* narrates *his* invasion of India and the astonishing actions in which he engaged.

ISFANDYAR OF THE BRAZEN BODY

Was the son of Gushtāsp,[10] the son of Luhrāsp. In obedience to the commands of his father he propagated the doctrines of Zoroaster, and his zeal caused the universal acceptation of that creed. He honoured the institutions which were the bequest of Faridun, applying them after his own direction. Firdausi thus alludes to him:

This mighty warrior of a line of kings
From clime to clime his rapid conquest wings;
O'er Greece and India his proud standards fly
To unknown seas where realms of darkness lie.

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[9] Malcolm gives Atrut, but the Dictionaries write the name as I have rendered it. Firdausi makes him the son of Zav. He was the last of the Peshdadian monarchs.

[10] The conjecture that Gushtāsp was the Darius Hystaspes of the Greeks accords with the chronology of Herodotus; and starting from this first secure footing amid the quicksands of fable, the identification of Isfandyar with Xerxes is historically probable. The arguments in favour of this hypothesis are marshalled by Malcolm.

NARIMAN, SON OF GARSHASP,
THE SON OF UTRUT.

SAM, SON OF NARIMAN.

ZAL, SON OF SAM.

FARAMARZ, SON OF RUSTAM.

BAHMAN,[11] SON OF ISFANDYAR.

When the astrologers announced to Garshāsp the future sovereignty of Bahman and the overthrow of his own family, the devastation of Zābulistān, the slaughter of the descendants of Rustam, the disentombment of himself and his sons, and the burning of their bodies, he enjoined his sons to erect his tomb and that of his children at Kanauj in Hindustan. When Garshāsp died, Narimān conveyed his remains thither, and on the death of Narimān his body was also taken to that country by Sām. On Sām's death, Zāl transported his body to the same city whither, likewise, Faramarz carried Rustam when he died. When Bahman defeated Zāl and Faramarz and the latter was killed in the engagement, Bahman overran Zābulistān and advanced to Kanauj desiring to view the royal mausoleum. A superstitious awe restrained him from entering it. Each of these four great men in anticipation of this event had left a great treasure within it. Among them was the world-displaying mirror of Kaikhusrau (Cyrus), which at his death [P. 196] he bequeathed to Rustam, and ninety maunds weight of diamonds belonging to Garshāsp. Each of them also inscribed on a tablet a brief record of memorable

[11] Whatever doubt may exist regrading the identification of Xerxes with Isfandyār, there is little or none regarding that of Bahman with Artaxerxes Longimanus. Bahman was known to the Persian historians as Ardishir *Darāzdast*, the similarity of the epithet adding conclusive evidence to the similarity of the name. Firdausi says that 'when he stood upon his feet; his closed hand reached below his knee.'

deeds, praying that the conqueror would not desecrate the tomb. Bahman, struck by the sight of these splendid offerings and the prescient sagacity of the gift, fell into a profound melancholy and withdrew from his previous resolve.

Faramarz, indeed, had twice entered this country, for Rustam after his combat with Barzu by whose mace his arm had been disabled, said to Kaikhusrau, "if my son Faramarz returns this night from India, he will deal with Barzu," upon which followed his sudden arrival and the overthrow of the latter.

ALEXANDER OF GREECE.

When Alexander had completed the conquest of Irān and Turān and laid the foundations of Marv, Herāt and Samarqand, he entered India by Ghaznin and in the neighbourhood of the Panjāb gave battle to the Hindu prince, Porus, who had advanced from Kanauj to engage him, and by stratagem put him to rout. From thence he turned to the country of the Brāhmans. The chiefs of that region represented to him that if the conqueror sought riches and worldly goods they were destitute of these.

> Wisdom and knowledge dwell with us, nor cease
> To fill our bosoms with untroubled peace:
> The earth a couch, the skies their covering lend,
> So turn our thoughts to our appointed end.[12]

"If thy design be the gathering of knowledge and the search for truth, let those who seek it come not in this guise." Alexander, therefore, leaving his army, set out at the head of a few followers. A court was held to secure a just hearing and their peculiar views were discussed in audience. The king approved their speech and conduct and announced to them that whatever they desired should be granted. They

[12] These lines are taken from Firdausi and vary somewhat from the ordinary text, where they are not consecutive. The substance of a great deal of what follows in the reply of the Brahmans, is from the same sources.

replied that they had no other wish than that the king should live for ever. He answered that this wish was inconsistent with mortality. They rejoined: "If the instability of worldly things is so evident to your Majesty, why these fatigues in the tyrannous oppression of mankind?" Alexander for a space bowed his head in humiliation and imputed his actions to the decrees of fate.

According to some Christian[13] writers, when the standards of Alexander were raised on the shores of the Indian Ocean, accounts of the island of the Brāhmans reached him, and he determined to take possession of it. They sent an envoy to him and made the following representation:—"Sovereign ruler of the world! The fame of thy conquests and thy successes has been constantly in our ears, but what can content a man to whom the possession of the world is insufficient? We enjoy no outward splendour, nor bodily vigour that thou shouldst deem us worthy to measure thy prowess in war. The worldly goods that we own are shared in common amongst us, and we are passing rich on what may satisfy our hunger. Our costliest robes are garments worn with age. Our women are not in bondage to adornment for the seduction of hearts, and account no beauty or charm of price, save [197] that inherited from their mothers. Of our lowly habitations we ask but two things, a shelter in life and in death a grave. We have a king for considerations of dignity, not for the administration of justice or law. What

[13] The term *tarsā* which I have rendered in its usual acceptation may be also applied to the Zoroastrians. For *tarsā*, see Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion*, iii. 576. For the general idea of the letters, Abul Fazl is indebted to Firdausi, who in turn in one passage regarding the unprofitable questions put by Alexander to confound the Brāhmans, is in agreement with Plutarch. The *jazira* or isle of the Brāhmans is perhaps Brāhmanābād, identified by Genl. Cunningham as the town where Ptolemy was wounded by a poisoned sword (Quintus Curtius IX. 8), the Harmatelia of Diodorus, described by him as the last town of the Brāhmans on the river. For the Islamic traditions about Alexander, see *Encyclo. Islam*, ii. 533 (Iskandar).

use would punishment serve in a land where none is wicked and there is no thought of crime?" The sagacious monarch was struck by this affecting address and leaving them their freedom, abandoned his project.

The following letter was addressed by Alexander to Didim, the head of the Brāhmans; for he had often heard that they did not live as other men. The novelty excited his wonder and made his life seem insupportable to him[14]:— "O Didim, after learning thy message, I desire again to be informed of thy precepts and doctrines. If what thou hast represented bears the light of truth and is the result of experience, answer speedily, so that, putting this system to the proof, I also for justice sake and in search of truth, may follow thy footsteps." Didim thus replied: "What I have stated results from profound knowledge. You have not chosen to believe in its truth and you reject what you do not incline to. Many blameable actions were favourably represented by you in our interview. Now, therefore, with full knowledge believe my words. Hirābud, the Brāhman, does not yield to the promptings of desire. Content with the measure of his needs, he opens not the door of greed.[15] Our food is

[14] This crabbed and obscurely-worded sentence is capable of a different, but in my opinion, not so satisfactory an interpretation. The name *Didim* in the text is not in Firdausi. It occurs in Plutarch (Alex. LXXXVI.) and in Arrian (Anab. VII. 2) as *Dandamis*; in Strabo (LXIV.) as *Mandanis*. The name is most probably *Dandin*, meaning an ascetic who always carries a rod in his hand after his initiation. Mandanis is evidently an error; there was a real Hindu scholar bearing the name *Mandan Mishra* who figures in the stories of Sankarāchārya's disputations, but that was in the 8th century *after* Christ. [J. Sarkar.]

[15] This probably refers to the embassy of Onesicritus to the Gymnosophists, who endeavoured to persuade some of them to return with him to Alexander's camp. Plutarch says that Calanus insolently told him to divest himself of his robe in order to hear his precepts in nakedness, symbolical doubtless of humility and ignorance. He was however induced by Taxila to visit Alexander who retained him in his suite with distinguished favour. His self-chosen death by burning at Pasargadæ in Persia, when suffering from a fit of cholic, is told by Arrian [Ek. vii. ch. 3 and 18], Diodorus, and Plutarch.

not such as the four elements cannot easily supply. The earth gives us of its produce. In our meals intemperance has no place, for this reason we have no need of medicine or physician, and thus we enjoy perpetual well-being. We are not indebted to each other for assistance. We Brāhmans have equality in all things; what room then is there for indigence? In a land where the seeds of arrogance and vain glory grow not, universal poverty is consummate fortune. We have no governor, for our actions are not subjects for penal inquiry. We disapprove of a variety of creeds for they are produced through exceeding unrighteousness and manifold iniquities. Our only religion is the worship of conscience. From what it restrains us we withhold our hearts. We do not submit to the tyranny of the pursuit of wealth for it fosters greed and brings disappointment in its train. We disdain idleness and hold it in reproach. We are not rendered averse from the delights of wedlock by incapacity, for all things are in our power as we can also forego them. From the sun we receive warmth, from the dews moisture. Our thirst is quenched from the stream and we have no couch but the earth. Desire does not rob us of sleep, nor leave us a prey to care. We lord it not over our equals through pride; we seek service from none save of our own bodies, for we consider the body subservient to the spirit. We bake not stone in the fire for the raising of palaces, for we dwell in the hollows of the earth according to the measure of our needs, nor do we go in fear of the violence of the wind nor of storms of dust, for there we are safer than in houses of reed. We wear no costly robes; we cover our nakedness with leaves, or to speak truly, with modesty; our women are at no pains for their adornment, for who can add beauty to the creations of God? and after they are arrayed [198] it profiteth them nothing. Our sexual commerce cometh not sinfully from carnal desire, but continuance of the race is kept in view. We are not prone to violence and we lay the

dust of discord by the agency of right conduct, and though dependent on the guidance of destiny we do not resign ourselves to inactivity. Over our head we erect no edifices in the guise of temples of worship. Give your commands to those who have flung wide for themselves the door of avarice and make their treasure of the things of this world. The ravages of pestilence do not reach us for we defile not the skirts of heaven with evil deeds. We are prepared to meet the vicissitudes of the seasons, and thus summer's heat and winter's cold distress us not, and therefore we live careless of the exigencies of those times. We do not deaden our minds with games and shows of elephants and horses and with dancing, and when a desire for worldly pageants seizes us, the sight of the record of your actions withholds us therefrom, and recalling your deeds which indeed more deserve a smile, we are moved to many tears. Worldly splendours make us rejoice in another spectacle, for amidst the varied beauties of the universe, the heavens glowing with the radiance of their myriad stars, the sea coloured by its skies, that clasps in a fond embrace its sister earth, the revel of its fish that leap in play from its foam-tossing waves, fill our eyes with delight. Wandering through the woods with the fragrance of flowers and by running springs in the shade of abundant trees gladdens us in a hunderd ways, while the sweet songs of birds render us unenvious of all the festal banquets of the rich. Such is the theatre we possess, to share in the enjoyment of which is difficult, to erase it from our minds, a crime. We plough not the seas in barks and vessels. Our hearts are not aflame with passion for the beauty of others, and we affect not the language of flattery or eloquence. The redundance of professed eulogists obtains no credit in this land, for the practice of this base crew which gives to the creature the praise due to God and overlays the purity of faith with error, darkens celestial light with reprehensible

deeds. Of a truth you are the most unfortunate of mankind for your worship is sinful and your life is chastisement."

The monarch thus replied: "If your language reflects the light of truth, I should infer that the Brāhmans alone are robed in the true characteristics of humanity and that this sect are to be regarded as incorporeal spirits. To hold as altogether unlawful the acts of the natural man is either to be God or to be envious of the Supreme Being. In short these principles, in my opinion, proceed from madness not from the fulness of wisdom. O, Didim, I have not fixed my abode in this hired dwelling, nor made of a passing-rest-house a settled habitation, but prudently looking on myself as a sojourner, hasten, unencumbered with guilt, to my true country. This language is not the making of self a god, but like dark-minded bigots that are enemies to their own happiness, I do not affect to make the attributes of the Creator the instruments of my salvation. And whosoever under the guidance of a wakeful fortune, abandoning sinful actions, walks in the way of virtue is not a god, but by means of the grace of that Supreme Lord, rises above his fellow men." The writer [P. 199] continued: "My royal master observes that you call yourselves fortunate in that you have chosen a retired spot of earth where the comings and goings of those without and the busy movement of the world are not heard, and that you consider this praiseworthy as proceeding from your attachment to your hearths and love of your native land. The lowliness and poverty that you cannot avoid is not worthy of commendation: on the contrary, the Almighty has inflicted this as a punishment for your evil deeds. True merit consists in living abstemiously amid abundant fortune, for ignorance and want cannot exhibit the lustre of virtue. The first cannot see what to avoid, the second has not the means by which it may possess I, who with all the resources of pleasure and enjoyment at my command.

have refrained from them altogether and have sternly chosen a life of toil, am more deserving of a glorious reward."

Some say that after his victory over Porus, Alexander heard that at the extremity of India, reigned a king called Kayd,[16] possessed of many virtues, and who for three hundred years had passed a blameless life. To him he despatched a letter that appealed to his hopes and fears. The king read the letter and thus replied: "I have heard of the successes of your Majesty and would deem the honour of a personal visit the source of fortune, but stricken in years, strength fails me. If my excuse is accepted, I will send as an offering four matchless treasures which are the pride of my life; an accomplished and virtuous maiden of incomparable beauty; a sage unequalled in penetrating the secrets of the heart; a physician, in healing as the Messiah; a cup which though drunk from is inexhaustible. Alexander accepted the gifts and despatched Balinās with some experienced associates to bring them. The envoy returned to the court with these treasures of price together with forty elephants of which three were white, and numerous other presents. Alexander first essayed to test the Hindu sage. He sent him a bowl full of clarified butter. The sage thrust a few needles therein and sent it back. Alexander fused the needles and forming the metal into a ball returned it to him. The sage fashioning of this a mirror, again sent it back. Alexander placed it in a basin full of water and despatched it once more. The sage made of the mirror a drinking cup and set it upon the water of the basin. The monarch filled it with earth and returned it. At the sight of this, the sage fell into a profound melancholy and bitterly reproached himself and directed it to be carried back. Alexander was perplexed at this action. The

[16] This story is told at considerable length by Masaudi in the 26th Chapter of the 'Meadows of Gold' The king's name is there Kend. Firdausi's version is somewhat different, but the name is Kayd, as in the text

next day he held an assembly of the learned to discuss these mysteries. The seer was introduced and honourably received. He was of prepossessing exterior, with a noble brow, tall and powerfully made. Alexander on seeing him, thus reflected: "If to such a presence, he also unites a lofty wisdom, quickness of penetration and strength of will, he is unparalleled in his generation." The sage read his hidden thoughts and making a circuit of his face with his forefinger rested it on the point of his nose. When asked for an explanation, he replied: "I understood your Majesty's reflections and by this gesture I meant to express that as the nose in the face is one, I also am unique in my time." He was then required to expound the enigmas of the preceding day. He answered: "Your Majesty wished to signify the profundity of your wisdom, for as the bowl was full so the royal mind was filled with various knowledge and could contain no more. I, on the other hand, showed that as needles could find a place therein, so could other lore find room in your mind. By fashioning the ball your Majesty's intention was to discover that the clearness of your intellect was not like the bowl of butter in which other things could be contained, but resembled a ball of steel. The construction into a mirror signified that though steel be hard, it is capable of such polish as to reflect the face. By your sinking the mirror in water, I understood the shortness of life and the vast extent of knowledge. By fashioning it into a cup, I answered that what sank in water might with skill be made to float; thus also immense erudition may be acquired by severe application and the shortness of life be prolonged. The filling it with earth implied that the end of all things is death, and the return to earth. This was capable of no answer, and I was silent." Alexander praised his sagacity and penetration and said: "The profit that I have reaped from India has been my meeting with thee." He took him into his companionship and intimacy and parted from him only when he left

India. The other three treasures also were subjected to a similar ordeal and their worth approved.

Some writers narrate the history of Porus after the particulars regarding Kayd, and state that he fled without fighting to distant parts and that his dominions were conferred upon another.

MANI THE PAINTER.[17]

His presumption led him to claim the authority of a prophet and he composed a work which he pretended had come down from heaven affirming also that he was the Paraclete announced by the Messiah; Sāpur, the son of Ardshir Bābagān favoured him. It was not long before his imposture was discovered and he was condemned to death, but he contrived to escape by flight. For a time he remained in Kashmir and from thence entered India where his doctrines received some acceptance. From thence he went to Turkistān and China and resided chiefly in the eastern parts till his wanderings brought him to a mountain where he discovered a cave which was untrodden by human foot, and to this he brought provisions sufficient for a year. One day, in the course of conversation, he said to his followers: "I have been summoned to heaven where I shall remain for a twelve-

[17] This account appears to be taken from Khondemir and agrees in the main with D'Herbelot's sketch from the same historian. Firdausi makes him a native of China and places his death in the reign of Shāhpur by whom, he says, Mani was flayed alive and his skin stuffed with straw as a warning to his followers. The Manichean sect takes its rise from this impostor who, according to D'Herbelot, was a Christian priest in the province of Ahwāz and had many controversies with the Jews and Magians and maintained the Indian doctrine of metempsychosis. He named twelve apostles to preach his doctrines in India and China, and gave them his book called the "Anghelion". "Anghelion, c'est à dire l'Evangile." One of his principles was abstinence from all flesh, and he forbade the taking of animal life. He admitted two principles of good and evil and the dual soul, one bad and created with the body by the evil principle, and the other the good created by the good principle. He denied free-will and the necessity of baptism. *Dabistan* (Shea and Troyer), i. 205, Hastings, *Encyclo.* viii. 396.

month: be not troubled at my absence nor withdraw from the worship of God and the practice of virtue. At the end of the year, go, some of you, to a certain mountain and wait in expectation." Previous to his concealment he had learnt the art of painting in which he had attained incomparable skill. After he had ascended the mountain, he painted some wonderful figures which are celebrated by the name of Artang, or Arzhang,[18] and at the time that he had said, he came forth with the book in his hand. Those who saw it were filled with amazement. He exclaimed: "This is not the work of mortals that ye should wonder; I brought it from heaven and it is painted by the angels." This he brought forward as a witness of his prophetic mission and deceived the ignorant and credulous. He attempted to impose upon Bahrām Gor, the son of Hormuzd, the son of Ardeshir, but he failed in his purpose, and in this criminal venture staked and lost his life.

[201] BAHRAM GOR

War the son of Yezdejird, the Wicked, of the Sassanian dynasty. Since the lust of the world fills the brain with extraordinary fancies in the first flush of his success he was seized with the frenzy of adventurous travel, and leaving one of the Magi of the line of Bahman, son of Isfandyār, as governor in his stead, he set out for India in a disguise which defied recognition. In those parts there was a raging elephant which put the whole country in terror. Although the bravest warriors had attempted to kill it, they lost but their own lives. Bahrām hearing of this event arrived at the place and by sheer strength of arm destroyed it. The prince

[18] Hammer Purgstal supposes that the *Artang* might have been an ensign upon which cabalistic fingers were represented, and which the Mongols and Buddhists used to call Māni. (Jahrb. der Lit. for April, May, June, 1840, p. 28 quoted by Troyer. (*Dabistan*, I. 205).

of that region received him at his Court with much favour.[19] In his vicinity a powerful enemy had arrived to dispute his sovereignty, and he saw no resource but in the payment of tribute. Bahrām dissuaded him from this course, and opposed the invader in person and defeated him. The prince gave him his daughter in marriage, but when he discovered his illustrious descent, he became apprehensive and dismissed him loaded with presents back to his own country. It is said that Bahrām took with him 12,000 musicians; and many other wonderful adventures are related of him.

BURZUYAH.

Nushirwān spent his days in the assiduous pursuit of knowledge, solicitous to discover erudite minds and interesting literary works. He opportunely fell in with a learned Brāhman with whom he frequently held familiar discussions. Enquiry was made regarding the truth of a universal report to the effect that in a certain mountainous part of India certain herbs grew which could restore the dead to life. The Brāhman replied: "The report has a semblance of fact, inasmuch as by the mountain is meant a wise man, by the herbs knowledge, and by the dead an ignorant person," and he proceeded to expound the various lore of the country and the advantages thereof. In this he included the story of Kalilah and Damnah, and briefly recounted its merits and said, "the rulers of Hindustan keep this manual of statecraft studiously concealed and do not show it to every one." The desire to obtain this work rendered the monarch

[19] See Vol. II. for the connection of Bahrām Gor with the royal house of Mālwah. The adventures of this monarch were the subject of a poem by the Persian poet Kātibi, and they are amply narrated in the Shāhnāmah. Firdausi gives the name of the Indian prince as Shangal. Bahrām is represented as having fled from Kanauj with his wife after his marriage, being wearied of his splendid exile. The monarch pursues, but after an interview becomes reconciled to his departure.

impatient. He commanded his ministers saying: "I need a judicious and discerning person who to a strong bodily constitution unites firmness of purpose and various learning, besides a knowledge of foreign tongues." Burzuyah was found to possess these important qualifications and successfully proved his capacity. A large sum of money was entrusted to him in order that he might set out in the guise of a merchant to that country, and through inquiries of experts attain the object of his mission, and return with it and other scientific treatises to the court. He came to India, and setting up as a trader passed himself off as an unlearned person desirous of acquiring knowledge. In this way he secured an intimacy with the ministers of the Indian princes, and through their instrumentality returned to the imperial court with that volume of wise lore, together with other valuable objects. The king received him with favour and fulfilled his desires.[20]

MUHAMMAD QASIM

Was cousin to the celebrated Hajjāj. He received his commission in the reign of the Caliph Abdu'l Malik, as has been already noticed. [P. 202]

[20] This story is somewhat differently told by Firdausi. Burzuyah, he narrates, was one of the distinguished circle of learned men at the court of Nushirwān, and one day presented himself before that monarch saying that he had lately read in a Sanskrit work of a mountain in India where grew a herb bright as a Greek sword-blade, which skilfully compounded and sprinkled over a corpse would restore it to life, and he asked permission to go in search of it. The king despatched him to India ostensibly as a merchant, with many presents, steeds, and a letter addressed to the king of Kanauj. and with merchandise laden on 300 camels. The Indian prince offered him every facility in his search for the wonderful herb, of which no trace could be found. He was directed at last to a hoary sage who informed him that the mountain was wisdom, the herb an eloquent monitor, and the corpse an ignorant man and that this herb was fitly represented by the work called Kalilah which was in the king's treasury. Returning elated to Kanauj, Burzuyah petitioned the Prince for the gift of the work,

AMIR NASIRUDDIN SABUKTIGIN

Was the father of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. After Bahrām Gor none of the (Persian) kings entered India. Sabuktigin invaded it at the head of an army in the year A.H. 367 (A.D. 977), and after several engagements returned to Ghaznin.[21]

AMIR SULTAN MAHMUD GHAZNAVI

Led twelve descents on India. The first was in A.H. 390 (A.D. 1000), and the last in A.H. 418 (A.D. 1027). Fanatical bigots representing India as a country of unbelievers at war with Islām incited his unsuspecting nature to the wreck of honour and the shedding of blood and the plunder of the virtuous.

SULTAN MASAUD

Was son of Mahmud: He crossed into India in A.H. 426 (A.D. 1034-35).

SULTAN IBRAHIM, SON OF SULTAN MASAUD

Although a considerable territory in Hindustan was in the possession of the descendants of Sultan Mahmud, none of the undermentioned princes entered India:—Makhul-b-Sultān Mahmud; Maudud-b-Masaud; Masaud-b-Maudud; Sulān Ali-b-Masaud-b-Mahmud; Sultān Abdu'r Rashid-b-Mahmud; Farrukhzād-b-Masaud; but when in course of time

which *in Arabic* was called Kalilah. For the correct history of the translations of this Indian volume of wise lore (the *Pancatantra*), see *Ency. Islam*, ii. 694-698, under *Kalila-wa-Dimna*. [J. S.]

[21] The latest work on the dynasty of Ghazni : Dr. Nazim's *Sultan Mahmud* (Cambr. 1931). See also the *Cambridge History of India* (1928), Vol. III. ch. 2. The dates of Mahmud's invasions of India have been critically discussed in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, ii. Appendix D. pp. 434 *et seq.* See also Raverty's trans. of *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*. [J. Sarkar.]

the crown devolved upon Ibrāhim-b-Masaud-b-Sultān Mahmud he made peace with the Saljuqis and turning his thoughts to India he entered it on several occasions.

SULTAN MASAUD-B-IBRAHIM

Also crossed into India at intervals and was successful.

BAHRAM SHAH-B-MASAUD-B-IBRAHIM.

The *Hadiqat* (*u'l Haqāiq*) of the (poet) Hakim Sanāi[22] and the *Kalila Damna* of (Abu'l Maāli) Nasru'llah Mustaufi were dedicated to him. This prince also visited India.

KHUSRAU SHAH-B-BAHRAM SHAH.

On the death of his father, he succeeded to the throne. It was about this time that Alāu'ddin Husayn Ghori, known as *Jahānsoz* or Burner of the World, sacked Ghaznin and entered India. Sultān Ghiyāsu'ddin Sām and Sultān Shihābu'ddin, nephews of Alāu'ddin Husayn, on whom the latter had bestowed Ghaznin and the adjacent provinces, contrived to secure the person of Khusrau Shāh from India and put him in prison where he ended his days, and thus the dynasty of the descendants of Mahmud passed away. Some authorities, however, assert that Khusrau Shāh held his court at the capital of Lahore, and that on his death, he was succeeded by his son [203] Khusrau Malik who was taken by the Ghoris and placed in confinement,[23] in which he continued till he died.

[22] This poet was a native of Ghazni. His *Hadiqah* is well known and is altogether of a religious character, a mystical treatise on the unity of God and other devotional subjects.

[23] This latter version is correct. Khusrau Shāh died in A.D. 1160, after a reign of seven years. Khusrau Malik, his son prolonged his feeble rule for 27 lunar years to A.D. 1186. He was taken prisoner by Shihābu'ddin through a stratagem, and sent with his family to Ghirjistān where, some years after, he was put to death.

Sultan Muizz'uddin Muhammad Sam.

He is also called Sultān Shihābu'ddin. After the capture of Ghaznin Alāu'ddin Husayn Ghori imprisoned Ghiyāsu'ddin and Shihābu'ddin.

On his death, his son Sayfu'ddin came to the throne and by releasing them attached them to his person.

On the death of Sayfu'ddin in his campaign in I'rāq.[24] he was succeeded by Ghiyāsu'ddin. During his reign Shihābu'ddin led several expeditions into India, and the (defeat and) death of Prithvi Rāj and the conquest of Hindustan occurring about this time, he left his slave Qutbu'ddin (Eibak) at Delhi as his representative. On the death of Ghiyāsu'ddin, the throne was occupied by Shihābu'ddin who favoured the Turkish slaves. Among these was Tāju'ddin Yildiz, upon whom he bestowed the governments of Mekrān and Surān which are dependencies of India.

Sultan Qutbu'ddin Aibak

Was one of the slaves of Sultān Mu'izzu'din, and rose to eminence through his own valour and resolution. The Sultān entrusted to him the viceroyalty of Delhi. He made many successful campaigns in India and performed many acts of personal prowess.

Malik Nasiru'ddin Qabachah

Was also a slave of Mu'izzu'ddin. On the death of his master he made himself master of Uchh, Multān and the Sind country.

Sultan Shamsu'ddin Iltutmish

Some account him to have been a slave of Shahābu'ddin and others of Qutbu'ddin Aibak. After the death of the

[24] Against the Turkish tribe of the Euz or Ghuz long settled in Kipchāk.

latter, his son Arām Shāh being defeated, the sovereignty devolved upon Iltutmish.

SULTAN GHIYASU DDIN BALBAN

Was one of the slaves of Shamsu'ddin and brought from Turān to India. For a time he held the title of Ulugh Khān and subsequently obtained the sovereign power.

SULTAN MUHAMMAD-B-SULTAN MALIK SHAH SALJUQI.[25]

According to some authorities, towards the close of his life having settled his differences with his brothers, he invaded India and put many to death. A stone idol weighing ten thousand maunds fell into his possession. The Hindus sent him a message offering to ransom it at its weight in pearls. This offer he refused.

SULTAN JALALU'DDIN MANKBURNI.[26]

[204] When Sultān Muhammad Khwārazm Shāh took refuge from the troops of the great Qāān, Changiz Khān, in the island of Abaskun, he was accompanied by his son Jalālu'ddin who, on his father's death, set out for Khurāsān

[25] He was the fifth prince of the elder branch of the Seljuks of Persia, omitting the ephemeral reign of Malik Shāh, son of Barkiarok. He succeeded to power in A.D. 1105 and died in A.H. 511 (A.D. 1118). The author of the *Tārikh-i-Guzidah*, Hamdu'llah-b-Abi Bakr Qazwini, mentions his invasion of India and the capture of the idol. His reason for rejecting the offer of the Hindus was that as Azar, the father of Abraham, was a maker of idols (*but tarāsh*), it should never be said of him that he was the seller thereof (*but farosh*). See *Ency. Isl.* iii. 673. He fled says De Guignes, into Ghilān, passed Astarābād and took refuge in "the island of Abaskun", where he died miserably abandoned by every one. As Suyuti narrates that he fell ill of a pleurisy and died alone and abandoned, and his corpse was shrouded in his bedding, A.H. 617 (A.D. 1220), v. Hist. of the Caliphs. Jarrett, p. 495. The narrative in the text is borrowed from Mirkhond.

[26] See *Encycl. Islam*, i. 1004, under Djalal-al-Din Mangubarti; also Raverty's trans. of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* (where the name is spelt *Mangbarni*), pp. 1013-1023, 1042 *et seqq.* [J. S.] Abaskun is a port on the south-eastern shore of the Caspian Sea.

and thence hastened to Ghaznah, and was engaged in several important actions against the Qāān's forces in which he was victorious. The great Qāān himself marched in person to remedy the disaster. Jalālu'ddin unable to cope with him retired towards Hindustan. The great conqueror pursued him to the banks of the Indus and both armies were again engaged. Yielding at last to superior force he mounted his horse and seizing his royal umbrella in his hand plunged into the stream and crossing its raging waters landed at a point opposite the enemy. He there took off his saddle and flung his clothes in the sun, and planting the umbrella in the ground sat down under its shade. The Qāān beheld this feat with astonishment and was loud in his admiration. For a night and day he remained there and was joined by fifty of his men, and cutting some clubs, they made a night attack on a party of Indians and carried off a considerable booty,[27] and in a short time ten thousand horsemen were assembled under his command. Sultān Shamsu'ddin Iltutmish, Emperor of Hindustan, was under the gravest apprehension, and could not venture to engage him. Jalāl'ddin continued for nearly two years in India carrying on a desultory warfare, and made himself master of several fertile districts, but subsequently returned by way of Kach and Mekrān to the conquest of I'rāq.

Some authorities assert that when the number of his followers amounted to a thousand, he marched towards Delhi, and sent a messenger to Sultān Shamsu'ddin Altmish desiring a post in his service. The latter prudently declined, and after the manner of astute intriguers he poisoned his messenger, and sending him a number of valuable presents sped him towards Irān.[28]

[27] See this story in the *Tarikh-i-Jahān Kushā* of Juwaini. Elliot, II. and the narrative taken from the Rauzatu's Safā. Elliot, II. Appendix 558.

[28] Ferishta says he compelled him to retreat towards Sind and Sewistān, and Mirkhond that he remained an independent power in India for three years and seven months. Elliot, II. 561.

TURMATAI[29] NOVIAN.

Was one of the principal generals of Changiz Khān. After the incidents in connection with Sultān Jalālu'ddin, he invaded India and took Multān. Nāsir'uddin Qubācha who was governor of that province, opened the gates of his treasury and won over the soldiery, and by his address and valour remedied the disaster.

MALIK KHAN KHALAJ.

Was one of the military adventurers of Khwārzam and invaded Sind. Nāsiru'ddin Qabāchah advanced to give him battle and displayed great heroism in the encounter in which the Khalaji lost his life.

TAHIR[30]

Was one of the generals of Changiz Khān, and in the reign of Mu'izzu'ddin Bahrām Shāh (A.D. 1239-42) son of Sultān Shamsu'ddin (Iltutmish), he was infatuated with the design of invading Hindustan. Malik Qarāqash at that time held the government of Lahore on behalf of the Sultān and from want of spirit and the disunion among his followers, he set out one night for Delhi, and the town was sacked.

[29] This name appears in the Tārikh-i-Jahān Kushā as Turtāi (Elliot, II. 391), who was despatched by Changiz Khān in pursuit of Sultān Jalālu'ddin. He captured Multān and ravaged the surrounding country returning through Sind to Ghazni. The word Noviana, (or Novian in oriental historians), in the Mogul language signifies chief or general, corresponding to the Arab word Emir (De Guignes *a*. III. p. 69), and will be found as an adjunct to many names in the history of the Moguls (Vol. III. Book XV). Raverty spells Novian as *Nu-in* and *Nu-yin*, and explains it on p. 164. He gives this general's name as *Turmati* or *Turti* and describes the attack on Multan in 621 A.H. on pp. 534-540. [J. S.]

[30] Raverty spells the name as *Tāir* (p. 1126) and describes the siege of "*Lohor*" (pp. 1133-1135 and 655). Lahore fell on 22nd Dec. 1241. [J. S.] This invasion is noticed by Ferishta without naming the invader, as having taken place on the 16th Jumāda. I. A.H. 639 (A.D. 1241), and according to Briggs, was under "a famous Turk leader Toormoosherin Khān"

MANKUYAH[31]

Was one of the generals of Hulāgu Khān. He advanced as far as Uchh in the reign of Sultān Alāu'ddin Masaud Shāh (A.D. 1242-46), who marched to give him battle. On arriving at the banks of the Biāh, the invader retreated to Khurāsān. A year previous to the invasion of Mankuyah, a part of the army of Changiz Khān entered Bengal[32] and hostilities took place with Tughān Khān, who was at that time governor on the part of Alāu'ddin Masaud Shāh (reign 639-643 A.H.), but terms of peace were agreed upon. In the reign of Sultān Nāsiru'ddin Mahmud Shāh, the Mughal troops again invaded the Panjāb and retired.

SARI NOVIAN

Invaded Sind with a large army. Sultān Nāsiru'ddin (A.D. 1246-66), sent Ulugh Khān to oppose him and followed in person, and the invader retreated.[33]

TIMUR NOVIAN

In the reign of Hulāgu Khān marched towards India with a large force and a hard-fought engagement took place with Qadar Khān, son of Sultān Ghiāsu'ddin Balban between Lāhor and Dipālpur in which this nursling of fortune drank his last draught.[34] He was brave, studious, and a friend to learning, and twice despatched gifts of

[31] *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, trans. p. 1047 spells as *Mankadhu* or *Mankadah*, on p. 1153 as *Mangutah*, whom *Raverty* differentiates from Mukātu on p. 1126 *n*; siege of Uchh described on pp. 1154-1156 and also 667. [J. S.]

[32] They arrived at Lakhnauti in Shawwāl, A.H. 642 (March 1245), by way of Khatā and Tibet according to Ferishta.

[33] Raverty's trans. of *Tab. Nāsiri*, p. 711, mentions the invasion of Nuyin Sālin [not *Sāri*] in 655 A.H. (Dec. 1256 A.D.). Ulugh Khan was the earlier title of Ghiyās-ud-din Balban, Sultan of Delhi [J. S.]

[34] The phrase is not inappropriate, as Qadar Khān was surprised by the routed enemy as he halted by a stream to drink and to return thanks for his victory. E. & D. iii. 122.

valuable presents to Muslihu'ddin Shaykh Sa'adí at Shirāz, with an invitation to his court. Although the poet was unable to accept it, he sent him a work written with his own hand. In this action Mir Khusrau was taken prisoner and has himself briefly alluded to this event in his poem. After this no foreign invasion took place for seven years.

ABDU'LLAH KHAN

Was the grandson of Hulāgu Khān who advanced upon India by way of Kābul, A.H. 691 (A.D. 1292), Sultān Jalālu'ddin (Firoz Khilji, A.D. 1288-95), marched to stem the disaster and a stubborn engagement was fought at Bagrām,[35] after which the invader retreated on terms of peace. Algu, a grandson of Changiz Khān, with many other chiefs entered the service of the Sultān, who gave him his daughter in marriage. In the beginning of the reign of Sultān Alāu'ddin, some of the Turān troops crossed the Indus, and he despatched (Almās Beg) Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān with a large force to oppose them. The Mughals were defeated, some were taken prisoners, but the greater number were slain.

SALDI

Was of the Mughal race and about this time invaded Sind. The Sultān (Alāu'ddin) appointed Zafar Khān (to oppose him), who in a short time obtained a victory and taking him prisoner, sent him to the royal court.[36]

[35] Barani's *Tārikh Firoz Shāhi* gives *Barrām*; a river divided the two armies, but there is no mention of the province in which the engagement took place. Elliot, iii. 147-148.

For *Algu* Barani reads Ulghu. The Tārikhi Firoz Shāhi says that these Mughuls embraced Islām and were allotted residences in Ghiyāspur, Kilughari, Indrapat and Tāluka, which were called Mughalpur after them.

[36] Mentioned in the Tārikhi Firoz Shāhi. Elliot, III, 165.

[206] QATLAGH KHWAJAH.[37]

In the same year crossed the Indus with a large army and advanced by direct marches on Delhi, and as his design was otherwise he did not open his hand to plunder. Sultān Alāu'ddin resolved to give him battle and (Zafar Khān) defeated him, pursuing him for sixteen *kos*. The chiefs through jealousy did not join in the pursuit and the enemy returning surrounded him. Though (Zafar Khān) was offered the strongest assurances of advancement, he refused their terms and died fighting to the last.

TARGHI NOVIAN

At the time when Sultaān Alāu'ddin was investing Chitor, thinking the opportunity favourable, invaded India with a large army. The Sultān after the capture of that fortress, A.H. 703 (A.D. 1303), hastened to oppose him and Targhi possessed himself of the fords of the river Jumna, within five *kos* of Delhi. The Sultān entrenched himself in the vicinity outside the city walls. After some hostilities Targhi returned unsuccessful to his own country.[38]

ALI BEG AND TARTAK

Were descendants of Changiz Khān. At the head of thirty thousand horse, skirting the (Sewālik) mountains, he penetrated to Amroha, A.H. 704 (A.D. 1304). Sultān Alāu'ddin sent an army to oppose them. After severe fight-

[37] Ziau'ddin Barani gives the details of this action which took place in A.D. 1299 and mentions the failure of Ulugh Khān and other chiefs to support Zafar Khān and the favourable offer of Katlagh which was refused. Zafar Khān's reputation for valour among the Mughals resembled that of Cœur de Lion in Syria. If their horses shied they would ask if they had seen the ghost of Zafar Khān. Barani in Elliot, iii. 165-167. also 548 (Khusrau).

[38] These Mongol invasions are described by Zia Barani and Amir Khusrau. See Elliot, iii. 72 and 189 (Targhi), 72 and [illegible] (Ali Beg and Tartak), 73 and 198 (Kapak), 74 and 199 (Iqbalmand). [J. S.]

ing, both of these chiefs were taken prisoners and the rest as an example were trodden to death by elephants.

KAPAK MUGHAL.

In the following year (A.H. 705) reached India with a considerable force, but was taken prisoner. The year after, thirty thousand Mughals made an incursion through the Sewaliks. The Sultān sent a large army which seized the fords and skilfully obstructed them. In the retreat many of the Mughals perished and some were taken prisoners.

IQBALMAND

In the reign of Alāu'ddin invaded the country at the head of an army of Mughals, but was killed in action. After this no further hostile designs were entertained by them.

KHWAJAH RASHID[39]

Sultān Muhammad Khudabandah sent the author of the *Jāmi'ut Tawārikh-i Rashidi* on an embassy to Sultān Qutbu'ddin [Mubārak Khilji], son of Sultān Alāu'ddin, and a close friendly alliance was entered into between them.

LORD OF THE FORTUNATE CONJUNCTION. (TIMUR).

When the sovereignty of Delhi devolved upon Sultān Mahmud the grandson of Sultān Firoz [Tughluq] and the office of chief minister upon Mallu Khān, all systematic administration and knowledge of affairs ceased to exist and

[39] Fazlu'llah Rashidu'ddin was born in A.H. 645 (A.D. 1247), in Hamadān, and as a physician was brought into notice at the court of the Mughal Sultāns of Persia. The Jāmi'u't Tawārikh was finished in A.D. 1310, and is a general history in 4 Vols. containing the history of the Turkish and Arab tribes, prophets, kings, Khalifs, &c. For Khudabanda the Ilkhan, see *Ency. Islam*, iii. 974 under *Olcaitu* (pronounced *Oljāita*) and for Rashid-ud-din, iii. 1124.

the government fell into discredit. At this period the Sublime Standards approached as has already been briefly described. Notwithstanding [207] the conquest of so populous a kingdom, the booty obtained was not important, and the invaders impelled by love of their native land, retired from the country.

BABER.

His history has been fully detailed in the first volume.[40]

HUMAYUN.

When the jewel of sovereignty beamed with the radiance of a coming possession, Humāyun, after some unsuccessful attempts, invaded India (A.D. 1555), as before narrated.

Infinite praise to the Almighty that through the justice of the emperor and the harmonious order of his administration, Hindustan has become a gathering of the virtuous from all parts of the universe, each of whom in manifold ways has attained to the desire of his heart.

But this long narrative will never end, for there are many of those freed from the trammels of the world and of others fettered therein, who have visited this country, such as Husayn Mansur, Abu Maashar of Balkh, Khwājah Mu'inu' ddin Sijizi, Khwājah Qutbu'ddin Ushi, Shaykh I'rāqi, Shaykh Saadi, Mir Husayni, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadāni and others.

[40] The *Akbarnāmah*, of which the *Ain-i-Akbari* is the third volume. Accounts of Humāyun will also be found in the 1st volume.

CHAPTER XI.

SAINTS OF INDIA.

(AWLIYA-I-HIND).

Inasmuch as the writer is a suppliant before the servants of God and the love of them is innate in his heart, he concludes this work with a notice of such among them as have been either born or have their last resting places in this country. He trusts that this course will be pleasing to many minds and a source to them of eternal bliss. For himself he will inhale fragrance from the garden of truth and receive the meed of his abundant toil.

Awliyā is the (Arabic) plural of *wali* which is interpreted as signifying 'nearness', by which is intended spiritual proximity. Some authorities ascribe to *wilāyat* with a *kasra* of the *wao*, the meaning of diversity of appearance, and to *walāyat* with a *fatha*, that of authority. Others assert that the idea of a lover attaches to the first, and the state of the beloved to the second. The possessor of the former quality is called *wali*, that of the latter, *wāli*. Another opinion is that the word (*walāyat*) with the *fatha*, betokens the proximity (to God) of the prophets, and with a *kasra* (*wilāyat*), of the saints.[1] In ancient works many significations have been given,

[1] Compare with this, Jāmi's introduction to his *Nafahātu'l Uns min Hadharāti'l Quds* (Halitus familiaritatis e virs sanctitate eminentibus prodeuntes), p. 3, Lees' edit. where the derivation and meanings of *wali* are discussed and illustrated. "Do you desire to be a *Wali*?" said the celebrated devotee Ibrāhim Adham, to a certain man, "then seek not the things of this world or the next, but resign thyself wholly to God and turn to Him" That is, that the selfish desire for the delights of paradise is an obstruction to perfect communion with God in a similar sense with worldly pleasures though, of course, differing in degree. [Jarrett.]

According to Jurjani, a *wali* is one who knows God: he is delivered from the yoke of the passions; he has influence with

the outcome of which is that it means one who has attained to the knowledge of the Supreme Being; a lofty soul will indeed love God alone. To me the wonder is, what connection can exist between a dust-mote of creation and the self-existing sun, and what bond lies between the finite and infinity? A *wali*, in my opinion, is one who acquires four great virtues and avoids eight reprehensible actions. He should always wage a victorious war by circumspect conduct against the myriad disorders of the spirit, and never for an instant relax his attention from its deceits. This lofty station is attainable by the grace of God and the guidance of fortune, and is sometimes to be reached through the spiritual powers of a mediator, and sometimes without it. The latter state they call *Uwaysi* with reference to the example of Uways Qarani;[2] and some say

The former, who possess the power of revealing things not manifest to the senses, are classed under twelve orders, of which two are regarded as unorthodox:—

[208] (1). Muhāsibi. (2). Qassār. (3). Tayfuri. (4). Junaydi. (5). Nuri. (6). Sahli. (7). Hakimi. (8). Kharrāzi. (9). Khafifi. (10). Sayyāri. (11). Hululi. (12). Hallāji.

God, he can bind and loosen, he also has the gift of miracles (*Karāmat*). *Ency. Islam*, iv. 1109 under *Wali*, where the correct etymology is discussed [J. S.]

This personage is referred to in the 37th Makāmah of al Hariri; "and the crowd thronged round Abu Zayd praising him and kissing his hand and seeking a blessing by the touch of his tattered garment till I thought that he must be Uways al Qaran or Dubays al Asadi." He was the son of Aāmir and one of the Tābii'n (or those next in time to the companions of Muhammad) celebrated among the devotees of Kufah and was killed fighting at the battle of Siffin under Ali, in A. H. 87. Hariri, p. 506, for the prophetic announcements of his birth and sanctity, the visit of Omar and Ali to him, and their discovery of the "white wonder" of his hand in the Mosaic sense.

I. The source of grace to the FIRST-NAMED was Abu Abdu'llah Hārith[3] b-Asad Muhāsibi, a native of Basrah. He mastered all secular and speculative science and was thoroughly acquainted with the inequalities of the spiritual road. He was *the* teacher of his time [*ustād-i-waqt*] and the author of many works. He died at Baghdad in A.H. 243 (A.D. 857). As he ever judiciously wielded the moral controlling authority of his age, he received this name of Muhāsib.

The SECOND follow Hamdun, the son of Ahmad-b-Ammār, Qassār or the Fuller, his patronymic being Abu Sālih. He studied under Thauri[4] and acquired many spiritual benefits from Salm-b-Husayn Bārusi, Abu Turāb Nakshabi and Ali Nasrābādi, and was a disciple of Abu Hafs. He attained a high degree of perfection though the world gave loose to the tongue of slander against him. He died at Nishapur in A.H. 271 (A.D. 884).

The THIRD revere Tayfur-b-I'sa Bistāmi whose patronymic is Bāyazid. One of his great ancestors was a Magian called Sharoshān. His earliest education was received from the elders of Bistām under whom he studied science and

[3] He is said by Jāmi never to have used any support for his back, night or day, for 40 years, but always to have sat resting his knees on the ground declaring it to be the proper attitude for a servant in front of his Lord the King, meaning the Almighty.

[4] Sufyān Thauri is noticed in Jāmi, p. 716; and in the same volume will be found the names of all the saints and doctors mentioned in the following pages. Internal evidence conclusively proves that Abul Fazl utilized Jāmi's work in this compilation, one sentence being taken almost *verbatim* in the account of the fourteenth name in the second list, and as usual without acknowledgment. I do not think it necessary to disturb the dust of these uninviting biographies which are often as brief and colourless as those in the text, a bald record of names and dates with laudatory epithets of erudition or sanctity, and concluding occasionally with a few devotional maxims. Many of these are excellent precepts of conduct and are proofs of a true interior spirit of piety, but this is not the place to record them. For the rest, the English reader can be neither edified nor instructed by a hagiography of fossil names, most of them as profoundly forgotton as if they had never survived. The few that require any special mention shall receive it.

reached the rank of a *mujtahid*.[5] Next, having mastered the ordinary subjects of knowledge, he attained to the highest grade of intellectual distinction. He ranked equal to Ahmad Khazrawaih, Abu Hafs, and Yahya-b-Maāz, and was contemporary with Shaqiq of Balkh. He died in A.H. 261 (A.D. 874-75), or according to another account, A.H. 234 (A.D. 848).

The FOURTH are adherents of Junayd Baghdādi whose patronymic is Abu'l Qāsim and who is styled *Qawāriri*, the flask maker, and *Zajjāj*, the glass manufacturer, and *Khazzāz*, the raw-silk merchant. His father sold glass and he himself traded in silk. His ancestors were from Nahāwand, but he was born and bred in Baghdad. He studied, for a time, under Sariy Sakatiy, Hārith al Muhāsibi and Muhammad Qassāb, and his connection is authoritatively traced with Kharrāz [the Cobbler], Ruyam, Nuri, Shibli and many others among the chosen servants of God. Shaykh Abu Jaafar-b-Haddād says that if wisdom could be incarnate, it would assume the form of Junayd. He died in A.H. 297-98 or 99 (A.D. 909-10-11).

The FIFTH are called after Abishkhwur Nuri Serābdil. His name was Ahmad-b-Muhammad or according to some, Muhammad-b-Muhammad. He was commonly known as Ibn-i-Baghawi. His father was from Khurāsān, but his own birth and origin are of Baghdad, and he is among those distinguished for wisdom and virtue. He was in friendly intercourse with Sariy Sakatiy,[6] Muhammad Qassāb, and Ahmad Abu'l Hawāri, and contemporary with Zu'n Nun[7]

[5] This term denotes a doctor who exerts all his capacity for the purpose of forming a right opinion upon a legal question, and the title assumes that he was successful. (Full discussion in *Ency. Islam*, ii. 448 (under *Idjtihad*.)

[6] I am not sure of the orthography. *Sakatiy* signifies a dealer in small wares, a pedlar.

[7] Abu'l Fayz Thubān-b-Ibrāhim. The reputation for sanctity and miracles of this mystic extends throughout the Moslem world and his name constantly occurs in its literature. He died in A. H.

of Egypt. He is considered equal in authority with Junayd, but somewhat more impulsive. He died in A.H. 295 (A.D. 907-8) or 286 (A.D. 899).

[209] The SIXTH originate from Sahl-b-Abdu'llah Tustari, who was a disciple of Zu'n Nun of Egypt, and one of the most eminent of those who attained to this sublime vocation. He was among the associates of Junayd and died in the month of Muharram, A.H. 283 (A.D. 896), at the age of eighty-six.

The SEVENTH revert to Abu Abdu'llah Muhammad-b-Ali Hakim-i-Tirmidi. He was in intercourse with Abu Turāb Nakshabi, Ahmad Khazrawaih and Ibn-i-Jalā, and was pre-eminent in all secular and speculative knowledge. He is reported to have been a voluminous author and to have had the gift of miracles.

The EIGHTH look to Abu Said Kharrāz, or the Cobbler. His name was Ahmad-b-Isa and he was a native of Baghdad. Through his inclination towards the Sufis he went to Egypt and resided in devout attendance by the temple of Mecca. His profession was that of a shoemaker and he was the disciple of Muhammad-b-Mansur Tusi. He associated with Zu'n Nun of Egypt, Sariy Sakatiy, Abu Ubayd Basri, and Bishr Al Hāj, and derived much spiritual instruction from them. He is the author of four hundred works. Those uninstructed in his doctrine believed him to be an infidel. He died in A.H. 286 (A.D. 899). Khwājah Abdu'llah Ansāri says that he knew none of the great doctors more profoundly versed in the mysteries of the Divine Unity.

245 (A. D. 860), and a flock of birds of a kind never before observed, fluttered over his bier when carried to the grave. On the day following his burial was found written on his tomb-stone in characters dissimilar to those used among men: "Zu'n Nun, the friend of God, and slain by this love of God." As often as this was erased, it was found ever freshly engraved. *Ency. Islam*, i. 963, under *Dhu'l Nun*.

The NINTH invoke Abu Abdu'llah Muhammad-b-Khafif. His father was from Shirāz and he himself was the disciple of Shaykh Abu Tālib. He was master of secular and spiritual science and had seen Khazraj al Baghdādi and Ruyam, and was a contemporary of (Abu Bakr) Kattāni, Yusuf-b-Husayn Rāzi, Abu Husayn Māliki, Abu Husayn al Muzayyan, Abu Husayn Darrāj and many others of note. He wrote many works and died in the year A.H. 331 (A.D. 942-43).

The TENTH trace back to Abu'l Abbās Sayyāri. His name was Qāsim and he was the son of the daughter of Ahmad-b-Sayyār. He was a native of Marv and the disciple of Abu Bakr Wāsiti. He pursued the ordinary curriculum of worldly studies as well as speculative science, and attained to an eminence in the practice of the spiritual life. He died in the year A.H. 342 (A.D. 953).

The ELEVENTH. The founder of this order was Halmān of Damascus.

The TWELFTH. This order had its origin in a Persian who was one of the disciples of Husayn-b-Mansur Hallāj of Baghdad,[8] not the celebrated Husayn-b-Mansur (of Bayzā).

These last two have been the subject of much reviling.

In Hindustan fourteen orders are recounted which are styled the fourteen *families* and of these twelve only are described, omitting mention of those of Tayfur and Junayd:

(1). Habibi. (2). Tayfuri. (3). Karkhi. (4). Saqatiy. (5). Junaydi. [P. 210] (6). Kāzruni. (7). Tusi. (8). Firdausi. (9). Suhrawardi. (10). Zaydi. (11). I'yāzi. (12). Adhami. (13). Hubayri. (14). Chishti.

[8] He was crucified alive for three days from early morning till midday by order of the Caliph Al Muqtadir in A.H. 309 (A.D. 922). He was accused of blasphemy for his words "Ana'l Haqq". "I am the Truth," by which he was supposed to claim divinity. The best accounts of Hallāj are in *Ency. Islam* (ii. 239) and Hastings *Ency.* vi. 480-482. [J. S.]

They assert that Ali, the Prince of the Faithful, had four vicegerents, *viz.*, Hasan, Husayn, Kamil, and Hasan Basri. The source of these orders they believe to be Hasan Basri who had two representatives, Habib-i-Ajami, from whom the first nine obtain their spiritual fervour, and the other Abdu'l Wāhid-b-Zayd, from whom the last five are filled with consolation. The mother of Hasan Basri was one of the slave girls of Ummu Salimah,[9] and he received his name from Omar-b-Kattāb. He early became an orphan. From the dawn of intelligence his mind was illumined and through this brilliant destiny he chose the path of solitude and emaciated himself by austerities while he became filled with the good things of the spirit. He preached a discourse every week and gathered an assembly around him. When Rābi'ah was not present, he would not proceed. The people said to him, "Why dost thou desist because some old woman does not come." He answered, "The food prepared for elephants is of no profit to ants."

The FIRST order trace their connection with Habib-i-Ajami. He was a man of substance and hypocritical in his life. His eyes were opened somewhat by Suhrawardi[10] and he was directed to the true faith by Hasan Basri. Many disciples were instructed by him in the way of salvation. Once when he was escaping from the pursuivants of Hajjāj, he arrived at the cell of Habib. The officers asked him where Hasan

[9] Hind, the daughter of Abu Umayyah, and the latest survivor of the wives of Muhammad. She died in A. H. 59 (A. D. 678). An Nawawi in his *Tahzibu'l Asmā* (correctio nominum) says, that the mother of Hasan of Basrah was the favourite slave or freed woman of Ummu-Salimah, and Hasan was born to her two years before the close of the Caliphate of Omar (A. H. 21). When the mother was occasionally obliged to leave her infant, Ummu Salimah would nurse it from her own bosom, and it was through the blessing of this privilege that he afterwards attained to his eminence of wisdom and sanctity. He died in A. H. 110 (A. D. 728).

[10] Suhrawardi (Umar) in *Ency. Islam*, iv. 506.

was. He replied within the cell. They searched, but could not find him and reprimanded Habib and said, "Whatever Hajjāj may do to you, will be deserved." He answered, "I have spoken only the truth. If you have not seen him what fault is it of mine?" They again entered and made a strict search and returned in anger and departed reviling him; Hasan thereupon came forth and said, "O Habib, thou hast, indeed, truly done thy duty by thy master." He answered, "O master, thou hast been saved by the telling of the truth. Had I spoken falsely we should both have been killed." One night a needle fell from his hand in a dark room. A miraculous light shone. He covered his eyes with his hands and said, "Nay, nay, I wish not to search for a needle save by the light of a lamp."

The THIRD order derive from Maruf Karkhi. They say that his father was a Christian and changed his faith under Imām Rizā and was honoured with the office of his doorkeeper. He associated with Dāud Tāi and practised mortification and through his rectitude of intention and perfected acts he rose to be a spiritual guide. Sariy Saqatiy and many others profited by his instruction. He died in A.H. 200 (A.D. 815). It was about this time that Magians, Christians, and Jews thronged to him and each wished to practise his own faith under his direction, but it could not be carried out. Nevertheless he held a place in the pleasant retreat of universal tolerance. [P. 211]

The FOURTH follow Sariy Saqatiy whose patronymic is Abu'l Hasan. He is one of the great masters of the practical religious life and was the director of Junayd and many other servants of God. He was one of the associates of Hārith Muhāsibi and Bishr al Hāfi, and was the disciple of Maruf Karkhi. Adequate praise of him is beyond the apacity of my ignorance. In the year A.H. 253 (A.D. 86 , he gathered up his garment from this dust-heap of a world.

The SIXTH acknowledge Abu Ishāq-b-Shahryār as their head. His father abandoned the doctrines of Zoroaster and embraced the creed of Islām. He was instructed by Shaykh Abu Ali Firozābādi and was the contemporary of many doctors of the faith, and had mastered all secular and speculative science. He was released from the turmoils of earth in A. H. 426 (A. D. 1034-35).

The SEVENTH was founded by Alāu'ddin Tusi, who was united in the bonds of a spiritual paternity with Shaykh Najmu'ddin Kubra.

The EIGHTH invoke Shaykh Najmu'ddin Kubra. His patronymic was Abu Janāb, his name Ahmad Khiwaki, and his title *Kubra*, or the Greater.[11] He was spiritually directed by Shaykh Ismāil Kasri, Ammār Yāsir and Rozbihān, and he had great repute for his insight into matters of the exterior and inner life. Shaykh Majdu'ddin Baghdādi, Shaykh Saadu'ddin Hammawiyah, Shaykh Raziu'ddin Ali Lālā, Bābā Kamāl Jandi, Shaykh Sayfu'ddin Bākharzi and many other religious obtained their eternal salvation through his efficacious prayers. He died by the sword in A. H. 618 (A. D. 1221).

The NINTH is favoured through Shaykh Ziāu'ddin Abu'n Najib 'Abdu'l Qāhir Suhrawardi. He was versed in the knowledge of the world and the spirit, and traced his descent from Abu Bakr as Siddiq by twelve intermediary links. His doctrinal precepts he derived in direct transmission from Shaykh Ahmad Ghazzāli; and he was the author of many works, among them the *Adābu'l Muridin* (*Institutiones Discipulorum*). He passed to his heavenly abode in A. H. 563 (A. D. 1167-68).

The TENTH follow Shaykh Abdu'l Wāhid-b-Zayd.

[11] Because in all controversies, says Jāmi, in which he was engaged in his youth, he was ever triumphant, and so received the appellation. He was killed by the Tartars on their invasion of Khwārzam after the flight of Muhammad Khwārzam Shah.

The ELEVENTH acknowledge Fuzayl-b-l'yāz. His patronymic is Abu Ali and he was a native of Kufah, but according to others of Bokhārā, and other places are also named. He passed his days as a wandering dervish between Marv and Bāward (Abiward), and from his natural goodness of disposition, received interior illumination and his virtuous conduct assured his salvation. He passed from the world in A.H. 187 (A.D. 802-3).

The TWELFTH take Ibrāhim Adham of Balkh as their guide. His patronymic was Abu Ishāq. His ancestors were of princely race and the star of his happy destiny shone forth from his early youth, for he withdrew himself altogether from the world. He associated with Abu Sufyān Thauri, Fuzayl-b-l'yāz, Abu Yusuf Ghasuli and was in intimacy with Ali-b-Bakkār, Huzayfah Marashi and Silm-al-Khawwas. He died in Syria in the year A. H. 161 or 162 (A. D. 777-78-79).

The THIRTEENTH trace back to Hubayrah of Basrah.

The FOURTEENTH are connected with Abu Ishāq Shāmi who was the disciple of Shaykh U'luw Dinawari. When the Shaykh arrived at [212] the village of Chisht, Khwājah Abu Ahmad Abdāl, who was the foremost among the Shaykhs of Chisht received instruction from him, and after him his son Muhammad illumined the lamp of sanctity. Following him, his nephew Khwājah Samaāni carried on the doctrine, whose son Khwājah Maudud Chishti succeeded to the leadership. His son Khwājah Ahmad also reached the same eminence.

There is, however, no exclusive claim in regard to either of these two lists. Any chosen soul who, in the mortification of the deceitful spirit and in the worship of God, introduced some new motive of conduct, and whose spiritual sons in succession continued to keep alight the lamp of doctrine, was acknowledged as the founder of a new line, for besides these twelve and fourteen orders, many another catena of religious schools has a worldwide repute, such as the

QADIRI[12]

which follows Shaykh Muhyi'ddin Abdu'l Qādir Jili. He was a Sayyid descended from Husayn. Jil is the name of a village near Baghdad. Some authorities[13] state that he was from Jilān. He was supreme in his time for his secular and spiritual knowledge. He received his dervish's habit from the hands of Abu Said al-Mubārak (b. Ali al-Makhzumi), and is thus spiritually connected with ash-Shibli through four intermediaries. His sanctity and extraordinary miracles are world-famed. He was born into the world in A. H. 471 (A.D. 1078), and bade farewell to it in A.H. 561 (A.D. 1165).

YASAWI.

These are disciples of Khwājah Ahmad Yasawi. In his youth he was under the supervision of Bäb Arslān, who was an eminent spiritual guide among the Turks. On his death he profited by the instruction of Khwājah Yusuf Hamadāni. The Turks call him Atā Yasawi; Atā in Turkish signifying a father, and their saints are thus designated. He returned to Turkistān at the command of the Khwājah and ended his days in the spiritual instruction of the people. Many miracles are reported of him. Four spiritual delegates are celebrated as religious guides: Mansur Atā, Said Atā, Sulaymān Atā, and Hakim Atā. Yasi is a town in Turkistān, the birthplace and town of this Shaykh.

[12] The references to the saints that follow are given here in one place: *Ency. Islam*, ii. 608-611 (Qādiri), iii. 841 ,Naqshbandi), Suppl. 183 (Baba Ratan), i. 862 (Muin Chishti), iv. 290 (Farid-ud-din Shakar-ganj), iii. 932 (Niẓamuddin Auliya), ii. 152 (Shah Madar under Ghazi Miyan), ii. 861-865 (Khizr under al-Khadir), iii. 687 (Md. Ghaus Gwaliyari.)

For the saints and martyrs of Islam in India, Hastings, *Encyclo. Religion*, xi. 63-73 (T. W. Arnold.)

[13] Among them Jāmi from whom this notice is taken. In his infancy he refused his mother's milk at the appearance of the new moon, on the fast of the Ramazān: a cow that he was tending in his youth addressed him in Arabic and inspired him with his vocation: he fasted for 40 days. These are some of the miracles reported by Jami.

NAQSHBANDI.[14]

This school owe their eternal salvation to Khwājah Bahā u'ddin Naqshband. His name was Muhammad-b-Muhammad al-Bokhāri. He was a disciple of Khwājah Muhammad Bābā Sammāsi and received his religious instruction in regard to exterior conduct from (Sayyid) Amir Kulāl, his delegate. Khwājah Sammāsi used often to say to Khwājah Ali Rāmithani, [universally known as (Hazrat) Azizān] as they passed in the vicinity of Qasr-i-Hinduān, "From this soil there comes the fragrance of a man that will soon make the Qasr-i-Hinduān (Castle of Hinduān), be called the Qasr-i-Aārifān (Castle of the Pious);" till one day coming from the house of (Sayyid) Amir Kulāl and passing the castle, he exclaimed, "The fragrance has increased—that man verily has been born." On inquiry it was found that three days had elapsed since the birth of the Khwājah. His father carried him to the Bābā, who said that he would adopt him as his spiritual son, and turning to his friends said: "This is the one whose fragrance I smelt, and who will be the spiritual guide of the world." To Amir Kulāl he said; "Withhold no care or kindness in the bringing up [213] of our son Bahāu'ddin." His orders were carried out. After a time when his fame grew, Bābā Sammāsi said to him: "Your zeal has a loftier flight. You have my permission to go and beg of other souls." Thereupon he went to Qutham Shaykh and attended his instruction, and profited by the guidance of Khalil Atā and realised his purpose through the spiritual aid of Khwājah Abd u'l Khāliq Ghujduwāni. The source of his interior illumination was (the prophet) Khizr; his faith and discipline were derived from Khwājah Yusuf Hamadāni. Khwājah Yusuf had four vicegerents, Khwājah Abdu'llah Barqi,

[14] This account has been taken from Jami's notices of Khwājah Muhammad Bābā Sammāsi and Bahāu'ddin Naqshbandi to which I refer the reader for those of the other doctors herein named.

Khwājah Hasan Andaki,[15] Khwājah Ahmad Yasawi, and Khwājah Abdu'l Khāliq Ghujduwāni. Khwājah Yusuf had received instructions from Shaykh Abu Ali Fārmidi, and he from Shaykh Abu'l Qāsim Gurgāni. The latter was the disciple of the following two personages, Junayd and Shaykh Abu'l Hasan Kharaqāni, and these of Bāyazid Bistāmi, and Bāyazid of the Imām Jaafar as-Sādiq.[16] The Imām was himself nourished from two sources; on the one side from his father Muhammad Bāqir, and he, from his father Imām Zaynu'l Aābidin, and he from his grand-parent the Imām Husayn, and on the other from his mother's father Qāsim-b-Muhammad-b-Abu Bakr, and Qāsim from Salmān al-Fārsi (the companion) and Salmān[17] from Abu Bakr.

It is said that Khwājah Bahāu'ddin had neither a slave nor a handmaid, and when asked the reason of this, he replied that ("the maintenance of) bondage was incompatible with the profession of a religious teacher." They inquired

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[15] Ghujduwān is a small town in Bokhāra. Yāqut.

Andaq is ten parasangs from Bokhārā. Fārmid is one of the towns of Tus. Kharaqān is one of the Bistām villages on the road to Astarābād where, in Yākut's time, was still to be seen the tomb of Abu'l Hasan who died on the 10th of Muharram, A.H. 425 (A.D. 1033), at the age of 73.

[16] The Imām Abu Abdu'llah Jaafar as-Sādiq (the Veracious), fourth in descent from Ali-b-Abi Tālib, born A.H. 80 (A.D. 699); died and buried at Medina A.H. 148 (A.D. 765). The same tomb contains the bodies of his father Muhd. al-Bāqir, his grand father Ali Zaynu'l Aābidin, and his grand-father's uncle al-Hasan, son of Ali. "How rich a tomb," says Ibn Khallikān, "in generosity and nobility." See *Ency. Islam*, i. 993 under Djafar bin Md.

[17] He was a freedman of Muhammad; his name Abu Abdu'llah Salmān al-Khayr, or the Good, a native of Tayy, one of the villages of Ispahān; others say from Rāma Hurmuz. His father was headman of the village and a Magian. The youth fled from his home and fell in with some monks, in whose company he remained till their death. The last of them directed him to go to Hijāz and foretold the coming of a prophet. He travelled thither with some Arabs who sold him to a Jew of Quraydha at Wādi'l Qura, who took him to Medina. There he met Muhammad and recognized his prophetic mission, from his signet ring, and from an alms twice offered to him which were the three signs announced to him by the last of the monks. He is said to have been one of the most learned, pious and liberal of the companions.

of him: "To what stage does your spiritual ancestry go back?" He replied, "No one reaches any stage by virtue of a spiritual ancestry." On the night of Monday, 3rd Rabiʿ I, A.H. 791, (4th March, A.D. 1389) he disburdened himself of his elemental body.

The case of these orders is similar to that of the four schools of theology. Any one reaching the rank of *Mujtahid* may become a doctrinal authority, and there is no difficulty in the recognition of this as fourfold.

But it is better that I should desist from further details and seek the divine mercy by mentioning the Saints of God. In the following enumeration, under the title of "Saints", I have recorded the names of forty-eight only among thousands, and make this a means towards the attainment of eternal bliss.

Shaykh Baba Ratn

Was the son of Nasrat-Tabrindi; his patronymic was Abu'l Rizā. In the time of ignorance he was born at Tabrindah and went to Hijāz and saw the Prophet, and after many wanderings returned to India. Many accepted the accounts he related, while others rejected them as the garrulity of senile age. He died at Tabarindah, in A.H. 700 (A.D. 1300-1), and was there buried. Shaykh Ibn i Hajr Asqalāni, Majdu'ddin Firozābādi, Shaykh Alā u' ddaulah as Simnāni, Khwājah Muhammad Pārsā and many pious individuals acknowledged and commended him.

Khwajah Muinu'ddin Hasan Chishti

Was the son of Ghiyāsu'ddin Hasan and a Sayyid in descent from both Hasan and Husayn, and was born in A.H. 537 (A.D. 1142), in the village of Sijz, of the province of Sijistān.

[214] At the age of fifteen he lost his father. Ibrāhim Qahandazi, a man absorbed in divine things, regarded him with an eye of favour and set aflame the gathered harvest of wordliness with the fire of divine ardour, and guided him in his quest. In Harun, a village of Nishāpur, he attended Khwājah Othmān Chishti, and practised a mortified life and received the habit of *Khalifah* or vicegerent. Subsequently he reached a higher degree of perfection and was spiritually benefited by Shaykh Abdu'l Qādir Jili and other holy men. In the year that Mu'izzu'd-dīn Sām took Delhi (A.H. 589, A.D. 1193), he arrived at that city, and with a view to a life of seclusion withdrew to Ajmer and there inspired the same zeal among numerous disciples by his own efficacious will. He shared the reward of a heavenly kingdom on Saturday, the 6th of Rajab, A.H. 633 (18th March 1236). His resting place is at the foot of the hilly range of that district and is visited to this day by high and low.

Shaykh Ali Ghaznavi Hajubari.

His patronymic was Abu'l Hasan. His father was Othmān-b-Abu Ali Jullābi. He lived secluded from ordinary worldly concerns and obtained a high degree of knowledge. An account of him is given in the *Kashfu'l Mahjub li Arbābi'l Qulub* (Selectio eorum qui relata sunt in favorem cordatorum).[18] In this work he says, "I followed in this path Shaykh Abu'l Fazl-b-Hasan al Khatli." His resting place is in Lāhor.

Shaykh Husayn Zanjani.

A man of extensive erudition. Khwājah Mu'in'uddin attended his instructions at Lāhor where his tomb is, and which is visited by many to the gain of their eternal welfare.

[18] A work on Sufiism by Shaykh Abu'l Hasan Ali b. Othmān Ghazna Khatli is the relative adjective of Khatlān, a province of Transoxiana near Samarqand.

SHAYKH BAHAU'DDIN ZAKARIYA[19]

Was the son of Wajihu'ddin Muhammad-b-Kamālu'ddin Ali Shāh Qurayshi, and was born at Kot Karor, near Multān, in A.H. 565 (A.D. 1169-70). His father died when he was a child; he grew in wisdom and studied in Turān and Irān. He received his doctrine from Shaykh Shihābu'ddin Suhrawardi at Baghdad and reached the degree of vicegerent. He was on terms of great friendship with Shaykh Farid (u'ddin) Shakkarganj, and lived with him for a considerable time. Shaykh (Fakhru'ddin) I'rāqi and Mir Husayni were his disciples. On the 7th of Safar, A.H. 665 (7th November 1266), an aged person of serene aspect sent in to him a sealed letter by the hand of his son Sadru'ddin. He read it and gave up the ghost, and a loud voice was heard from the four corners of the town: "Friend is united to Friend." His resting place is in Multān.

QUTBU'DDIN BAKHTYAR KAKI

Was the son of Kamālu'ddin Musa and came from Ush of Farghānah. He lost his father when very young and privileged by the vision of (the Prophet) Khizr was keenly desirous of meeting with a spiritual guide till the arrival in Ush of Khwājah Mu'inu'ddin. At the age of eighteen he received his doctrine and became a vicegerent. He profited by the instruction of many saints at Baghdad and other places In the desire of [P. 215] meeting with a holy director he came to India and for a time attended Shaykh Bahāu'ddin Zakariyā. He arrived in Delhi in the reign of Shamsu'ddin Iltutmish. The Khwājah (Mu'inu'ddin) went there on a

[19] Ferishta who has a long monograph on him, says that he left seven million *tankahs* to his son Sadru'ddin, besides other furniture and goods which the latter gave away on the very first day of possession. Being asked why he so disposed of wealth amassed by his father and given in due measure to the poor, he replied that his father had sufficiently conquered himself to have no fear of an improper use of it, whereas he himself, not so advanced in sanctity, dreaded the temptation.

visit to him and after a little, left him and returned. He was of great service to the people in general. He died on the 14th of Rabii' I, A.H. 633 (Saturday, 27th November, A.D. 1235). His tomb is in Delhi where it is visited by all classes.

SHAYKH FARIDU'DDIN GANJ I SHAKKAR

Was the son of Jamālu'ddin Sulaymān, a descendant of Farrukh Shāh Kābuli. His birthplace was the village of Khotwal, near Multān. In his early youth he followed the common course of studies. At Multān he met Khwājah Qutbu'ddin, went with him to Delhi and was instructed in his doctrine. Some authorities state that he did not accompany him to Delhi, but took his leave on the way and hastened to Qandahār and Sistān, where he set himself to the garnering of knowledge. He then came to Delhi and put himself under disciplinary rule. He had many warrings with the spirit in which he eventually triumphed. When Khwājah Qutbu'ddin was on the point of death, there were present Qāzi Hamidu'ddin Nāgori, Shaykh Badru'ddin Ghaznavi and many other holy men. They agreed that the habit and other personal belongings of the dying man should be committed to Shaykh Faridu'ddin. The Shaykh who was then at the town of Jhānsi, on hearing this, went to Delhi, and taking possession of the trust, returned. He was the source of blessings to many people. He bade farewell to this fleeting world on the 5th of Muharram, A.H. 668 (Monday, 5th September, 1269), at (Pāk) Pattan in the Panjāb, which at that time was called Ajodhan.[20]

[20] Ferishta gives various accounts of the derivation of his epithet *Ganj i Shakkar*, (the treasure-house of sweets). Once on going to see his spiritual director, being weak from fasting, his foot slipped and he fell in the mud, it being the rainy season. Some of the mud entered his mouth and was changed into sugar. His director, on his arrival, had preter-natural intuition of the event, and told him that the Almighty had, probably, designed him to be a store-house of sweet things and would preserve him in this condition. On his return home, he found that this epithet had spread

Shaykh Sadru'ddin Aarif

Was the son of Shaykh Bahāu'ddin. During his father's life-time he reached the highest degree of sanctity. Sayyids Fakhru'ddin I'rāqi and Mir Husayn yere his disciples. He died in Multān, where he is buried, in A.H. 709 (A.D. 1309).

Nizamu'ddin Auliya.

His name was Muhammad and he was the son of Ahmad Dānyāl who came from Ghaznin to Badāon in A.H. 632 (A.D. 1234-35), where Nizāmu'ddin was born. For a time he went through the ordinary course of studies and received the epithet of Nizām *al-Bahhāth*, or the Controversialist, and *Mahfil Shikan*, the Assembly-router. At the age of twenty he went to Ajodhan and became the disciple of Faridu'ddin Ganj i Shakkar and obtained the key of the treasury of inward illumination. He was then sent to Delhi to instruct the people, and many under his direction attained to the heights of sanctity, such as Shaykh Nasiru'ddin Muhammad Chirāgh i Dilhi, Mir Khusrau, Shaykh Alāu'l Haqq, Shaykh Akhi Sirāj, in Bengal, Shaykh Wajihu'ddin Yusuf in Chanderi, Shaykh Yakub and Shaykh Kamāl in Mālwah, Maulānā Ghiyās in Dhār, Maulānā Mughis in Ujjain, Shaykh Husain in Gujarāt, Shaykh Burhānu'ddin Gharib, [216] Shaykh Muntakhab, Khwājah Hasan, in the Dekhan. He died in the forenoon of Wednesday, the 18th Rabii' II, A.H. 725 (3rd April 1325). His tomb is in Delhi.[21]

among the people who designated him by it. Another account is that meeting with some *banjārās* who were taking salt to Delhi, they asked him to bless their bales that they might sell with profit. He did so, and on their arrival the sacks were discovered to be full of sugar.

[21] "In Ghiyāspur," says Ferishta, "which is one of the quarters of new Delhi". He relates that Ghiyāsu'ddin Tughlak Shāh who then reigned at Delhi, though outwardly treating Nizāmu'ddin with consideration, was in reality displeased with him. When about to return from his expedition to Bengal he sent a message to the Shaykh directing him not to await his arrival at Delhi, and that henceforth he was no longer to remain in Ghiyāspur. The Shaykh

SHAYKH RUKNU'DDIN

Was the son of Sadru'ddin Aārif and the successor of his eminent grandfather [Bahā-ud-din Zakariya]. At the time when Sultān Qutbu'ddin (Mubārak Shāh Khilji, A.H. 717 (A.D. 1317), regarded Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin with disfavour, he summoned Shaykh Ruknu'ddin from Multān in the hope of disturbing his influence. On his arrival near Delhi he met Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin. Qutbu'ddin on receiving the Shaykh (Ruknu'ddin) asked him "Who among the people of the city was the foremost in going out to met him?" He replied: "The most eminent person of his age." By this happy answer he removed the king's displeasure. His resting place is Multān.

SHAYKH JALALU'DDIN TABRIZI

Was the disciple of Said Tabrizi. After some wanderings, he fell in with Shaykh Shihābu'ddin Suhrawardi and by his zealous service attained the office of vicegerent. He was on terms of intimacy with Khwājah Qutbu'ddin and Shaykh Bahāu'ddin Zakariyā. Shaykh Najmu'ddin Sughra, who was Shaykh u'l Islām at Delhi, bore enmity against him and maliciously incited a disreputable woman to accuse the Shaykh of incontinence. Through the miraculous powers of Shaykh Bahāu'ddin Zakariyā, the falsehood of the charge was established. He then went to Bengal. His tomb is in the port of Dev Mahal.

SHAYKH SUFI BADHNI.

His birthplace was Oudh. He lived a life of extraordinary abstraction, heedless of all save the worship of God.

replied, *hanuz Dilhi dur ast*; Delhi is still far off. Before the king's arrival in Delhi while at Afghānpur, the building which had been raised by Alāf Khān for his reception, fell upon the king and crushed him in the ruins, in Rabii' I., A.H. 725. The proverb *Dilhi dur ast* owes its origin to this event

It is said that Khwājah Qutubu'ddin and he, with a number of others, were taken prisoners by the Mughals. Hunger and thirst drove the captives to the greatest straits. It was then that the Khwājah, by supernatural power, drew forth from his wallet warm cakes (*kāk*), with which he supplied each one of the party, while the Sufi gave them all to drink from his broken water-vessel (*badhnā*). From this circumstance the Khwājah was called *Kāki*, and the other *Badhni*.

KHWAJAH KARAK.

One of the greatest of the ascetics. He lived apart from worldly intercourse and passed his days in ruined places. Khwājah Qutbu'ddin Ushi sent him the habit of a recluse, which he took and threw into the fire. The bearer reviled him to the Khwājah who replied, "Go and demand it back, so that thou mayest know what has in reality happened." When he made his request, Khwājah Karak said, "Go, and take out a cloak from the fireplace, but only your own." When he went to look, he found that habit among many others, and repented of his conduct. His tomb is at Karrah, Mānikpur. [P. 217]

SHAYKH NIZAMU'DDIN ABU'L MUAYYAD.

He stood in the relation of a disciple to his maternal uncle Shaykh Shihābu'ddin Ahmad Ghaznavi and flourished during the reign of Shamsu'ddin Iltutmish. Khwājah Qutbu'ddin Ushi and Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin Auliyā, both considered an interview with him as a great happiness.

SHAYKH NAJIBU'DDIN MUHAMMAD

Was the disciple of Shaykh Badru'ddin Firdausi of Samarqand, who was the *khalifah* or vicegerent of Shaykh Sayfu'ddin Bākharzi, who held the same relation to Shaykh Najmu'ddin Kubra. From thence he came to Delhi and for

a time directed the consciences of men, and there died. Some say that he and Shaykh I'mādu'ddin Tusi were the disciples and vicegerents of Shaykh Ruknu'ddin Firdausi.

Qazi Hamidu'ddin Nagori

Was the son of Atāu'ddin of Bokhārā, where he was born. In the reign of Mu'izzu'ddin Sām he came to Delhi with his father, and for three years held the office of Qāzi at Nagor. Unexpectedly the desire of a life of retirement seized him. Abandoning the world he journeyed to Baghdad and became the disciple of Shaykh Shihābu'ddin Suhrawardi. There he entered into intimate friendship with Khwājah Qutbu'ddin and after travelling to Hijāz came to Delhi. He died on the night of the 5th of Ramazān, A.H. 644 (Sunday, 9th November, A.D. 1246) without any previous illness. He is buried in Delhi.

Shaykh Hamidu'ddin Suwali of Nagor

Was the son of Shaykh Ahmad. In his early youth he was handsome and rich, but in pursuit of the truth he abandoned the world and applied himself to the practice of austerities. He wore the mantle of discipleship under Khwājah Mu'inu'ddin and attained a high degree of perfection. He was styled *Sultān u't-Tārikin*, the King of Recluses. He rolled up the carpet of life on the 29th Rabii' II, A.H. 673 (31st October 1274). His resting place is in Nāgor.

Shaykh Najibu'ddin Mutawakkil

Was the brother and disciple of Shaykh Faridu'ddin Ganj i Shakkar. Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin used to say: "When I left Badāon for Delhi desiring to pay my respects to Ganj Shakkar, I met Najibu'ddin and was much benefited by his society." He died on the 9th of Ramazān, A.H. 660 (27th July 1261). [P. 218]

SHAYKH BADRU'DDIN

His birthplace was Ghaznah. In a dream he received the discipleship of Khawājah Qutbu'ddin Ushi, and abandoning all, undertook the toil of a journey in quest of the holy man. In Delhi his desires were fulfilled and he received the office of vicegerent. Qāzi Hāmidu'ddin, Shaykh Farid u'ddin Ganj i Shakkar, Sayyid Mubārak Ghaznavi, Maulānā Majdu'ddin Jurjāni. Shaykh Ziyāu'ddin Dihlavi, and other eminent personages received the blessing of his instructions. In his old age when he was unable to move, the sound of a hymn would excite him to ecstasy and he would dance like a youth. When asked how it was that the Shaykh could dance notwithstanding his decrepitude, he replied: "Where is the Shaykh? It is Love that dances." His resting-place is at the foot of his own master's grave.

SHAYKH BADRU'DDIN ISHAQ

Was the son of Minhāju'ddin Bokhāri, but some say he was the son of Ali-b-Ishāq, of Delhi, where he was born. He went through the usual course of studies, but some speculative difficulties not being solved in this country he set out for Bokhārā. At Ajodhan, in intercourse with Ganj i Shakkar, his doubts were removed, and becoming his disciple he set himself to mortify his senses. The Shaykh conferred on him the distinction of being both his vicegerent and his son-in-law. He was buried in that place.

SHAYKH NASIRU'DDIN CHIRAGH-I-DIHLAVI, OR THE LAMP OF DELHI

His name was Mahmud and his birthplace Delhi. He was the disciple and vicegerent of Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin Auliyā. He departed from this world that all must leave on the 1st of Ramazān, A.H. 757, (2nd Sept. 1356).

SHAYKH SHARAF (U'DDIN) OF PANIPAT

His patronymic was Abu Ali Qalandar. He lived as a recluse and in one of his writings he says of himself: "At the age of forty I came to Delhi and received instruction under Khwājah Qutbu'ddin. Maulānā Wajihu'ddin Pāili, Maulānā Sadru'ddin, Maulānā Fakhru'ddin Nāfilah, Maulānā Nāsiru'ddin, Maulānā Mu'inu'ddin Daulatābādi, Maulānā Najibu'ddin Samarqandi, Maulānā Qutbu'ddin of Mecca, Maulānā Ahmad Khansāri and other learned men of the day gave me a license to teach and to pronounce judicial decisions, which offices I exercised for twenty years. Unexpectedly I received a call from God, and throwing all my learned books into the Jumna, I set out on travel. In Roumelia I fell in with Shamsu'ddin Tabrizi and Maulānā Jalālu'ddin Rumi who presented me with a robe and turban and with many books, which in their presence I threw into the river. Subsequently I came to Pānipat and there lived as a recluse." His tomb is there.

SHAYKH AHMAD.

His birthplace was Nahrwālah, commonly known as Pattan. He became the disciple of Hamidu'ddin Nāgori and attained the high rank of a vicegerent; Shaykh Bahāu'ddin Zakariyā who was difficult to please, much commended him. He was buried at Badāon.

SHAYKH JALAL.

Was the son of Sayyid Mahmud-b-Sayyid Jalālu'ddin Bokhāri. He was universally known as *Makhdum i Jahāniyān* (lord of mankind).

He was born on the *Shab-i-Barāt*, 14th Shaabān, A. H. 707, (7th Feb., A. D. 1307). He was the disciple of his father and received a vicegerency from Shaykh Ruknu'ddin Abu'l Fath Suhrawardi. It is said [219] that he journeyed much

and had intercourse with Imām Yāfai and many others. He visited Shaykh Nasiru'ddin Chirāgh i Dihlavi, and became a vicegerent in the Chisht family. He put off his earthly body on Thursday, the Id-i-Qurbān, 10th Zil Hijjah, A. H. 785 (2nd Feb., A. D. 1383). He was buried al Uchh, nea Multān.[22]

SHAYKH SHARAFU'DDIN MUNIRI.

Was the son of Yahya-b-Isrāil, the head of the Chishtis He was instructed under Ganj i Shakkar. His childhoo passed, he practised a life of austerity in the hills, and in the desire of seeing Shaykh Nizām Auliyā, he went to Delhi with his eldest brother, Shaykh Jalālu'ddin Muhammad. The Shaykh meanwhile had died, but others affirm that he saw him and by his direction went to Najibu'ddin Firdausi, and after discipleship became his vicegerent. Shaykh Shamsu'ddin Muzaffar of Balkh and Shaykh Jalālu'ddin Awadhi, called also Jamāl Qitāl, received the vicegerency from him. He left many works, and amongst them his writings on the mortification of the spirit are in use as exercises. His burial-place is in Behār.

SHAYKH JAMALU'DDIN HANSAWI.

Was the descendant of Abu Hanifah of Kufah. His profession was to deliver discourses and pronounce judical decisions, but renouncing this office he became the disciple of Shaykh Farid Ganj i Shakkar and reached a high degree of virtue. To whomsoever the Shaykh Farid gave a certificate of vicegerency, he would send him to Jamālu'ddin on whose approval the certificate took effect. If he did not approve the Shaykyh would say that what Jamāl tore up Farid could not repair. He was buried in Hānsi.

[22] According to Beale he is the founder of the Malang and Jalāliya Fakirs, and his memoirs, called the Kitāb-i-Kutbi, have been written by one of his disciples.

Shah Madar.

His title was Badii'u'ddin. High and low throughout Hindustan have great devotion to him and attest his great sanctity. They say that he was the disciple of Shaykh Muhammad Tayfuri Bistami. He never wore garments of rich texture and he held aloof from men. Every Monday his doors used to be open and a crowd of suppliants collected. As the people respectfully kept back, it was his custom to recite some story in which those who sought advice received their answer; and whoever heard the response which befitted his case, he rose blessing him. Strange tales are told of him. The Madāri order take their origin from him. His resting-place is in Makanpur.

On the anniversary of his decease every year, crowds of people from distant parts flock thither, carrying banners of all colours, and recite his praises. Qāzi Shihābu'ddin in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhim Sharqi had a quarrel with him of which he found reason to repent.

Shaykh Nur Qutb-i-Aalam

[220] Was the son of Shaykh Alāu'l Haqq. His true name is Shaykh Nuru'ddin Ahmad-b-O'mar Asad, and he was born at Lāhor. He was the disciple and vicegerent of his eminent father, who received the vicegerency from Shaykh Akhi Sirāj. He in some degree attained to the knowledge of the Ineffable Mystery and became a mystic of exalted degree, as his works and some of his letters, in themselves, testify. Shaykh Husām-u'ddin Mānikpuri was his vicegerent. He died in A. H. 808 (A.D., 1405), and was buried at Panduah.

Baba Ishaq Maghrabi

Was born at Delhi and was the disciple of Hāji Shaykh Muhammad Kimi. His line of succession through some few

intermediaries, traces back to Junayd. Shaykh Ahmad Khattu thus writes: "I went to Delhi in his company. He showed me his old dwelling and said: "At the age of twelve I set out in search of spiritual help from saintly souls and chosing the vocation of a recluse received instruction from many eminent persons, and in the city of Kim, in Mauritania, and in intercourse with Shaykh Muhammad who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, I attained to the desire of my heart, and became a vicegerent." He returned to Delhi in the reign of Sultān Muhammad who received him with much honour. Khwājah Mu'inu'ddin instructed him in a vision to retire to Khattu in seclusion, and he followed this direction.

SHAYKH AHMAD KHATTU.

His title was Jamālu'ddin and he was born at Delhi, in A. H. 737 (A.D. 1336), of a noble family of that city. He was the disciple and vicegerent of Bābā Ishāq Maghrabi. His name was Nasiru'ddin. By a freak of fortune he was carried away from his dwelling in a tempest of wind. After a time he was blessed with the instruction of Bābā Ishāq Maghrabi and garnered a store of secular and theological learning. In the reign of Sultān Ahmad Gujarāti (A.D. (1411-43), he came to Gujarāt where all classes received him with respect and were loud in his praise. He subsequently travelled in Arabia and Persia and met many eminent doctors. He was buried in Sarkhech, near Ahmadābād.

SHAYKH SADRU'DDIN

Was the son of Sayyid Ahmad Kabir-b-Sayyid Jalālu'-ddin Bokhāri, and was commonly known as Rāju Qitāl.[23] He was the disciple and vice-gerent of his father and received also the latter distinction from his brother *Makhdum-i-*

[23] See Ferishta under Jalālu'ddin Husayn Bokhāri, for the history of the family.

Jahāniyān and Shaykh Ruknu'ddin Abu'l-Fath. Sultān Firoz held him in great honour. He slept his last sleep in A.H. 806 (A.D. 1403).

SHAYKH ALAU'DDIN MUHAMMAD

Was the grandson of Shaykh Faridu'ddin Ganj i Shakkar, and son of Badru'ddin Sulaymān. He was a man of holy and commendable life and attained to great spiritual eminence. On his decease Sultān Muhammad Tughlak built a mausoleum over his remains. ([P. 221]

SAYYID MUHAMMAD GESUDARAZ (LONG HAIR)

Was the disciple and vicegerent of Shaykh Nasiru'ddin Chirāgh-i-Dihli. He became proficient in theology and secular knowledge and by the direction of his spiritual guide went from Delhi to the Dekhan, where he was received with honour by high and low. He died in A. H. 825 (A.D. 1421-2), and was buried at Kulbargah. [Gulbarga]

QUTB-I-AALAM.

His patronymic was Abu Muhammad, and his title Burhānu'ddin. He was the son of Shāh Muhammad-b-Sayyid Jalālu'ddin *Makhdum-i-Jahāniyān*, and was born in A.H. 790 (A.D. 1388). He was the disciple of his illustrious father and received the vicegerency from Shaykh Ahmad Khattu. In the reign of Sultān Muhammad (Shāh Karim, A.D. 1443-51), the descendant of Sultān Muzaffar Shāh by two removes, by order of his father he came to Gujarāt and there became eminent in secular and speculative learning. He died in A.H. 857 (A.D. 1453). His tomb is in Batwah, near Ahmadābād.

SHAH AALAM.

His name was Sayyid Muhammad, he was the son of Qutb i-Aālam and was born on the 9th of Zu'lqaadah,

A.H. 817 (18th January 1415). He was the disciple of his father from whom he received the vicegerency and attained to eminent sanctity. Extraordinary miracles are related of him. His days came to an end on the 20th Jumāda II., A.H. 880 (21st Oct. 1475). He lies buried at Rasulābād, near Ahmadābād.

Shaykh Qutbu'ddin

Was the son of Shaykh Burhānu'ddin-b-Shaykh Jamālu'ddin of Hānsi and the disciple and vicegerent of Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin Auliyā. He lived apart from men and took no presents from princes. Sultān Muhammad in person went to Hānsi and brought him to Delhi. He is buried at Hānsi.

Shaykh Ali Payrav

Was the son of Maulānā Ahmad Mahāyami. He became proficient in worldly and spiritual knowledge and explained the mysteries after the manner of Shaykh Muhyi'ddin Arabi. He has left many works on theology, but most of them are no longer extant.

Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri

Was the son of Sayyid Badh Uwaysi. He received instruction under many holy men and was learned in spiritual and secular knowledge. Carried away by extravagance he laid claim to be a *Mahdi* and many followers gathered round him and numerous miracles are ascribed to him. He is the origin of the *Mahdavis*. From Jaunpur he went to Gujarāt and was much in favour with Sultān Mahmud the Great. The narrow-mindedness of worldlings made India intolerable to him and he resolved to pass into Persia, but died at Farrah and was there buried.

[222] QAZI KHAN.

His name was Yusuf and his birthplace Zafarābād. He was the disciple and vicegerent of Shaykh Hasan Tāhir, surnamed Kamālu'l Haqq. He was also the disciple of Hāji Hāmid who was the vicegerent of Husamu'ddin Mānikpuri. He acquired secular and theological learning. His spiritual guide, during his own lifetime, charged him with the superintendence of his vicegerents, and at his death entrusted to his care his own son Abdu'l Aziz. On the 15th of Safar, A.H. 900 (13th November 1494), he rested from the troubles of the world.

MIR SAYYID ALI QAWAM.

His birthplace was Siwānah. He was the disciple and vicegerent of Bahāu'ddin Jaunpuri Shattāri. Some say that he was instructed by Shaykh Qāsā Shattāri, while others affirm that his connection with all spiritual families can be correctly proved. In the year A.H. 905 (A.D. 1499), he passed from earth. His restingplace is Jaunpur.

QAZI MAHMUD

Was the son of Shaykh Jālindha-b-Muhammad Gujarāti. He was born in Birpur. He was the disciple of his father and received the mantle of vicegerency from Shāh Aālam. Divine love filled his heart and many an edifying discourse fell from his lips. From the age of eleven he was spiritually illumined, and wonderful accounts are given regarding him. On the 13th Rabii' II. of the year A.H. 942 (A.D. 1535) in which the Emperor Humāyun defeated Bahādur (Shāh) of Gujarāt, he passed to the other world and lies buried in Birpur.

SHAYKH MAUDUD AL-LARI

Was the disciple of Bābā Nizām Abdāl. He went through the usual course of studies for a time under Maulānā

Abdu'l Ghafur of Lār and sought spiritual guidance from many souls. He was thoroughly versed in the methods of exposition and exegesis of the schools and skilled in the complicated problems of philosophy, and he had met Shāh Niamatu'llah Wali and Shāh Qāsim Anwār. He slept his last sleep in Ramazān A.H. 937 (A.D. 1530).

Shaykh Haji Abd'ul Wahhab-al-Bokhari.

Shaykh Jalālu'ddin Bokhāri had two sons. Makhdum-i-Jahāniyān was the son of Sayyid Mahmud and this (Shaykh Hāji) was descended from (the other son), Sayyid Ahmad. He was the disciple and pupil of Sayyid Sadru'ddin Bokhāri. He was versed in secular and speculative science. He died in A.H. 932 (A.D. 1525-26). [P. 223]

Shaykh Abdu'r Razzaq

Was born at Jhanjhāna[24] and was the disciple and vicegerent of Shāh Muhammad Hasan and the son of Shaykh Hasan Tāhir. At first he went through the usual course of studies which he abandoned for a higher aim. He died in A.H. 949 (A.D. 1542), and was buried at Jhanjhāna.

Shaykh Abdu'l Quddus.

He asserted himself to be a descendant of Abu Hanifah. He was the disciple of Shaykh Muhammad-b-Shaykh Aārif-b-Shaykh Ahmad Abd'ul Haqq. He acquired secular and spiritual learning and became eminent in theology. Many of his mystical sayings are recorded. The Emperor Humāyun with a few of the learned, visited him in his cell and an animated controversy took place. He folded up the carpet of his life in A.H. 950 (A.D. 1543). He was buried at Gangoyah,[25] near Delhi.

[24] In the Muzaffarnagar dist., U. P.

[25] Gangoh, is a town in the Sahāranpur dist., U. P. It consists of an old and new quarter, the former founded by the legendary

Sayyid Ibrahim

Was the son of Mu'inu'ddin-b-Abdu'l Qādir Husayni. His birthplace was Iraj. He was the disciple of Shaykh Bahāu'ddin Qādiri Shattāri. He was proficient in all learning and rarely equalled for his good deeds. He had travelled much, and in the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodi (A.D. 1517-40) went to Delhi. Shaykh Abdu'llah of Delhi, Miyān Lādan, Maulānā Abdu'l Qādir the soapmaker, and other celebrated doctors acknowledged his sanctity. He yielded up his fleeting life in A.H. 953 or 958 (A.D. 1546-51). He was buried at Delhi.

Shaykh Aman.

His name was Abdu'l Malik, son of Abdu'l Ghafur. He was the disciple of Shaykh Muhammad Hasan. By the direction of his master, he received various instruction under Shaykh Muhammad Maudud al-Lāri. He died on the 12th Rabii' II., A.H. 958 (20th April, 1551).

Shaykh Jamal.

Was the son of Shaykh Hamzah and his father's disciple. He chiefly led a retired life though among worldly occupations. He was buried at Dharsu.

I think it fitting to conclude these notices with an account of (the prophets) Khizr and Elias, and thus supplicate an enduring remembrance.

Khizr.

His name was Balyān, the son of Kalyān, the son of Fāligh (Phaleg), the son of Aābir (Heber), the son of Shālikh (Sale), the son of Arfakshad (Arphaxad), the son of Sām,

hero Raja Gang and the latter by Shaykh Abdu'l Quddus who gives his title to the western suburb, where his tomb still stands among other sacred shrines.

(Sem), the son of Nuh (Noe). Some [P. 224] call him Kalyāan-b-Malkān, others Malkān, the son of Balyān, the son of Kalyān, the son of Simeon, the son of Sām, the son of Noe.[26] His patronymic was Abu'l Abbās. He was called Khizr because he sat upon a white skin which through the blessed influence of his feet turned to green. He was born in the time of Moses within two parasangs of Shirāz, or according to another opinion in the time of Abraham. Some place him shortly before the mission of Abraham and others, a considerable time after. Shaykh Alāu'ddaulah in his *U'rwat (li Ahli'lkhalwat wa'ljalwat)*[27] (ansa viris solitariis et multum conspicuis oblata) says of him, "he has many wives, and children are born to him and he gives them names, but no one can find a trace of him. It is now one hundred years and seven months that he has withdrawn himself from the world, and no children of his survive. In his early profession of broker he used to buy and sell and secure profit, and borrow and give in pledge; he is also learned in alchemy and knows where the treasures of the world lie buried, and by the command of God expends them in the service of the people, and never acts solely for his own benefit. He delights in music and dances, and will often pass a day and a night together in an ecstatic trance. A thousand years ago he renewed his youth, and subsequent to that time this occurs after every one hundred and twenty years." The Shaykh continues: "In this year the period of renewal takes place and from the epoch of the Hijrah up to this day the renewal has occurred seven times. He associates, and prays with

[26] The generations of Sem to Abram in Gen. xi. descend through Arphaxed, Sale, Heber, and Phaleg. The further generations through Reu and Serug are here displaced for the fictitious substitutes.

[27] This work is in Persian by Shaykh Alāu'ddaulah Ahmad-b-Muhammad Simnāni and was completed on the 23rd Muharram, A.H. 721 (A.D. 31st January 1321), in the town of Sufiyābād. [Hāji Khalifah.]

the (saints called) *Qutb* and *Abdāl*.[28] They say that once in Medina some camel-men were having a fight with stones. A piece of stone struck Khizr on the head and cut it open. The wound chilled and became inflamed and his illness lasted three months. His prophetic office is disputed though many believe it." He accompanied Zu'l Qarnayn (the two-horned[29] Alexander) in search of the water of life, and obtained the boon of length of days. Some say that both Elias and Khizr obtained the water of life, and others maintain that Khizr is a spirit who assumes various bodily forms, and they deny him to be of mortal race.

ELIAS

Was the son of Sem, the son of Noe, and grandfather of Khizr. Some authorities give his father's name as Yāsin and some give Nusayy and different other names. Others again derive his genealogy thus,—that he was the son of Phineas, the son of Eleazar (l'izār), the son of Aaron the brother of Moses. There is also a disagreement regarding his prophetical office. The *Qutbs*, *Abdāls*, and Khizr, stand to him in the light of disciples and revere him. He is tall of stature, with a large head; is reserved in speech and absorbed in thought. He has a solemn and awe-inspiring exterior, and the mysteries of all things are revealed to him. It is said that he was raised up for the defence of the faith of Moses

[28] Jāmi, a great authority on points of mysticism, says that the saints are providentially raised to prove the truth of the prophetic mission, and are the sources of grace to the faithful and an assurance of victory to them over the infidels. They are 4,000 in number; do not recognise each other, nor know their own dignity and are hidden both from themselves and mankind. Three hundred among these have the office of binding and loosing, and are called *Akhyār* (the Good). Forty others are called *Abdāl* (Just). Seven others are termed *Abrār* (Pious). Three others are *Nuqabā* (Leaders) and one is termed *Qutb* (Pillar), or *Ghaus* (Defender).

[29] He received this epithet says Tabari because he traversed the world from end to end, the word *Qarn* signifying a horn, a term applied also to the extremities of the universe. It is given to him in the Qurān (Sur. xviii. vv. 82, 84, 92).

and was sent as an inspired guide to the people of Baalbak; when he found that his admonitions were of no avail, he asked for his deliverence from the Almighty,[30] and his prayer was heard. One day he went up into a hill with Eliseus, the son of Akhtub, and a fiery chariot with its equipage and harness appeared, and leaving Eliseus as his successor he mounted the chariot and vanished from sight. [P. 225]

Extraordinary accounts are told of these two personages Khizr and Elias. The first mentioned roams chiefly over dry land and brings those who have strayed into the right path; the latter keeps by the coasts. Some reverse these conditions. Each has ten holy persons as their assistants, and both are said to have lived for many years and associate together. Some of the learned, however, do not believe in their existence. Elias is prayed to for the prevention of calamities, and Khizr for their remission after they have befallen.

PRAISE BE TO GOD

That a general review of the state of Hindustan has been now presented and the modes of thought and the customs of its people explicitly recorded. As time pressed and my mind was ill at ease, I did not formulate the proofs of their doctrine nor compare them with the systems of Greece and Persia. Neither did I set down the various conflicting opinions among the Hindus, nor express the thoughts that occurred

[30] "And when he was there and sat under a juniper tree he requested for his soul that he might die and said, "It is enough for me, Lord, take away my soul: for I am no better than my fathers."

III. Kings xix. 4.

Thus spoke Eliseus as he fled from Jezabel to Bersabee of Juda. Abul Fazl confounds Samaria with Heliopolis, and, perhaps, from the similarity of names, places the slaughter of the false prophets of Baal at Mount Carmel in Baalbak. Mount Carmel is still remembered as the Jabal Mār Elyās. Eliseus was the son of Saphat of Abelmeula. Tabari gives Elias the genealogy assigned by Abu'l Fazl and calls Eliseus the son of Akhtub. See Tabari, Zotenberg, p. 419, 10.

thereon to this bewildered member of the synod of creation. Were my spirit not too much oppressed by the gloomy toil of these pages and the deciphering of the characters of manuscripts, and did fortune favour and continue its aid, I would first arrange these systems of philosophy in due order and weigh them with those of the Grecian and Persian Schools, contributing somewhat of my own impartial conclusions in measured approval or disapproval, as my fastidious judgment dictated.

[A. F. disappointed by the talk of his 5 Muslim and 9 Hindu philosopher companions.]

Before I had left my obscure home and had approached the gracious threshold of majesty which is the abode where truth meets with recognition, and had mixed with the learned of all creeds, it had been my constant wish that the Bountiful Giver of all desires would vouchsafe to me the companionship of five intelligent and well-disposed persons, namely, a scholar of literary attainments; a profound philosopher; a mystic of holy life; an accomplished rhetorician; and a thinker of speculative and lofty spirit. It was herein my desire that each of these through his own perspicacity and just views of the divine Government, should not regard the truth as captive to his own discoveries, but ever suspicious of his own liability to error, advance in his inquiries with a bold step so that in the common pursuit of truth, the opinions of each might be lucidly set forth. The prescriptive duties of investigation might, in such circumstances, be exercised, and convincing argument distinguished from specious fallacy and proof from all beside it, in the hope that from the heart-lacerating thorn-brakes of discord there might be a happy transition into the garden of unity. When from seclusion I became engaged in public affairs, the five wishes of my aspiring mind grew to fourteen, and nine Hindus increased the contemplated list. I found the majority of them, however, of a retrograde tendency, spinning like a silk-worm,

a tissue round themselves, immeshed in their own conclusions, and conceding attainment of the truth to no other, while foxlike, artfully insinuating their own views. In dejection of spirit [P. 226] as one crazy, I nigh came unto losing the control of my reason and breaking the warp and woof of life. On a sudden the star of my fortune blazed in the ascendant and the Imperial grace interposed in my favour, and thus rescued in some measure from vain imaginings, I found peace in the pleasant pastures of universal toleration (*sulh-i-kul*).

I trust that by the happy destiny of this God-fearing monarch this union will be realised, and my long-cherished desires bloom with the radiance of fulfilment.

O Lord! Unto my soul its sight restore,
And let my feet Thy stair of Truth explore.
The treasures of Thy clemency set free
And bid my spirit find its goal in Thee.
Grant through life's busy ways still at my side,
Thy grace may aid me and Thy mercy guide.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

COMPRISING THE HAPPY SAYINGS OF HIS MAJESTY,

AND THE CONCLUSION,

With a brief notice of the Author.

(P. 227.) As I have now succinctly described the Sacred Institutes, in acknowledgment of my own obligations and as a gift of price to the rest of mankind, it appears fitting that I should record somewhat of the sayings of His Imperial Majesty in relation both to secular and spiritual concerns, in order that his words and actions may become known to far and near.

The following are among his utterances:—

There exists a bond between the Creator and the creature which is not expressible in language.

Each thing has a quality inseparable from it and the heart is influenced by some irresistible attachment to the power of which it submits and builds thereon the foundation of its sorrows and joys. Whosoever by his brilliant destiny withdraws his affections from all worldly concerns, attains to the Divine love which is above all others.

(P. 228.) The existence of creatures depends on no other bond than this. Whoever is gifted with this wisdom shall reach a high perfection.

Whosoever habituates himself to preserve this sacred relation, will be withheld from it by no other occupation.

Hindu women fetch water from their rivers, tanks or wells, and many of them bear several pitchers one above the other upon their heads and converse and chat freely with their companions, walking the while over any inequalities of ground. If the heart in like manner preserves the balance

of its pitchers, no harm will befall them. Why should men be inferior to these in their relations with the Almighty.

When this interior affection both in its immaterial and material aspects is thus strengthened, who can sever the attachment of the rational soul to the Supreme Being?

From the practice of real asceticism the transition is easy to unlawful mendicancy. Since a thing is best comprehended by contrast with its opposite, the latter also thus comes to be pleasurably regarded.

The intellect will not with the full assent of reason, confessedly oppose the divine law, but some do not believe in the divine books, nor credit that the Supreme essence that is tongueless will express itself in human speech, while others again differ in their interpretation of them.

The divine grace is shed upon all alike, but some from unpreparedness in due season and others from incapacity are unable to profit thereby; the handiwork of the potter evidences this truth.

The object of outward worship which they affect to call a new divine institute, is for the awakening of slumberers, otherwise the praise of God comes from the heart not the body.

The first degree of dutiful obedience is not to scowl with knitted brows when trials befall, but regarding them as the bitter remedies of a physician, to accept them with a cheerful countenance.

That which is without form cannot be seen whether in sleeping or waking, but it is apprehensible by force of imagination. To behold God in vision is, in fact, to be understood in this sense.

Most worshippers of God are intent on the advancement of their own desires not on His worship.

As the dark hair turns to grey, the hope arises that this hue which is never far distant, may be kept burnished by the

wondrous workings of destiny, in order that the rust of the heart may be cleansed with it and its vision illumined.

Some there are who maintain that men walk in opposition to the will of God, and that their salvation depends on their renunciation of this evil habit; but he who is spiritually illumined knows that none can effectually oppose His commands, and physicians from this reflection provide a remedy for those that are sick.

Each person according to his condition gives the Supreme Being a name, but in reality to name the Unknowable is vain.

(P. 229.) The object of an appellative is the removal of ambiguity, but this is not predicable of the All Holy Essence.

There is no need to discuss the point that a vacuum in nature is impossible. God is omnipresent.

All that men account good and bad and virtue and vice, arises from the wondrous phases of God's grace: the discordant effects result from human action.

To impute the existence of evil to Satan is to make him a co-partner of the Almighty. If he is the robber, who is responsible for his being one?

The legend of Satan is an old-world notion. Who has the power to oppose the will of God?

A peasant was seized with a desire to seek the Lord. His spiritual guide learning his love for his cow, placed him in a confined space and directed him to exercise himself in meditation on that object. After a time he called him forth to test him. As the man had been absorbed in that contemplation, he persuaded himself that he had horns, and replied that his horns prevented his exit. His director seeing his single-mindedness, by degrees weaned him from his error.

The superiority of man rests on the jewel of reason. It is meet that he should labour in its burnishing, and turn not from its instruction.

A man is the disciple of his own reason. If it has naturally a good lustre, it becomes itself his director, and if

it gains it under the direction of a higher mind, it is still a guide.

Commending obedience to the dictates of reason and reproving a slavish following of others need the aid of no arguments. If imitation were commendable, the prophets would have followed their predecessors.

Many whose minds are diseased persuade themselves into an affectation of health, but the spiritual physician recognises the impress on their brow.

As the body becomes sickly from indisposition, so the mind has its disorder; knowledge decays until a remedy is applied.

For a disordered mind there is no healing like the society of the virtuous.

To read the characters of men is a thing of great difficulty and is not in the power of every one.

The soul notwithstanding its superiority, takes the tone of the natural disposition by association with it and the brilliancy of its lustre thus becomes dimmed with dirt.

[P. 230.] Through dullness of insight the concerns of the soul which are the source of happiness are neglected, while the pampering of the body which enfeebles the spirit, is eagerly practised.

Men through attachments to their associates acquire their disposition, and much of good and of evil thus results to them.

When his understanding is still undeveloped, man is in constant change of mood; at one time taking joy in festivities, at another sitting disconsolate in the house of mourning. When his vision is raised to higher things, sorrow and joy withdraw.

Many in the conceit of their imagination and entangled in the thornbrake of a blind assent to tradition, believe themselves to be followers of reason, whereas if it be carefully regarded they are not in its vicinity.

Many simpletons, worshippers of imitative custom, mis-

take the traditions of the ancients for the dictates of reason, and garner for themselves eternal perdition.

Acts and words are variously the effects of good sense, or of desire or of passion, but through the withdrawal of impartial judgment the facts are noisily misrepresented.

When rising from sleep which is a semblance of death, one should be earnest in giving thanks for a renewed life by seemly thoughts and virtuous actions.

Conscience requires that rectitude and probity which is commendable in the sight of all men, should be associated with appropriate action.

One should first labour for one's own edification and then turn to the acquisition of knowledge in the hope of lighting the lamp of wisdom and extinguishing the risings of dissension.

Alas! that in the first flush of youth our inestimable lives are unworthily spent. Let us hope that in future they may virtuously terminate.

The vulgar believe in miracles, but the wise man accepts nothing without adequate proof.

Although temporal and spiritual prosperity are based on the due worship of God, the welfare of children first lies in obedience to their fathers.

Alas! that the Emperor Humāyun died so early and that I had no opportunity of showing him faithful service!

The sorrows of men arise from their seeking their fortune before its destined time, or above what is decreed for them.

(To his son.) My good counsel is your brother. Hold it in honour.

(P. 231.) Hakim Mirzā[1] is a memorial of the Emperor Humāyun. Though he has acted ungratefully, I can be no

[1] Akbar's brother, king of Kābul. He rebelled against Akbar, invaded India and besieged Lahor in the 11th year of Akbar's reign. See *Akbarnamah*, Eng. tr., vol. ii. 407-412. vol. iii. 532-543.

other than forbearing. Some bold spirits asked permission to lie in ambush and put an end to that rebel. I could not consent, thinking it remote from what was befitting in his regard. Thus both that distinguished memorial of majesty escaped from harm, and my devoted friends were shielded from peril.

The concerns of men are personal to themselves but through the predominance of greed and passion they intrude upon (those of) others.

It is meet that worldlings should lead a busy life in order that idleness may be discouraged and the desires may not wander towards unlawful objects.

It was my object that mendicancy should disappear from my dominions. Many persons were plentifully supplied with means, but through the malady of avarice it proved of no avail.

The world of existence is amenable only to kindness. No living creature deserves rejection.

The impulse of avarice, like pride, is not consonant with magnanimity, and, therefore, should not be suffered to enter or influence the mind.

The office of a spiritual director is to discern the state of the soul and to set about its reform, and lies not in growing the locks of an Ethiop and patching a tattered robe and holding formal discourses to an audience.

By guidance is meant indication of the road, not the gathering together of disciples.

To make a disciple is to instruct him in the service of God, not to make him a personal attendant.

Formerly I persecuted men into conformity with my faith and deemed it Islām. As I grew in knowledge, I was overwhelmed with shame. Not being a Muslim myself, it was unmeet to force others to become such. What constancy is to be expected from proselytes on compulsion?

Clemency and benevolence are the sources of happiness and length of days. Sheep that produce but one or two young ones in a year are in great numbers, while dogs notwithstanding their prolificacy are few.

The phrase is remarkable that one sits down [when asked] to show the road, but one rises to rob it.[2]

The difficulty is to live in the world and to refrain from evil, for the life of a recluse is one of bodily ease.

Although knowledge in itself is regarded as the summit of perfection, yet unless displayed in action it bears not the impress of worth ; indeed, it may be considered worse than ignorance.

(P. 232.) Men from shortsightedness frequently seek their own advantage in what is harmful to them : how much the more must they err in regard to others.

Men through blindness do not observe what is around them, intent only on their own advantage. If a cat defiles its claws in the blood of a pigeon they are annoyed, but if it catches a mouse they rejoice? In what way has the bird served them or the latter unfortunate animal done them wrong?

The first step in this long road is not to give the rein to desire and anger, but to take a measured rule and align one's actions thereon.

When the light of wisdom shines, a man distinguishes what is truly his own. What he has is only borrowed.

In a storehouse, mice and sparrows and other animals have a common interest but from ill-nature each thinks the place his own.

Most people avoid the society of those they dislike, and do not let the displeasure of God occupy their thoughts.

It is my duty to live in good understanding with all men. If they walk in the way of God's will, interference with them

[2] Alluding to the Persian idiom. *Ba-rāhnumāi nishistan wa ba-rāhzani barkhāstan.*

would be in itself reprehensible: and if otherwise, they are under the malady of ignorance and deserve my compassion.

An artisan who rises to eminence in his profession has the grace of God with him. The worship of God is the occasion of his being honoured.

Sleep and food are a means for the renewal of strength in seeking to do the will of God. Miserable man from folly regards them as an end.

Although sleep brings health of body, yet as life is the greatest gift of God, it were better that it should be spent in wakefulness.

A man of penetration finds no (preordained) injustice. He regards adversity as a chastisement.

A wise man does not take heed for his daily sustenance. The analogy of bondsman and servant is an exhortation to him.

Happy is he who hath an ear wherewith to hear and an eye to see, for as truth cannot be overthrown, [even] a blind man in possession thereof will not choose a bad path.[3]

Children are the young saplings in the garden of life. To love them is to turn our minds to the Bountiful Creator.

(P. 233.) To bestow in alms a coin which bears the impress of the name of God is very reprehensible.

In our prayers we should avoid the asking of temporal blessings in which the humiliation of another person is involved.

As to the seeking after God being thought to consist in controlling the natural bent of the spirit, most people find the solution of their troubles therein; were it otherwise, fruition would in many become a stair to further gratification.

The material world is analogous to the world of the spirit, for as in the one what is given in trust is again reclaimed,

[3] The latter part of this sentence is corrupt in the reading. My rendering is therefore, conjectural.

so in the other, works are required in accordance with knowledge.

In the receiving of admonition there is no respect of age or wealth. No distinction is recognized between the tender in years or the poor and others in the necessity of listening to the truth.

The prophets were all illiterate.[4] Believers should therefore retain one of their sons in that condition.

Since the poet builds on fiction, his creation cannot be seriously accepted.

A rope-dancer performs with feet and hands, a poet with his tongue.

He who happily introduces the verses of another in his own compositions or appositely quotes them, discovers the other's merit and his own.

A certain seeker after God was addicted to gluttony. He went to an adviser of practical experience, who gave him a bowl made of (the shell of a dried) pumpkin which he was told to fill in measuring his daily food and also to grind its edge a little (daily) and apply (the paste) to his forehead as a sectarian mark. At the same time, to throw him off the scent, he taught him a prayer to be recited. In a short time his failing was cured.[5]

Would that we did not hear of such differences of opinion among professors of secular learning, nor were confounded by contradictory commentaries and explanations of tradition.

[4] "Who shall follow the appostle, the illiterate prophet." Qurān, vii; and again "It is he who hath raised up amidst the illiterate Arabians an apostle from among themselves." Sur. lxii.

[5] Thus, starting with his accustomed quantity of food on the first day, the amount of it was reduced imperceptibly day by day and the patient felt no sudden privation. I have heard of a Bengali Vaishnav *sādhu* who reduced his food in old age by measuring out his daily portion of rice in a half cocoanut shell, whose edge he used to rub against his curry-stone once daily, thus decreasing its capacity imperceptibly. Jarrett missed the point of the anecdote in his translation, which I have rejected. (J. S.)

Discourses on philosophy have such a charm for me that they distract me from all else, and I forcibly restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected.

There are but three causes of aberrant judgment, *viz.*, incapacity of mind; the society of enemies in the guise of friends; the duplicity of friends that seek their own interest.

Would that none other than the prudent had the reading and writing of letters, in order that the base might have no opportunity of fabrication for their own purposes, or of persuading short-sighted simpletons by every specious lie.

The detection of fabrication is exceedingly difficult, but it can be compassed by weighing well the words of the speaker.

Although I am the master of so vast a kingdom, and all the appliances of government are to my hand, yet since true greatness consists in doing the will of God, my mind is not at ease in this diversity of sects and creeds, and my heart is oppressed by this outward pomp of circumstance; with what satisfaction can I undertake the conquest of empire? How I wish for the coming of some pious man, who will resolve the distractions of my heart.

On the completion of my twentieth year, I experienced an internal bitterness, and from the lack of spiritual provision for my last journey, my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow. [P. 234.]

A darvesh on the northern bank of the Rāvi, entered his cell and allowed no one to frequent it. On being asked the reason, he replied, that he was engaged in a special devotion, and that until the death of Abdu'llah Khān, governor of Turān,[6] he would not leave it, nor allow any one access to

[6] See Vol. I. XXX. and 468; this prince had written to Akbar regarding his apostasy from Islām, and Mirān Sadr and Hakim Humām were sent to him on an embassy to explain matters with an ambiguous Arabic verse to the effect that, as God and the Prophet had not escaped the slander of men neither could His

him. His majesty said, "If he is one whose prayers are heard, then let him gird up his loins for my welfare, and refrain from this foolish prayer."

If I could but find any one capable of governing the kingdom, I would at once place this burden upon his shoulders and withdraw therefrom.

If I were guilty of an unjust act, I would rise in judgment against myself. What shall I say, then, of my sons, my kindred and others?

The Giver of desires has committed to my charge many a noble fortress. No one has thought of provisioning them, yet confiding in the strength of God, no further apprehension alarms me.

Whoever seeks from me permission to retire from the world will meet with cheerful acquiescence in his desires. If he has really withdrawn his heart from the world that deceives but fools, to dissuade him therefrom would be very reprehensible; but if he only affects it from ostentation, he will receive the requital thereof.

If in ailments of the body which are visible, its physicians have made and do make such errors of treatment, in the disorders of the soul which is invisible and its remedies scarce attainable, what medicine will avail?

It was the effect of the grace of God that I found no capable minister, otherwise people would have considered my measures had been devised by him.

On the day when the Almighty wills that my life should cease, I also would not further prolong it.

My constant prayer to the Supreme Giver is that when my thoughts and actions no longer please Him, he may take my life, in order that I may not every moment add to His displeasure.

Majesty. I am not sure whether I have seized the sense of the concluding lines. I infer that Akbar wished it to be known that he had no grudge against Abdu'llah. [Jarrett] [The translation of the last sentence has been changed by me. J. S.]

The solution of difficulties depends on the assistance of God, and the evidence of the latter is the meeting with a wise spiritual director. Many persons through not discovering such a one, have their real capabilities obscured.

[P. 235.] One night my heart was weary of the burden of life, when suddenly, between sleeping and waking, a strange vision appeared to me, and my spirit was somewhat comforted.

Whosoever with a sincere heart and in simplicity of mind follows my institutes will profit, both spiritually and temporally, to the fulfilment of his wishes.

The source of misery is self-aggrandizement and unlawful desires.

The welfare of those who are privileged to confidential counsel at the court of great monarchs has been said to lie in rectitude and loyalty; no self-interest or mercenary motive should intervene; and especially in times of the royal displeasure, if no conciliatory language will avail, they should be silent.

A special grace proceeds from the sun in favour of kings, and for this reason they pray and consider it a worship of the Almighty; but the short-sighted are thereby scandalized.

How can the common people possessed only with the desire of gain, look with respect upon sordid men of wealth. From ignorance these fail in reverence to this fountain of light, and reproach him who prays to it. If their understanding were not at fault how could they forget the *Surah* beginning "By the sun," &c.[7]

[7] The XCI. of the Kurān. "By the sun and its rising brightness; by the moon when she followeth him: by the day when it showeth its splendour: by the night when it covereth him with darkness: by the heaven and him who built it: by the earth and him who spread it forth . . . . . how is he who hath purified the same, happy, but he who hath corrupted the same is miserable" —Sale.

The reason why the hair of the head turns grey first is because it comes before the beard and the whiskers.

I have heard no good reason from the Hindus for the sounding of the gong and blowing the conch at the time of worship. It must be for the purpose of warning and recollection.

When it rains, if light breaks from the west, the air will clear, for, radiance from the quarter whence darkness proceedeth is a harbinger of light.

The reason why under the Muhammadan law an inheritance seldom passes to the daughter notwithstanding that her helplessness seems deserving of greater consideration, is that she passes to her husband's house and the legacy would go to a stranger.

The meat which is nearer the bone is sweeter because it contains the essence of the nutriment.

Fruit in a plentiful season is never so luscious and sweet, because the source of supply of these qualities is proportionately subdivided.

The tales of the ancients, that, in certain places of worship fire from heaven was present, were not credited, and it was held to be exaggeration, it not being known that a mirror or the sun-crystal[8] being held to the sun would produce fire.

For all kinds of animals there is a fixed breeding season. Man alone is constantly under the impulse of desire to that end. Indeed, by this providential multiplication of the species a greater stability is given to the bond of union upon which the foundation of social life depends.

[P. 236] Eating anything that dies of itself is unlawful. There is a natural repugnance to it.

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[8] The *Surya-kānta* or 'sun-loved,' a sunstone or crystal, cool to the touch and supposed to possess fabulous properties because, like a glass lens, it gives out heat when exposed to the rays of the sun. Monier-Williams, S D.

A man's being eaten after he has been killed is the just requital of his own baseness.[9]

The prohibition against touching anything killed by the act of God, the cause of which is unknown, is in order to respect the dead.

Blood contains the principle of life. To avoid eating thereof is to honour life.

The birth of ugliness from beauty is not surprising. Indeed, if a man were to beget a different kind of animal, it would not be extraordinary, for as a matter of fact forms are designed from concepts, and since these are capable of being imagined, their production may take place.

If the love of the husband prevail, he but idolises his own partialities and begets a daughter; if the wife has the stronger affection, the image of her husband is oftenest present, and a boy appears.

As to what is said in ethical treatises, that an enemy should not be despised, the meaning is that since friendship and enmity are but phantasms of the divine dispensation, one should overlook the intervening enemy and view the Deity beyond.

Many a disciple surpasses his master, and his attitude to him must be one of deference and submission.

Miracles occur in the temples of every creed. This is the product of mental enthusiasm, for the truth can be but with one.

A gift is the deposit of a pledge and a lightening of an obligation from a former debt.

The origin of wearing the sacred thread (in a Brāhman), is that in ancient times they used to pray with a rope round their necks, and their successors have made this a religious obligation.

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[9] Or perhaps 'his own gormandising nature.' (*Khwāri.*)

In Hindustan no one has ever set himself up as a prophet. The reason is that pretensions to divinity have superseded it.

When any one is said to be of a good, or low origin, what is meant is, that one of his ancestors attained to spiritual or temporal distinction, or was known to fame from connection with some city or profession. It appears to me that good-breeding should involve good works.

It is said that greater friendship is shown by the receiver of a gift than by the giver;[10] but I consider that in the giver it is personal. He does not give but to a worthy object, and this can be evidenced in a receiver only by a gift.

(P. 237.) In Hindu treatises it is said that, in the acquisition of learning or of wealth, a man should so toil as though he were never to grow old, or to die.[11] But since the luxurious, from fear of these two sources of despair, withhold themselves from labour, it appears to me that in acquiring these twin needs of a worldly career, we should regard each morrow as our last, and postpone not the work of one day to the next.

The Hindu philosopher says that in the garnering of good works, one should have death constantly in view, and, placing no reliance on youth and life, never relax one's efforts. But to me it seems that in the pursuit of virtue, the idea of death should not be entertained, so that freed from hopes and fears, we should practise virtue for the sake of its own worth.

It is strange that in the time of our Prophet no commentaries on the Qurān were made, so that differences of interpretation might not afterwards arise.

[10] *Cf.* Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*, ch. vi.. An old maxim I had learned . . . says, "He that has once done you a kindness will be more ready to do you another, than he whom you yourself have obliged." [J. S.]

[11] "The wise man must fix his thoughts on knowledge and wealth, as if he were never to grow old, or to die: but he must practise virtue as if Death had already seized him by the locks." Introd. *Hitopadesa*. Sir W. Jones' Trans. [corrected here by J. S.]

(Regarding the saying), "the love of a cat is a part of religion," if the noun of action is not in construction with the agent, as Mir Sayyid Sharif put it to escape a difficulty, it would not be humane to avoid a cat or regard it with repugnance. The silence of Maulānā Saadu'ddin from this (obvious) reply is, therefore, not to be defended.[12]

'What the ancients have said, *viz.*, that the heaviest trials fall on the prophets, next upon the saints, and by proportionately diminishing degrees upon the virtuous, does not commend itself to me. How can the elect of God be thus punished?" Some of the philosophers suggested to his Majesty that these were trials sent by God. The king was amazed and said: "How can trials be justifiable by one who knows both what is hidden and what is manifest?"

Every sect favourably regards him who is faithful to its precepts and in truth he is to be commended. If he be engaged in worldly pursuits he should pass his days in righteousness and well-doing, and in garnering the needs of the time;

[12] The ephemeral controversies of the Court which Abu'l Fazl seemed to regard as enduring to all time, and of which the subjects and actors have long been forgotten, are to be elucidated only on conjecture. The saying alluded to in the text appears to be a parody on the tradition, 'the love of country is a part of religion'. Some traditions regarding the cat have been preserved and will be found in the *Hayāt u'l Hayawān* [Vita animalium: auctore Shaykh Kamālu'ddin Mhd. b-Ben Isa Demiri, anno, A.H. 808 (A.D. 1405) mortuo, Hāj. Khal]. One of these, on the authority of Salmān al-Fārsi, says that "the Prophet gave an admonition respecting the cat," *i.e.*, its humane treatment. Abu Hurayrah, the wellknown companion, who received his epithet (father of the kitten), on account of having always a kitten with him, narrated a tradition that a woman was punished in hell for maltreatment of a cat. Ayesha asked him if this was true. He replied, he had heard it from Mumammad's own lips. She rejoined that a Muslim woman could not have been so punished on account of a cat, and that the culprit was an infidel. He should, therefore, be careful how he repeated these traditions. In explanation of the grammatical point, I suggest that what is meant is the duty of mankind in the humane treatment of cats, and, no doubt, all other animals; but if the word 'love' be in construction with a definite agent, and it be said that "the love of Zayd towards a cat is a part of religion," the application is censurable.

and if of a retired habit, he should live in warfare with himself and at peace with others, and regard praise and blame indifferently.

Some are of opinion that the greater the number of intermediaries between him that seeks the truth and him that has reached it, the more the grace of God abounds. But this is not so: rather the attainment thereto is dependent on attrahent grace and good works.

It is strange that the Imāmis make beads of the earth of Karbalā, and believe that it is mixed with the blood of the Imām (Husayn).

Whoever bestows his garments upon ignoble people, upon rope-dancers and buffoons, it is as though he went through their antics himself.

He alone whose knowledge is superior in degree to that of the author of a work should make selections therefrom, otherwise it is not a choice of passages but showing his own merit. [P. 238.]

The legend of Alexander's stratagem against Porus[13] does not carry the appearance of truth. A man raised to power by the Almighty does not act in this manner especially when he thinks his end drawing near.

[13] The stratagem is thus described by Firdausi: Now spies arrived from Hind before the world-lord and informed him at large of how the elephant contendeth in warfare! "It will rout two miles of horse. No cavalier will dare to face that beast." Then the Shah (Alexander) assembled all the master-smiths . . . who made a horse with saddle and rider complete, of iron . . . They charged it with black naphtha, and then ran it on wheels before the troops . . . He bade to make a thousand such and more . . .

Now when Sikandar was approaching Fur (Porus), eager for the fray the warriors advanced. They lit the naphtha in the steeds: Fur's troops were in dismay. The naphtha blazed: Fur's troops recoiled because those steeds were iron. Whereat the elephants when their own trunks were scorched, fled likewise . . . Thus all the Indian host and all those huge high-crested elephants were put to flight. (Warner's translation of *Shahnamah*, vi. 115-116. Jarrett entirely missed the context. J. S.)

One should write out a quatrain of Omar Khayyām, after reading an ode of Hāfiz, otherwise the latter is like drinking wine without a relish.

Men give the names of eminent men to their sons. Although it is done by way of good augury, it is not respectful. And what is most curious is that this is chiefly practised by theologians who do not believe in metempsychosis; while the Hindus who do, refrain from it.

It is a remarkable thing that men should insist on the ceremony of circumcision for children who are otherwise excused from the burden of all religious obligations.

If the reason of the prohibition of swine (as food), be due to its vileness, lions and the like should be held lawful.

Burial of the dead is an ancient custom: otherwise why should a traveller on the road of annihilation bear a load. He should return as he came.

One day Qalij Khān brought a register to His Majesty, and said, "I have named this the Khulāsatu'l Mulk" (the Abstract of the Kingdom). His Majesty replied: "This name would more befit a province, a district, or a town: it should rather be called Haqiqatu'l Mulk" (the Real State of the Kingdom). Qalij Khān then represented his own capacity in affairs. Others who were present raised objections: During the discussion his knowledge of mathematics was questioned; on this he was silent, but introduced religion. His Majesty uttered the following verse:

"Hath earth so prospered 'neath thy care,
That heaven thy vigilance must share?"

On one occasion at a meeting for philosophical discussion, one of the poets in the assembly uttered the following couplet:

"The Messiah his friend, Khizr his guide, Joseph
riding at his rein,
Oh! would that my sun might meet with this honour."

His Majesty said "instead of 'my sun' if you read 'my knight', it would be more appropriate." Discerning judges were loud in applause.

One day the following quatrain of Mulla Tālib Isfahāni, in an elegy on Hakim Abu'l Fath and congratulatory on the arrival of Hakim Humām,[14] was quoted in His Majesty's presence:

"My brothers in their love what concord show!
This homeward comes ere that doth journeying go.
That went, and behind him all my life he bore,
This comes, and coming doth that life restore."

His Majesty remarked that the word *dumbālah* (behind) was prosaic and it would better run, *ze raftanash* (from his going). The critics much approved.

(P. 239.) Solicitation is reprehensible from every man, especially from those who are disinterested and of lofty spirit for these defile not their hands save with necessities: therefore to solicit of them is to dishonour oneself and them.

Difference of capacity is the cause of the continuance of mankind.

The truth is such that where it reaches the ear it must penetrate the heart. Conviction is irresistible.

The severe illness of the young suggests the doctrine of metempsychosis.

What the divine books say, that great sinners in ancient times were changed into monkeys and boars, is credible.

If the idea were merely that souls were transfused into a few determinate shapes, this would be unworthy; but if the strange workings of destiny joined them to mineral, vegetable and animal life in serial progression till they were exalted to a high dignity, where would be the wonder?

Some of the ancients say that the punishment of each continues through various bodies, and that a body is thus

[14] See Vol. I, p. 474.

prepared for the expiation of each period—this corroborates the above.

To light a candle is to commemorate the (rising of the) sun. To whomsoever the sun sets, what other remedy hath he but this.

The darkness of smoke is due to the absence of light and its own worthlessness.

When the time of death approaches, a certain sadness supervenes, and when it is at hand, a faintness also ensues. This, indeed, indicates that the gift and withdrawal of life are in the hands of God.

The ear is the sentinel of the voice. When the speaker becomes deaf he loses the need of speech.

Although thieving is worse than fornication when it is practised when the faculties are first developed and in old age, yet because the commission of the latter grave sin contaminates another as well as the doer thereof, it involves the greater guilt.

It is not right that a man should make his stomach the grave of animals.

The killing of an innocent man is a benevolence towards him, for it is committing him to the mercy of God.

The authority to kill should be his who can give life, and he who performs this duty at the command of right judgment, does so with reference to God. [P. 240.] When an inheritance passes, while a daughter is alive, to the brother's child, it having been transmitted to the deceased from his father, there is justification, otherwise how can it be equitable?

A city may be defined to be a place where artisans of various kinds dwell, or a population of such an extent that a voice of average loudness will not carry at night beyond the inhabited limits.

A river is that which flows throughout the whole year.

Kingdoms are divided from each other by rivers, mountains, deserts or languages.

In cold climates such as Kābul and Kashmir guns should be made thicker than ordinary, so that dryness and cold may not crack them.

A moderate breeze differs relatively in reference to a mill or a ship, but what is commonly understood by this term is one of sufficient force to extinguish a lamp.

The interpretation of dreams belongs to the world of augury. For this reason it is established that none but a learned man of benevolent character should be entrusted to draw a good omen thereform.

Rhetoric consists in the language being commensurate with the capacity of the hearer, and that a pregnant meaning shall be pithily expressed in a manner intelligible without difficulty. Eloquence requires the delivery to be accompanied with elegance of diction.

One moral may be drawn from the instances of the ruler of Egypt (Pharaoh), and Husayn Mansur (Hallāj) namely that presumptuous contemplation of one's self (*khud-bini*) and gazing at God (*Khudā-bini*) are things different from each other.[15]

[15] And Pharaoh said, 'O ye nobles, ye have no other God that I know of but myself. Burn me then, Hamam, bricks of clay, and build me a tower, that I may mount up to the God of Moses, for, in sooth, I deem him a liar' . . . But we seized on him and his hosts and cast them into the sea: Behold, then the end of the wrongful doers'. (*Quran*, xxviii. 38-40).

Abul Mughith Husain bin Mansur, surnamed Hallāj (from his profession of cotton-carding) was a celebrated ascetic and preacher. "He is considered by the Sufis to be one of their most spiritual leaders, who, they believed, had attained the fourth or last stage of Sufism (perfect union with the Divine spirit). He was condemned by the Khalif of Baghdād, Muqtādir and was put to death because he used to proclaim *Ana-l-Haqq*, *i.e.*, 'I am the Truth' or in other words, 'I am God.' . . . on 26th March 922 A.D. (Beale, *Dictonary*, 243.) Full life in *Encycl. Islam*, ii. 239-240, in which L. Massignon writes,—Among the doctrines of this sect is that of "the existence of an uncreated Divine spirit, which becomes united with the created spirit of the ascetic (so that), the saint becomes

Dignity is the maintenance of one's station.

A wise man was asked the reason of the long life of the vulture and the short existence of the hawk. He replied, "The one injures no animal, and the other hunts them.

On this His Majesty remarked, "If the penalty to a hawk that lives only on animal life, be a brief span of existence, what shall happen to man who notwithstanding abundant provision of other kinds, does not restrain himself from meat? Nevertheless, the thought that harmless animals are lawful and animals of prey forbidden food, is full of suggestion.

Learning to speak comes from association, otherwise men would remain inarticulate. But when the experiment was tried it was shown through the instance of a dumb man, how, though silent in such a case, he might make himself understood by strangers.

(P. 241.) Whosoever imprecates upon another the vengeance of God will not be heard. It was this reflection that comforted a man who had been cursed by others.

Since I used nitre (for cooling water), I recognise the rights of salt (fidelity) in water also.[16]

When I came to India I was much attracted by the elephants, and I thought that the use of their extraordinary strength was a prognostication of my universal ascendancy.

Men are so accustomed to eating meat that were it not for the pain, they would undoubtedly fall to on themselves.

Would that my body were so vigorous as to be of service to eaters of meat who would thus forego other animal life,

the living and personal witness of God, whence the saying *Ana'l Haqq*, I am the creative truth." This corresponds exactly to the Hindu vedantist's realisation *so'ham* 'I am He'.

Prof. Browne calls Hallāj "a dangerous and able intriguer," and this was also Akbar's estimate of the man. (J. S.)

[16] This is a conceit on the well-known eastern duty of protecting a guest who has eaten of one's salt. This protection does not extend to the offer of water, but the use of nitre gives water this salt and its consequent rights.

or that as I cut off a piece for their nourishment, it might be replaced by another.

Would that it were lawful to eat an elephant, so that one animal might avail for many.

Were it not for the thought of the difficulty of sustenance, I would prohibit men from eating meat. The reason why I do not altogether abandon it myself is, that many others might willingly forego it likewise and be thus cast into despondency.

From my earliest years, whenever I ordered animal food to be cooked for me, I found it rather tasteless and cared little for it. I took this feeling to indicate a necessity for protecting animals, and I refrained from animal food.

Men should annually refrain from eating meat on the anniversary of the month of my accession as a thanksgiving to the Almighty, in order that the year may pass in prosperity.

Butchers, fishermen and the like who have no other occupation but taking life, should have a separate quarter and their association with others should be prohibited by fine.[17]

A merchant was approaching his end and his four sons were about to quarrel over his property. He directed them with due counsel, and told them that he had providently bequeathed them equal portions and had left these, one for each, in the four corners of his house, and that when he died they were to take their several shares. When his instructions were carried out, one found gold, another grain, and the other two paper and a bone respectively. Not com-

[17] This was the old Hindu and Buddhistic rule. Fa Hien observed in North India in 399 A.D.,—"Only the Chandālas are fishermen and hunters, and sell flesh meat . . . They are [held to be] wicked men, and live apart from others." [Legge's tr. ch. xvi.] Yuan Chwang noticed the same practice about 629,—"Butchers, fishers, dancers, executioners, and scavengers, and so on, have their abodes outside the city." [Bk. II. 5, Beal's tr. i. 74.] J. S.

prehending this they began to make a disturbance. The King of Hindustan, Sālivāhana, thus interpreted it: "By the bone is meant that cattle should be demanded (by its holder) of the first, and by the paper, a money credit of the second." When the whole was computed, the shares were thus found to be equal.

Hasan Sabbāh[18] was once on journey by sea with a numerous company. Suddenly a storm arose, and consternation seized the people. He himself was cheerful, and when questioned thereon, he announced to them that [P. 242] they would be saved. On reaching land all of them were assured that the future was revealed to him. In point of fact he was undisturbed through his assurance that the will of God could not be altered, and his announcement of the good tidings of their security was caused by this reflection, that if they were drowned no one could save them; had they thought otherwise they would have taken to (vain) supplication.

Ali, called also Khārwā[19], used to say that he had seen a person in Baliā whose upper part consisted of two bodies, each possessing a head, eyes, and hands, with but a single body below. The man was married, and a jeweller by profession.

In the year [968 A.H. = 1560 A.D.] that Bayram Khān received permission to depart for Hijāz, a hunting

[18] This was the famous chief of the Persian Ismailians and known in the history of the Crusades under the name of the 'Old man of the Mountain', by which is meant, the mountainous district from Isfahān to Zanjān, Qazwin, Hamadān, Dinawar and Qirmisin. Founder of the sect of Assassins. The legends about his life are given in *Sargudhast-i-Sayidnā*. He ended his reign and life in A.H. 518 (A.D. 1124) *Enc. Isl.* ii 276.

[19] For *Khārwā* the variants are *Khāura* and *Hārā*, and for *Baliā*, *Malibār* and *Balisā*. For the man s name I suggest *Khārjah* "a certain man whose mother is called *āmm-i-Khārijah* who is also the mother of several tribes." [Richardson's *Dict.*] and for the place *Malibār*. This would make Akbar's story an Arab sailor's yarn like those given in *Ajāib-ul-Hind* about India's coastal ports. (Devic's French trans., 1875.) [J. S.]

leopard killed a doe near, Sikandrah; a live young one was taken from its stomach. I separated the flesh from the bone myself and gave the leopard its fill. In doing so something pricked my hand. I thought it was a piece of a bone. When carefully examined, an arrow-head was found in its liver. The doe must have been hit by an arrow when young, but by God's protection it had touched no vital part, and did not hinder the animal from waxing strong and becoming pregnant.

A mouse will take an egg in its paws and lie on its back, while the others seize him by the tail and drag him into his hole. It will also give a twist to its tail while inserting it into a bottle and draw out opium or whatever else may be inside. There are many such instances of their ingenuity.

If a wolf opens its mouth impelled by desire to seize its prey, it can do so. At other times it cannot open it however much it may wish. When captured it utters no sound.

The difference between stone and salt[20] lies in this, that the former is not soluble in water and the latter dissolves.

Once in a game preserve, a tame deer had a fight with a wild one. The latter was cleverly caught. Some of the spectators quoted the following line: "We have never seen any one who could overtake a deer by running." The point was thus explained, that *ahu* "a deer" in Persian, means also "a defect," and this is not (required to be) secured by pursuit and effort.

The marriage of a young child is displeasing to the Almighty, for the object which is intended is still remote, and there is proximate harm. In a religion which forbids the re-marriage of the widow, the hardship is grave.

[20] I hazard the emendation of *mang* into *namak*. [J. S.]

Marriage between those who are not related is commendable in order that heterogeneity may become kinship, and between relations, the more remote the affinity the closer is the concord; and what has been recorded of the time of Adam, *viz.*, that as sons and daughters were born to each, the son of one was given to the daughter of another, sustains this view.

As to the kinship between cousins being within the permitted degrees under the Muhammadan law, this was established in the beginning and was analogous to (the custom in) the time of Adam's birth. [P. 243]

It is improper to consort with a woman when moved by concupiscence, or with one too young or too old,—most of the latter cease to be capable of child-bearing after 55,—with a pregnant woman or a female during her monthly course . . . [Reason given in every case, not translated. Akbar followed the Hindu maxim, *putrārthe Kriyate vāryā, i.e.*, a man takes a wife with the object of having sons. J. Sarkar.]

To seek more than one wife is to work one's own undoing. In case she were barren or bore no son, it might then be expedient.

Had I been wise earlier, I would have taken no woman from my own kingdom into my seraglio, for my subjects are to me in the place of children.

The women of Hindustan rate their dear lives at a slender price.

It is an ancient custom in Hindustan for a woman to burn herself however unwilling she may be, on her husband's death and to give her priceless life with a cheerful countenance, conceiving it to be a means of her husband's salvation.

It is a strange commentary on the magnanimity of men that they should seek their deliverance through the self-sacrifice of their wives.

A monarch is a pre-eminent cause of good. Upon his conduct depends the efficiency of any course of action His

gratitude to his Lord, therefore, should be shown in just government and due recognition of merit; that of his people, in obedience and praise.

The very sight of kings has been held to be a part of divine worship. They have been styled conventionally the shadow of God, and indeed to behold them is a means of calling to mind the Creator, and suggests the protection of the Almighty.

Sovereignty is a supreme blessing, for its advantages extend to multitudes, and the good works of such as have attained to true liberty of spirit also profit these.

A monarch should not himself undertake duties that may be performed by his subjects. The errors of others it is his part to remedy, but his own lapses who may correct?

Sovereignty consists in distinguishing degrees of circumstance and in meting out reward and punishment in proportion thereto. This quality of appreciation adds dignity to the pursuit of happiness and is the chief source of success.

What is said of monarchs, that their coming brings security and peace, has the stamp of truth. When minerals and vegetables have their peculiar virtues, what wonder if the actions of a specially chosen man should operate for the security of his fellows. [P. 244.]

In the reciprocity of rule and obedience, the sanctions of hope and fear are necessary to the well-ordering of temporal government and the illumination of the interior recesses of the spirit; nevertheless a masterful will, never suffering the loss of self control under the dominance of passion, should weigh well and wisely the measure and occasion of each.

Whoever walks in the way of fear and hope, his temporal and spiritual affairs will prosper. Neglect of them will result in misfortune.

Idleness is the root of evils. The duty of one who seeketh his own welfare is to learn a profession and practise

it. It is imperative in prefects never to be remiss in watchfulness.

The anger of a monarch like his bounty, is the source of national prosperity.

Tyranny is unlawful in everyone, especially in a sovereign who is the guardian of the world.

Divine worship in monarchs consists in their justice and good administration: the adoration of the elect is expressed in their mortification of body and spirit. All strife is caused by this, that men neglecting the necessities of their state, occupy themselves with extraneous concerns.

A king should abstain from four things: excessive devotion to hunting; incessant play; inebriety night and day; and constant intercourse with women.

Although hunting suggests many analogies of kingly action, certainly the foremost of them is that the granting of life [to the doomed] becomes a habit.[21]

Falsehood is improper in all men, and most unseemly in monarchs. This order is termed the shadow of God, and a shadow should throw straight.

Superintendents (*Dāroghahs*) should be watchful to see that no one from covetousness abandons his own profession.

Shāh Tahmāsp, king of Persia, one night forgot a verse. His torchbearer quoted it. He punished the speaker somewhat, and said. "When a menial takes to learning he does so at the expense of his duties."

A king should not be familiar in mirth and amusement with his courtiers.

A monarch should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him. The army should be exercised in warfare, lest from want of training they become self-indulgent.

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[21] I have modified Jarrett's translation here. There are many instances in Mughal Indian history of the Emperors ordering the encircled deer in a *qamurgha* hunt to be set free. [J. Sarkar.]

A king should make a distinction in his watch over the goods, the lives, the honour and the religion of his subjects. If those who are led away by greed and passion will not be reclaimed by admonition, they must be chastised.

He who does not speak of monarchs for their virtues will assuredly fall to reproof or scandal in their regard.

The words of kings resemble pearls. They are not fit pendants to every ear.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCLUSION

[The author toiled hard for seven years in completing this book.]

(P. 245.) Praise be to God that this royal treasure of record, this register of knowledge, the syllabus of the volume of wisdom, the summary of administrative writings, the tablet of instruction in the school of learning, the exemplar of ceremonial among men of understanding, the code of polity of the imperial court, this patent of morality in the audience-hall of justice and mercy, has been brought to completion. Much labour had to be endured and many difficulties overcome before the inception of this antidote for the world's constitution, this prophylactic for those envenomed by sensuality and suffering could be successfully undertaken. Many a dark night passed into morning and many a long day grew to eve, ere this mine of the diadem of eternal happiness, this pearl of the throne of everlasting sovereignty could be publicly displayed. What warring of the capacity with the natural constitution took place, how many a struggle between myself and my heart drove me to distraction ere the count of this investigation fleeting as the world, the result of this search deluding as the waters of a mirage, could be set down! Prayers were poured forth before the Almighty throne, supplications were offered up on the threshold of divine light, in order that this amulet on the arm of the wise, this magic spell of those who love knowledge, written in my heart's blood, might have the spirit of life breathed into its lettered form.

> What toil endured through love that work so planned,
> Watered by tears and blood, should rooted stand!

Alas! Alas! that one nurtured by the divine bounty and long suffused by the radiance of truth, should defile his tongue with murmurs of toil and labour, and record his harrowing of soul and his travail on the tablet of illustration!

[The author's gratitude to Akbar for his encouragement and guidance during the composition of this book: its high value to mankind.]

It is through the wondrous workings of His Majesty's favour and the spell of his enduring prerogative that this dissertation has been set forth and a great work brought to its conclusion. That cynosure of divine unity to the virtuous, by the efficacy of a direct intention and the probity of unswerving rectitude appointed a treasurer to the stores of his wisdom and sagacity, and gave him access to the recesses of his sanctuary. That gem of singlemindedness, in honour of the Supreme Being and in thanksgiving for ever increasing bounties, brought forth a work of knowledge by a (P. 246) master-spirit of wisdom for the profit of inquirers, and a royal mandate from the tabernacle of sanctity for the seekers of happiness. By a sublime favour he endowed this fortunate and loyal nature with the capacity of reading and understanding it, and by his all-embracing condescension permitted me to reproduce somewhat thereof as came within my limited intelligence and to be honoured with the stewardship of the divine bounty. Far and near, friend and stranger, participate therein, and all classes of mankind illumine their minds with the splendour of truth. Thanks be to God that in these noble maxims of conduct, the visible world finds its remedy, and the things of the invisible are by them harmoniously regulated!

The light that o'er seven spheres celestial plays,
Wins all its radiance from imperial rays.
The blind need now no more a staff to take,
While those that see find luminous their ways.

The garden of prosperity blooms unto good-will and for joy has come a day of festival. The eye opens in cheerfulness and the night of sorrow has passed. Many a truth in the orders of nature and grace, and many incidents of binding and loosing have been set down in despite of fraudful concealers of the truth, and an illumination of wisdom is displayed for the guidance of the sightless and faint of heart and for the purblind that lose their way. Through a lofty destiny for which sincere loyalty is another name, a new canopy of wisdom has been erected, and the duty of thanksgiving which is the final cause, has reached its accomplishment.

In honour of my liege, the king,
With all true loyalty I bring
A cypress set in garden fair,
Wherein shall trysting all repair,
And with full draughts of wine elate,
Its happy growth commemorate.

[Firdausi wrote his *Book of Kings* in 30 years, but earned obloquy by demanding from his royal master payment in gold commensurate with the size of his epic. Abul Fazl, in a nobler spirit has written his *Book of Akbar* in seven years out of pure gratitude to his master, who has made his subjects happy and prosperous and set up a model of wise and beneficent government before all mankind.]

Notwithstanding the coming and going of so many leaders of the caravans of knowledge and the gathering together of treatises from the schools of learning, to-day only can the purity of the jewel of wisdom be assayed and its weight tested by another scale—now only is sovereign intellect arrayed on the throne of empire and its sway enforced by a later ordinance. Now must the field of gift and offering be made wide and the festal melodies and paeans of success resound, but not as Firdausi, who in a

grovelling spirit, fell into the aberration of greed and made the curtain of his honour an object for the haggling of traffic. He was a seller of words and knew not their value. Thinking them interchangeable with a few pieces of metal, like shameless hucksters of the market, he lost his credit in stickling for price. *He* sought to make rateable worth incalculable, and the measurable measureless. *This* servitor at the table of multitudinous royal bounties records in this work his gratitude for transcendent favours, and signalizes the wondrous dispensations of the world-adorning Creator of the universe.

Had naught but gold this volume from me wrung,
Life would have ended ere a pearl were strung;
'Twas love that planned the task, for through such strain
Could only love my feeble voice sustain.

Firdausi took thirty years of labour to secure eternal execration, while I have borne with seven years of toil for the sake of everlasting glory. He fused his worth into the cast of verse which is a matrix of determinate shape, and I have strung into writing, gems of the purest water through the infinite expanse of prose. [P. 247]

My pen its point deep in my heart's blood dyes
To write such prose as far all verse outvies;
For prose in its degree doth verse excel,
As unbored pearls the rarest price compel.

What connection is there between the servitor of the Lord and the worshipper of gold? between thanksgiving and lamentation? Self interest let fall a veil before his clear vision in that he sought largesse in the laboratory of genius from the great ones of the earth. Had no defect obscured his sight in his dealings with others, he would not have entered so devious a path nor spoken a line for lucre, and

would have secured the possession of the jewel of magnanimity.

> When thought of self intrudes doth genius flee,
> And the heart blinds the eyes that may not see.
> The beam in his own vision what though plain,
> The critic quick to cavil seeks in vain;
> Absorbed in greed the faults of others hears,
> But from his own withholds unwilling ears.

But apart from this consideration that in the markets of wisdom, works that delight the heart cannot be purchased by the gold and silver of the world, and that such gems of price are not to be weighed against coin, by his grace of diction and the charm of his verse he strove to immortalize his name, and has left behind him a noble and gracious scion in the full vigour of youth that will survive to ages. To the rich and prosperous it adds another dignity: the wise that love truth it favours with another aid. The simple-minded that seek after happiness are familiarized with the gains and losses of life, and it pours out for the many who resent the disappointments of toil, the healing balm of resignation. To the faint of heart it lends courage: to those who have the craft of the fox it gives the boldness of the lion and the fury of the alligator. Upon the intolerant and narrow-minded it bestows cheerfulness and large views, and stimulates the magnanimous and raises them to the pinnacle of greatness.

Although to outward appearance he was but rendering a service to the great ones of the earth, he was implicitly bearing the jewels of his wisdom to the market of appreciation. Had he not been under the influence of cupidity, nor exposed his penetrating genius to the spoil of misplaced desire, he could never have been sufficiently grateful for the divine favour in the opportunity of winning the applause and admiration of mankind. Nay, had he possessed any

sense of justice and any knowledge of the world, besides this rare product of intellect, he would have carried some substantial offering to the throne of majesty, in order that the royal approval might be the means of displaying the quality of his jewel, and that he might bequeath as a gift of price, a memorial to his successors in the pursuit of intellectual fame.

Praise be to God! that by the divine grace and providential assistance, I have not set my heart upon the composition of this work with a view to approbation or to listen to my own praises, into which pitfall of the imagination so many have sunk, nor suffered my natural constitution to be trodden under foot by ambition, not even with regard[1] to the large field of its acquired characteristics, far less its innate qualities in any abundance.

He who is deficient in a lofty spirit and noble sentiments is ensnared by a desire of worldly goods. But even the stranger knows that the [P. 248] odour of misrepresentation has not entered my nostrils, and the alien recognises in me a critical judge. What analogy is there between the painted silks of China and the raw yarn of a hair-rope maker? between a keen blade of Egypt and a piece of coarse iron? How can the priceless gem of truth descend to the level of worldly potsherds? Why exchange eternal bliss for the silvered inanities that soon decay? And especially at this time when by the wondrous workings of destiny and a smiling fortune, priceless jewels are but as gravel before the palace of auspiciousness, and my loyal spirit, illumined by the rays of wisdom, has found rest on the heights of joy. Were I even destitute of the goods that pass from hand to hand in the market-square of the material world, and fortune through malice or fickleness, sent not wealth to serve me, I would never entertain such a feeling nor approve in my

[1] I should alter the punctuation of the text and place the stop after *tabi'at-i-u*. [Jarrett.]

own person such imprudence in affairs. On the contrary, my first thought is the praise of God, in that the deeds of majesty have been illustrated by commendable description. The second consideration of the mind with a view to human needs is that the eminent men of future time and the learned of the present, may bring up gems of purest ray from this fathomless sea to beautify the mansions of their deeds. Had I possessed a lofty spirit, I should not have descended from the summit of the heights of unity to the level of polytheism, but what is to be done?[2] I quote the words used by the leader of the enlightened minds of the past, the spiritual doctor (Maulānā Rumi)—

> Since I am linked with those who see awry,
> Idolater! I, too, must preach idolatry.

[Wise and good men work to secure the blessings of God and the good opinion of mankind at the same time, and they succeed in both by reason of their honesty, self-control, and unselfish sense of duty. Abul Fazl's success in life illustrates this truth.]

Though every one cannot comprehend the object of this fast in the morning of existence and this mirage in the noon of life, I think that all should perceive and bear in mind that the exertions of the wise and the good should be restricted to two objects, and the supreme purpose of pursuit in those of lofty penetration and wakeful destiny should not exceed these. The *first* is to secure the benediction of God and to lay the foundations of a stately fabric in the pleasant meads of His holy pleasure, and this is the means to eternal life and the ornature of enduring bliss. Those who choose that country

[2] This language, considering the dedication of the volume and the eye under which it was written, cannot be taker as an expression of regret at his accredited apostasy from Islām and conversion to Hinduism, but to imply the necessity of following the language of conventionality though pledged to the support of his master's creed. Nevertheless his sincerity in his adhesion to Akbar's faith was suspected. See Vol. I. Biography xvii.

for their abode go not down unto death, and the sound of body therein behold not the face of sickness. Its vigorous dwellers know not of debility, nor those that thrive there, of decay. Wealth does not decline in poverty, and loss of vision enters not therein. This is to be obtained only by a sincere intention and the possession of the four excellent qualities together with the avoidance of the eight vicious characteristics of which books of wisdom have fully treated. The *second* is a good repute in this fleeting world, which signifies an enduring existence and a second life. Although this also is accomplished through the same source of enlightenment by which a virtuous disposition is formed, yet it is chiefly secured by a smooth tongue and an open hand, and sincerity of intention and rectitude of mind are not imperative. Blest is he who by the divine auspices links the first with the second, and prospers in the temporal as well as in the spiritual world. The means adopted by the seekers of truth to participate in social enjoyments and yet to win peace with some comfort to their consciences, are these, that with strenuous endeavour and by the favour of fortune, [P. 249] they separate good resolutions and virtuous conduct from the disorders of self-regard and the labyrinth of hypocrisy, and submitting their minds to the dictates of sovereign reason and the divine pleasure, live apart from the blame and praise of mankind; and the profit which these simple dealers obtain from their inestimable lives and the advantage secured by their exertions, are a perpetual remembrance and an illustrious name.

The leaders in the four quarters of the visible and invisible worlds, and the deep thinkers that betake themselves both to occupation and retirement, who through their comprehensive views and wide survey of the field of knowledge penetrate the mysteries of these two sublime principles, sustain by the grace of God the weight of the two worlds on the shoulders of their capacity, and in the strength of the Almighty arm move lightly under the burden. The harmo-

nious operation of these two opposite interests, one alone of which is rarely attainable under the most capable and statesmanlike administrators even under the sanction of penal law, is by them so successfully carried out under the guidance of celestial favour that the primordial intelligence of nature itself stands amazed and the wonder-working heavens are confounded. By them, moreover, the sources of advantage and detriment, both temporal and spiritual, are commanded, and these antagonistic dual elements simultaneously co-operate in the establishment of festal conviviality of intercourse.

[Akbar's unrivalled greatness as a ruler and Abul Fazl's duty to record His Majesty's great acts and rules for the benefit of posterity.]

And for exemplar of such a one, lo! from the brow of this prosperous reign that irradiates the face of the State, what splendour is reflected and as a glory shines upon the raiser of its auspicious banner in this our happy age! For today the skies revolve at his will and the planets in their courses move by his sublimity.

Akbar, the king, illumines India's night,
And is as a lamp in the court of the House of Timour.

The heart exults at his mention and the tongue vaunts his praise. May the Almighty vouchsafe long life to this incomparable wonder of the kingdom of wisdom, and eternal happiness to his subjects. This sovereign of the orders of nature and grace, by the light of his God-given intelligence and the night-beacon of his powerful will, has so organized the measureless limits of these two dominions and moves through them with such prudence and sagacity, that aspiring discerners of each form of progress look to no other than him, and each and all consider as their own this pearl of wisdom that enlightens the world. Since the time that eloquence and knowledge of affairs have existed and the highway of literary composition been frequented, so exquisite and exact a

co-operation of two antagonistic principles in a single hallowed person has never been recorded—a person who is the meeting of the oceans of church and state, the fountain-head of temporal and spiritual order—who prepares the litters of travel while yet abiding in his native land[3]—a lamp for those who gather in privacy, a solver of trammels to those who are in bonds, a balm for the open wounds of the broken-hearted. Manifold worldly cares raise no dust of defect in his heart that loves retirement, and perpetual prayer and a concentrated mind suffer no breeze of pre-occupation to play upon the necessary duties of his station. Thus he has outward obligation with liberty of spirit.

Lo! from his brow behold the pure of sight
God's love and knowledge beam with radiant light.
A crowned monarch—a throne's rightful heir—
Lord of the world—the kingdom's founder there!

[P. 250.]

It is imperative upon the ambition of all masters of eloquence to decorate the ears and throat of the age with a description of the virtues of such a choice specimen of the court of existence and to adorn with its beauty the bosom and skirt of Time. A rare treasure will thus be prepared for future travellers in the caravans of being, and seekers from afar will come into the possession of knowledge. Although the spheres themselves in their courses by gesture and speech, tell thereof and transmit it to succeeding generations, yet by the workings of destiny accidents befall and the thread of continuity is often severed. When, however, works are written to record these wondrous deeds and they are inscribed upon the tablets of time, the hand of vicissitude less frequently affects them and they endure to distant ages. A fabric that is laid upon virtue, the summit of the porches thereof reaches

[3] That is, preparing for the world to come while yet in this, or facilitating the salvation of others

to the pinnacles of the seventh heaven, and a foundation whereon fortune builds is not sapped by revolving cycles.

> Behold the recompense of noble toil
> That guards the Cæsars' halls from Time's despoil!

It is evident that of mighty monarchs of old there is no memorial except in the works of the historians of their age, and no trace of them but in the chronicles of eloquent and judicious annalists, yet the ravages of time obliterate them not. Of the splendour of the House of Buwayh no record exists save in the labours of the pens of Sābi[4] and Muhallabi, and the noble pages of Rudaki, U'nsari and U'tbi alone tell of the glories of the kings of Ghazni.

> Mahmud hath many a palace raised on high,
> That with the moon might well dispute the sky:
> Yet of all these no stone doth now remain,
> While Time doth roll o'er U'nsari in vain.

[4] Abu Ishāq Ibrāhim-b-Hilāl, as-Sābi or the Sabean, author of some celebrated Epistles, was clerk of the Baghdad Chancery office in which he acted as secretary to the Caliph al-Muti l'llāh and to l'zzu'd Daulah Bakhtyār of the family of Buwayh the Daylamite. He was born about A.H. 320 (A.D. 932), and died in 384 (A.D. 994.) He wrote a history of the Buwayh dynasty under the title of *Tāju'l Milal* or *Tāju'l Daylamiyah*.

Al-Muhallabi was descended from Ibn Abi Sufra al-Azdi and was appointed Wazir by Mu'izzu'd Daulah Ibn Buwayh in A.H. 339 (A.D. 950). Ibn Khallakān says that his powerful influence and firm administration, as well as his acquaintance with literature, made him celebrated. He was born in A.H. 291 (A.D. 903) and died in A.H. 352 (963), and was buried at Baghdad. A few of his verses are given by his biographer.

Rudaki flourished in the reign of Amir Nasr, son of Ahmad of the Samānide dynasty, and was extraordinarily favoured by that prince. He turned the Arabic translation of Pilpay's 'Fables' into Persian verse in A.H. 313 (A.D. 925), and was the first who wrote a *Diwān* or collection of odes in Persian. He died in A.H. 343 (A.D. 954). Beale. U'nsari lived in the court of Mahmud of Ghazni and wrote an heroic poem on the deeds of Sultān Mahmud. He was also the author of a *Diwān*. He ranked not only as one of the first poets in that celebrated court, but was versed in all the learning of that age. His death is placed variously in A.H. 1040 and 1049. For U'tbi, see Vol. II.

Whosoever comprehends this talisman of prudence this spell of enlightened research, and appreciates these characters of thought and this lawful sorcery, will perceive this much, that my intention is to apprize far and near of these two attributes of high sovereignty and to lay the stable foundations of an enduring dominion. By this means the writer will secure a determinate sustenance from these divine treasures and a large provision from the table of manifold graces.

This lasting work I consecrate to Fame,
And to all time commemorate his name;
Above its page its syllables enrolled
Shall turn the pen that writes them into gold.

But if through the strange effects of self-interest such fact is unperceived and this pious intention is hidden from his view, at least this measure of knowledge will be secured and the collyrium of vision in this sufficiency will be prepared, that the design of the mind that employs the pen and the object of this benevolent purpose is the happiness of the people [P. 251] at large and the prosperity of the commonwealth.

[This history is intended to serve as a lesson-book of political science for the instruction of mankind and as a moral treatise for the practical teaching of subjects in the right conduct of life.]

The primary purpose of these annals of wisdom is the distinguishing of right from wrong, for the feet of many have been worn in the search of this recognition and have effected nothing; and secondly, to appreciate the results of virtuous and vicious conduct, of which this work is full. From the one he will learn how to garnish and sweep his house, from the other, to order the ways of his life. When he meets with prosperity and joy, finding no trace of those that have passed away, he will not admit the inroads of

presumption; and if sorrow oppress him when among such as have gone before, no exemplars thereof remain, he will not surrender himself to its sway, but among the accidents of life, seated upon the prayer-carpet of enlightenment, he will be assiduous in praise and supplication before the Supreme Giver, and from the importance and helplessness of the strong that are no more, he will perfectly comprehend the power of the Omnipotent hand. Dumb as I am and dejected of heart, what are these vain imaginings and this apparatus of chronicle and pen-craft! What connection is there between enemies of the flesh who love retirement, and the showy and affected scribblers of the world? And what analogy between those who abate the price of their own wares and the displayers of adulterated goods?

My thoughts do modestly my works decr
While Gebirs, Moslems hawking run, "who'll buy?"

[Abul Fazl's early studies—his mental conflict and despair.]

How shall I write of the strange ways of fortune and the delusive workings of destiny? In the beginnings of knowledge, I was overwhelmed with sorrow at the thought of existence, and at sacred places and auspicious times I prayed for release from the flesh. But, unawares, my spirit drew me by degrees to the school of research, and in confusion of heart which leads men astray, I sought the world. The ordinary course of learning was opened before me, and my mind became stored with ample measure of knowledge which raised in me an extraordinary arrogance. Under the guidance of a happy fortune, from a perusal of the works of the ancients, my mind was convinced that men must necessarily be comprised under three classes. The *first* is characterized by evil disposition and conduct, and this is evidenced in the traducing of one's neighbour and disclosing his faults. The *second* by good intentions and virtuous purposes; and the

possessor of these they describe as half a man. From amiableness in his judgments and a large tolerance of views, he speaks charitably of all men. The *third* by a lofty spirit and eminent virtue; and these reveal the perfect man. The master of these qualities from transcendent elevation of mind, regards not mankind at all, and, therefore, much less virtue and vice in the abstract. Objective ideas find no entrance into his mind. His contemplation ever traverses the field of his own heart, and discovering his own defects, he labours to remedy them, and finally he adorns the sanctuary of his soul with the true principles of virtue in the hope of attaining by their means to the goal of deliverance in the fruition of eternal bliss.[5] When I read these seductive and winning numbers on the dice-tables of wisdom, I woke somewhat from my slumber and began to inquire. Withdrawing from worldly concerns, I fell to a critical introspection and began to transcribe the roll of my sins. When I had traversed a portion of this terrible road, veils in fold on fold were suspended before my vision. It [P. 252] seemed as though I could not advance a step, and save a few venial errors which I had committed in my youth, I believed myself innocent. As the very delusion of this mocking fancy awoke me to consciousness, I was not undone by my spiritual enemies. I was compelled to turn back and alighted at the first station of abstraction from being, and made the transcription of the failings of my fellow creatures a mirrored reflection of my own. I thus became aware of many reprehensible qualities. In this ghostly and spiritual warring and distress of mind and body, leaving the recess of seclusion, I came to the court of His Majesty and the star of my fortune rose on the horizon of desire.

[Abul Fazl's mind was liberalised and his spirits exhilarated by his contact with Akbar.]

[5] The influence of the Sanskrit Schools of Philosophy is here very distinct. This passage breathes the spirit of the Vedanta.

By his great condescension His Majesty resolved my doubts, and I surmounted the heights of the visible and invisible worlds. I was honoured with the guardianship of the treasure of truth and entrusted with the keys of familiar intercourse, as has been briefly adverted to at the close of the first and second books. My heart emptied itself forth, and a treatise on morals was composed. A new life arose in the framework of language. For a long period the provision of bodily sustenance, the furnishing of which is approved in the truth-desiring eyes of sovereign reason, made my mind uneasy. What I had read in ancient works, occasioned only further bewilderment. One morning I craved for a scintillation from the court of the lord of light, and sought the exhibition of the talisman that resolved all difficulties. And as fortune befriended me and my heart was attentive, a refulgence from the luminary of grace shed its rays and the wondrous enigma was solved, and it was made clear that daily provision was under the pledge of royal justice and the acceptance of duty by grateful servants, as I have to some extent notified at the beginning of the last book. Most strange of all, however much from time to time the desire for seclusion which innate in me renewed its impulse, the thought of increased worldly advancement likewise gained strength. With this provision secured of appropriate sustenance and due supply of bodily vigour[6] on which the success of every undertaking depends, I withdrew from various other pre-occupations and turned my attention strenuously to military matters, and like those exclusively occupied in business, whom more solemn considerations do not affect, severing not the night from day, I sat at the gate of expectation. Since in this profession centres the interest of life and

[6] He required a large provision. His enormous appetite needed for its gratification or surfeit twenty-two *sers* of solid food daily. See Vol. I. Biography, xxviii. Both Abul Fazl and his brother Faizi entered the military service, then the only profession. See Vol. I. Biography, xv.

it adorns the acquisition of perfect and accurate judgment, in uniting the coruscation of political ability with the glitter of the sword, my whole ambition was to perform some service and to dare some signal deed in honour of this chosen profession, which would astonish even experienced statesmen and amaze the perusers of the history of the ancients, in order that the duties I had undertaken might be adequately fulfilled. This desire every moment increased, but the inopportuneness of the season suffered me not to speak. I had come from a religious house and a college to the royal court.

[Abul Fazl's secret longings gratified by Akbar's command to him to write the history of his reign—the other courtiers envy him.]

Those who regard outward circumstances only might impute designs to me that had never crossed my mind, and I judged from appearances that if this secret intention got wind, they would blame me and loosen the tongue of reproach. But since the luminous mind of majesty is a mirror of verities and a world-displaying cup,[7] without representation on my part or communication, the king vouchsafed to favour and honour with a commission my obscure personality that was unassisted by patronage, and raised me to an exalted rank and to the degree of a very distinguished command.[8] For some days among the learned at their meetings considerable [P. 253] jealousy was excited, and the courtiers had for a long time banded together in envy against me. It was a strange coincidence that I should be about the arsenal in search of a sword, while fate would force a pen into a master hand. I was examining the burnish of the lance-head while destiny

[7] The cup or mirror of Jamshid, as well as of Solomon, Cyrus, and of Alexander, which mirrored the universe, according to Oriental tradition.

[8] He received in 1585, the command of a thousand horse. In 1592 he was promoted to be commander of two thousand horse, and about 1595 to the command of two thousand five hundred horse, and became one of the grandees of the empire. See Vol. I. xv, xviii, and xxi.

was sharpening the point of the reed in order that the ordinances of the sovereign might be reverently proclaimed in the publication of these important records. I was a prey to conflicting emotions. Since I had not the capacity for this office, and my mind had no inclination to this kind of historiography, I was on the point of declaring my incompetence and standing aside, withdrawing from so onerous a task. But as I was impressed with His Majesty's knowledge of things that are hidden and with the obligation of responding to his favours by some signal service, I was unable to decline his command. The thought then occurred to me that His Majesty had in view my own application and industry as well as the literary capacity of my brethren,[9] so that the materials which I might with indefatigable assiduity collect together, that accomplished and eloquent writer [Fayzi] might harmoniously set in order and thus bring to completion this stupendous task. In a little while under the strenuous support of a will of miraculous efficacy, I opened my eyes to an interior illumination, and reflected that the royal command was a magic inspiration to literary effort and a talisman for the illumining of wisdom. With a sincere mind and a lofty determination this complex of sorrow and joy set his face to the duty. My chief reliance was in this, that by the grace of the divine favour, having diligently collected the necessary facts and given material embodiment to their spiritualized form, the eulogist of the court of the Caliphate, the erudite scholar of the Imperial House, the first writer of his age, the laureate among accomplished poets, Shaykh Abu'l Fayz-i-Fayzi my elder brother and superior, would graciously supervise it, and under the correction of that master of style, a fresh texture would be hand-woven into a fabric of beauty.

[Just after one-half of this book had been written, Abul Fazl's collaborator and guide, his elder brother Faizi died,

[9] For the names of these see Vol. I., xxxiii.

but our author steeled his heart to carry his task to completion, in spite of grief and heavy administrative duties.]

Scarce half of the first book had been written, when destiny worked its spell, and that free spirit in the fulness of its knowledge, took its last journey and afflicted my heart with an exceeding grief. When, by the talisman of the royal sympathies, I was recalled from the desire of aimless wandering to the city of service, manifold kindnesses were as a balm to the open wound of my soul, and I applied myself zealously to my great task. A light dawned on me as to the object of the royal command and the aim of its lofty view. I brought my mind to that consideration and with a prayer to the Almighty, I set out on the road. On the one hand lay the painful feeling of incompetency and a heart overwhelmed with affliction and stress of occupation which no material successes however numerous could remedy, and the ulcers of which no profusion of outward gratifications could salve, —on the other was the ebb and flow of the sea of my heart wherein human efforts were of no avail, nor could the door of its secret retirement be closed and the busy world kept out! How can I describe the violent conflict of these two unusual states of mind, or with what capability express the intercurrency of this strange dual operation. The first conjured up in the clear recesses of my mind, a fanciful play of wave and leap of fountain with swirl of rain and fall of dew; it wove thousand fictions and suggested frequent supernatural interventions [P. 254] and seemed to assure him who chose it, of the attainment of the truth and the honour of presidency in the state-council of wisdom. From the second, a vision of flinty stones, of strewn fragments of brick and as of clod-heaps and scatterings of blackened soil appearing from the same source of discernment, arose with a warning aspect. Coarseness of speech, scurrility, vauntings and vain babble of which the characteristics are a moral decadence and a desire of associating with the base, time after time, in a novel

guise came flaunting by. Accompanying this miserable condition and disorder of mind, the stress of helplessness and isolation now and again received a fresh impulse. Although it is the way of the world seldom to form bonds of attachment, but rather the more constantly to sever the ties of friendship, my plain speaking and discernment of hypocrisy co-operated with this worldly tendency. Some friends of Baber's household and intimates of long standing withdrew from association with me. With the burden of affairs on my shoulders and journeying over inequalities of ground and moving through perilous paths, how could I in utter loneliness, reach half way on the road, or when arrive at my destination? But by the advent to the gardens of blessedness of one or two godly friends who in this dearth of manhood were obtained by me, I triumphed over all my difficulties.

[Akbar's sympathy and interest hearten Abul Fazl in writing this book.]

Strangely enough, with all this apparatus that inspired fear and this struggle within and without, I did not withold my hand from writing nor did my resolution flag, nay rather, every moment fresh vigour was aroused in me and this momentous conflict grew stronger and the strife of the flesh and the spirit increased until the light of truth shone forth and my difficulties were solved, the wondrous effects of the holy spirit of His Majesty were again evidenced in me, and my heart and vision were flooded with an extraordinary light. The writings of the wise of ancient times to some extent corroborated the accuracy of my own course and exculpated my sorry conscience with its ignoble tendencies. What the sages of old affirm is this, that the leader of the caravans of hallowed sovereignty is supreme over high and low, and that the pleasant mead of spiritual and temporal concerns blooms fair under the beneficent lustre of such unique wonder of the world of wisdom: moreover that the visible ruler who is the chosen among thousands of mankind to reduce to order the

scattered elements of social organisation holds sway over all men, but his power extends only to their bodies and finds no access to their souls. The lords of spiritual dominion, on the other hand, have no authority save over pure consciences, as the practice of the saints in general and of all holy men illustrates. The ordinary class of professors of learning and the shallow sciolists of the world influence solely the minds of the vulgar, and the effect of their instruction is to be found only in such waste ground. But as the monarch of our time has been appointed sovereign likewise over the invisible world, his sacred inspiration has wrought these extraordinary effects in me who am rude of speech, ignorant and helpless, and raised me from the deeps of ignorance to the heights of knowledge.

With joyful omens blest, my strain
Shall celebrate his glorious reign;
His praises shall my pen proclaim,
And here enshrine his royal name.

[How Abul Fazl secured the materials of his history.]

[P. 255] My first care was to collect by the aid of heaven, all the transactions of his enduring reign, and I used exceptional and unprecedented diligence in order to record the chief events of my own time. In many of these occurrences I bore a personal share, and I had a perfect knowledge of the under-currents and secret intrigues of State, to say nothing of the ordinary drift of public affairs. And since the insinuations of rumour had prejudiced me and I was not sure of my own memory, I made various inquiries of the principal officers of State and of the grandees and other well-informed dignitaries; and not content with numerous oral statements, I asked permission to put them into writing, and for each event I took the written testimony of more than twenty intelligent and cautious persons. The flagrant contradictory statements of eye-witnesses had reached my ears and amazed me, and my

difficulties increased. Here was date of an event not far distant—the actors in the scenes and transactions actually present—their directing spirit exalted on the throne of actual experience—and I with my eyes open observing these manifold discrepancies. By the blessing of daily-increasing favour I determined to remedy this, and set my mind to work out a solution. The perplexity disentangled itself and my bewildered state of mind began to grow calm. By deep reflection and a careful scrutiny, taking up the principal points in which there was general agreement, my satisfaction increased, and where the narrators differed from each other I based my presentation of facts on a footing of discriminate investigation of exact and cautious statements, and this somewhat set my mind at ease. Where an event had equal weight of testimony on both sides, or anything reached me opposed to my own view of the question, I submitted it to His Majesty and freed myself from responsibility. By the blessing of the rising fortunes of the State and the sublimity of the royal wisdom, together with the perfect sincerity of the inquirer and his wakeful destiny, I was completely successful and arrived at the summit of my wishes.

[How Abul Fazl worked up the raw materials collected for his history.]

When I had safely traversed these difficult defiles, a work of considerable magnitude was the result. But since at this formidable stage, in the arrangement of these events no minute regard to details had taken place, and their chronological sequence had not been satisfactorily adjusted, I commenced the methodizing of my materials anew, and began to rewrite the whole, and I took infinite pains especially bestowing much attention on the chronology of the Divine Era. And since I had the assistance of the highest scientific experts, this task also was with facility completed and a separate table was drawn out. When through supernatural illumination, the announcement of a new basis of computa-

tion entered the ear of intelligence, that old and tattered garment was cast aside and a robe of honour newly woven of grace, was substituted, and by the power of the Being who created speech, this great work, with all the difficulties it presented, was brought to a conclusion, and numerous expressions of satisfaction were felicitously evoked.

As this world of tribulation is not a home for the wise of heart, the more so that friends who live for the happiness to come are covered by the veil of concealment and on account of the ingratitude of the incapable, have withdrawn their hearts from participation in the false shows of its delusive scene, I looked upon each of my days as though it were to be my last, and employed myself only in the preparations for my final journey. In this sorrowful condition I hastened along my road, and the labours on the fulfilment of which I had counted were not ordered according to my desire.

[He repeatedly revised his composition to give it literary grace.] As by [P. 256] the decree of destiny my life was still prolonged, for the fourth time I renewed the task and gave it all my solicitude. Although my first efforts were now directed to remove all superfluous repetitions, and give continuity to the easy flow of my exposition, I perceived the incomplete arrangement of my fresh materials, and the due ordering of this was undertaken. And since I was new to the road and stricken with grief and friendless, an exceeding depression of spirit came upon me, in that, with all my toil and with such excessive care these many lapses had occurred and such frequent errors had appeared. What would be the result, and where would it all end? I began a fifth revision and went over the work from the beginning. Although all my acknowledged endeavours were directed to immortalize these events and to place their issues in due order, yet as sagacious writers consider that verse is as the savour of salt to prose, I took much pains in the introduction of a few stanzas which should be in harmonious accord with

the composition, and many a correction and emendation was made, independently of any consideration of the cavils of numberless critics. The truth is that men close their eyes in regard to their own faults and their own offspring. However much they may oppose the feeling, these defects are approved as merits. I who have made it a practice to be critical of self and indulgent towards others, could employ no collyrium regarding this question, nor devise any remedy for this defect of vision, but on this five-fold revision a rumour of this new development spread abroad. Some of my acquaintances joined in supporting me; others were as unanimous in an underhand depreciation. I formed a resolution, for the sixth time, to set my mind free of its waverings of suggestions, and to exercise the most minute and fastidious criticism; but the frequent calls upon me made by His Majesty left me no time.

I was compelled therefore to present him with this fifth revision, and was rewarded with a perpetual satisfaction.

> What mine hath ever yielded gem so fair?
> What tongue-born treasure can with this compare?
> Beneath each letter is a world concealed,
> Each word's expanse shows worlds on worlds revealed.
> Its every pearl bedecks the earth and sky,
> And if ye see it not—be yours the penalty.

It is my hope that by the blessings of a sincere intention and its own merits, the task which was set before my grateful heart may be happily concluded, and my mind be disburdened in some measure from the distress of its many anxieties. Within the space of seven years, by the aid of a resolute will and a lofty purpose, a comprehensive survey covering a period from Adam down to the sacred person of the prince regnant, has been concluded, and from the birth of His Imperial Majesty to this day, which is the 42nd of the

Divine Era,[10] and according to the lunar computation 1006, the occurrences of fifty-five years of that nursling of grace have been felicitously recorded, and my mind has been lightened in some degree of its stupendous burden. [P. 257]

The princely heart that virtue dowers,
For him gems bloom instead of flowers,
And hill and dale his kingdom round
Shall with their monarch's praise resound.

It is my expectation to write in four volumes[11] a record of the transactions of the royal house during one hundred and twenty years, which are four generations, that it may stand as a memorial for those who seek knowledge in justice, and with the Institutions of His Majesty as the concluding book, I purposed the completion of the Akbarnāmah in these five volumes. By the aid of the Almighty three have been written, and many a secret of wisdom has been revealed and a treasure of truth weighed in the balance.

I bear from wisdom's inmost store
The royal House this treasured lore,
And pray its justice and its grace
May ne'er my memory efface.
And let this loyal offering be
Accepted of its Majesty.
May God His favour grant benign,
And His acceptance deign with thine,
And raise its dignity on high
With thy name's glorious currency,
That it from thee may win renown
And link my fortunes with the throne.

[The last two sections of the *Akbarnamah* are yet to be written.]

[10] The starting point of the Divine Era was Friday, the 5th of Rabii' II. A.H. 963 (19th February 1556).
[11] See Vol. I, Preface.

If destiny in its wondrous workings gives me leisure and capricious fortune, opportunity, the remaining two books shall be satisfactorily terminated and form a history of deeds replete with attraction. If not, let others, guided by grace and a propitious fate, set down, year by year, the events of this enduring reign, with a lofty resolution and unremitting industry, in right understanding, with a noble purpose and in a spirit of freedom, rendering populous the habitations of Church and State and fertilizing the gardens of grace and nature with refreshing waters. Let them not forget this obscure wanderer in the desert of aberration and in their glad work acknowledge their obligations to me who first displayed the continuous succession of this series, and suggested to them the manner of its record. But if this be not approved and they desire, by recommencing on a new method or fashion of language of the day, to compile the transactions of this never-fading dominion,

Be it unto thy peoples' welfare, Lord,
Beneath the shadow of King Akbar's sway.

CHAPTER XIV.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR.

[P. 258] The writer of this important work had it in his mind to draw up a memoir of his venerable ancestors and some particulars of strange incidents in his own life, and form of them a separate volume which should be a source of instruction to the intelligent who look afar; but various occupations, especially the composition of this work, absorbed his attention to the exclusion of all else. At this juncture a secret inspiration prompted the thought that the world would not welcome the detailed journals of personal biography in an isolated form, and that it would be more opportune to append an account thereof to this work and to intersperse here and there some practical and didactic comments. Accepting this happy suggestion, I have thrown off this sketch and liberated my soul.

Since to vaunt of lineage is to traffic from empty-handedness with the bones of one's ancestors and to bring the wares of ignorance to market, and is to be foolishly vain of the merits of others while blind to one's own defects, I was unwilling to touch the subject or indulge in such idle vapouring. In this demon-haunted wilderness, to be linked by any chain deters advance and the irrigation of the genealogy of the outer world is of no profit to the interior spirit.

> Be not, as fools, alone thy father's son;
> Forget thy sire; choose merit for thine own.
> What though should fire beget a scion as bright,
> Smoke can be ne'er the progeny of light. [P. 259.]

In ordinary parlance genealogy signifies seed, race, tribe and the like, and the term embraces the distinctions of high and low. Any rational man recognises that the one reverts to

the other, inasmuch as among intermediaries in the line of descent some one individual has become distinguished for material wealth or spiritual eminence, and thus become celebrated by name or title or profession or place of birth; whereas the vulgar who, though accounting mankind to be the sons of Adam their primitive father, yet by attending to romantic fictions accept only these assumptions, are evidently led astray in this matter by the remoteness of the line and do not realize the actuality of that patriarch. Why then should any upright and discerning man be deluded by these fables and trusting to them, withdraw from the pursuit of truth? What availed the son of Noah his father's communion with the Almighty, and how did the idolatry of his race injure Abraham the friend of God?

Jāmi! serve God through love, nor lineage heed,
For such road knows no son of this or that.

Nevertheless through the decrees of fate I am linked to worldlings and associated with those who give priority to birth above worth. Thus I am compelled to alude to it, and to furnish a table for such as them.

[Abul Fazl's ancestors in their home in Yemen. His fifth forefather settles in Sewistan as a teacher and pious man.]

The count of honourable ancestry is a long history. How may I retail their holy lives for the unworthy inquisitiveness of the moment? Some wore the garb of saints, some were immersed in secular studies, some were clothed in authority, some engaged in commerce and others led lives of solitude and retirement. For a long period the land of Yemen was the home of these high born and virtuous men. Shaykh Musa,[1] my fifth ancestor, in his early manhood, withdrew from association with his fellows. Abandoning his home he set out on travel, and accompanied only by his knowledge

[1] Cf. Vol. I. Biography of Abul Fazl.

and his deeds he traversed the habitable globe with a step that profited by what he saw. In the ninth century by the decrees of heaven, he settled in quiet retirement at Rél, a pleasant village of Sewistān, and married into a family of God-fearing and pious people. Although he had come from the desert to a civilized town, he did not exchange his retired habits for the occupations of the world. Ever contemplative on his prayer-carpet of introspection, he wrestled in prayer with himself and spent his precious days in the ordering of the wayward spirit. His virtuous sons and grandchildren following his example lived happily, and were instructed in the esoteric and exoteric doctrines of philosophy. In the beginning of the tenth century Shaykh Khizr set out impelled with the desire of visiting the saints of India and of seeing Hijāz and the people of his own tribe. Accompanied by a few of his relatives and friends he came to India. At the city of Nāgor, Mir Sayyid Yahyā Bokhāri of Uch, who was successor to Makhdum-i-Jahāniyān and had a large portion of the spirit of sanctity, Shaykh Abdur Razzāq Qādiri of Baghdad (who was one of the distinguished descendants of that paragon among eminent saints, Sayyid Abdu'l Qādir Jilī), and Shaykh Yusuf Sindi who had traversed the fields of secular and mystic lore and had acquired many perfections of the religious life, were engaged in the instruction and guidance of the people, and multitudes were profiting by their direction. In his zeal and affection for these eminent teachers and under the attractive influence of the soil of this ancient country, that wandering exile there took up his abode. [P. 260]

[Author's father Shaikh Mubārak Nāgori—his birth, precocious genius, vast learning and long travels.]

In the year A.H. 911 (A.D. 1505), Shaykh Mubārak (my father) came forth from the realm of conception into visible personality and was clothed in the mantle of existence. Through a miraculous efficacy of will, at the age of four he

displayed the light of his intelligence and a daily-increasing illumination shone from his auspicious countenance. When nine years old he was already considerably well-informed, and at fourteen had run through the usual course of the studies and had by heart the text-books of every science. Although the grace of God guided the caravan of his wakeful fortune and he had received alms from the street of many a learned mystic, he principally attended Shaykh Atan through whose instruction he increased his interior thirst. This Shaykh was of Turkish extraction and lived to the age of one hundred and twenty. In the reign of Sikandar Lodi he had taken up his residence in that city and had attained to an eminent degree of knowledge under Shaykh Sālār of Nāgor who had studied in Irān and Turān.

Briefly to resume, Shaykh Khizr returned to Sind, his whole object being to bring some of his relations back with him to this country. He died on his journey. Meanwhile a severe famine had befallen Nāgor, and an epidemic plague added to the disaster. Except his mother, all other members of his family perished. A resolution to travel had always been uppermost in the enlightened mind of my venerable father, and the desire of seeing the eminent doctors of every land and of soliciting their godly assistance was vehement within him; but that queen of virtue, his lady mother, suffered him not, and no thought of disobeying her entered his righteous mind. In this hesitancy of spirit, he came under Shaykh Fayyāzi of Bokhārā—may God sanctify his soul:—and his agitation of mind increased. In his early days of study the peerless eyes of that discerning sage had fallen upon a certain servant of God with whom it was his daily fortune to receive interior enlightenment and (guidance to) eternal salvation. He solicited his direction in the choice of a settled course of life. He received the following answer: "About this time a certain person will become an acknowledged master of instruction and will be established as a guide

to those who seek knowledge; his name is U'baydu'llah and his distinguishing epithet *Khwājah i-Ahrār*, (master of the free of spirit): attend his lectures and follow the course he points out." The Khwājah at that time was footsore from his long investigations and assiduously sought the great theriac of truth. In due time he attained this eminent rank and Fayyāzi learnt from him how to seek God. His seclusion was directed to be in absolute obscurity and his (spiritual) office was determined without formal delegation. Wherever the Khwājah in his allusions refers to "the dervish," he means this wonder of the world (Fayyāzi).[2] For forty years he resided in Turkistān, and in deserts and mountains enjoyed the ecstasy of solitude. He had attained the age of one hundred and twenty years and the fire of his soul was burning with undiminished intensity. One night my father, in the city of my birth, was discussing the subject of religion with some godly and pious persons and many edifying matters had been brought forward, when suddenly the sound of a sigh was heard and a flash of heavenly light shone. However much they attempted to account for this, they could find nothing. The next day after much investigation [P. 261] and a diligent search, it was discovered that this mystic personage was in retirement in a potter's house. My father now for a space reposed in the light of his direction and his own distracted mind ceased to wander. For four months consecutively he enjoyed this happiness and was daily tested by the alchemy of his glance. Within a short period, the time of the Shaykh's departure to heaven drew nigh, and with his mind filled with divine truths, he gave forth his counsels of guidance for those who were seeking revelation, and in ecstasy of spirit and with a serene mind he passed away.

[2] This passage is so obscure from the confusion and omission of pronouns that it is with great difficulty I have been able to disentangle and determine what I conceive is its sense.

About this time that pattern of pure womanhood who had given my father his earliest instruction, departed this fleeting life. The affair of Maldeo,[3] caused an interregnum; my venerable father withdrew towards the seacoast with a view to greater seclusion. His sole purpose was to travel over the country and to derive some profit from intercourse with various classes of men.

[Mubārak's encyclopædic scholarship—his teachers.]

At Ahmadābād he fell in with distinguished doctors and further improved his knowledge, and received a high diploma for every important branch of learning. He acquired a various acquaintance with the doctrines of Mālik, of Shāfiai, of Abu Hanifah, of Hanbal, and of the Imāmiyāh [Shi'a] school, both in the principles of law and the law itself, and by strenuous application acquired the dignity of a *mujtahid*. Although traditionally from his ancestors he belonged to the theological school of Abu Hanifah yet he had always adorned his conduct with discretion, and avoiding a servile following of opinion, submitted only to demonstration and took upon himself the things which the flesh resisted. Thus by his greatness of soul and fortunate destiny he passed from the knowledge of the visible to the understanding of the invisible, and the pleasure-ground of the material world led the way to the kingdom of truth. He had read treatises on Sufism and transcendental theology, and had perused many works on contemplation and worship, especially the verities of Shaykh-b-Arabi, of Shaykh-b-Fāridh

[3] See Biog. Vol. I. ii. Blochmann refers to this as "the Maldeo disturbances" without further comment. I think he misapprehends the sense. Abul Fazl must refer to the affair subsequent to the final defeat of Humāyun by Sher Shāh, near Kanauj, in A.H. 947 (A.D. 1540). Humāyun fled to Sind, and failing in his attempts there marched by way of Jesalmer to Nāgor and Ajmer then ruled by Maldeo the most powerful of Hindu Rājahs. This prince determined to seize him and make him over to Sher Shāh. Warned in time Humāyun fled at midnight to Amarkot.

and of Shaykh Sadru'ddin of Iconium. Many doctors of physics and ontology honoured him with their countenance, and many successes attended him and uncommon precepts of direction added to his fame. Among the chief divine graces vouchsafed to him was that he became a disciple of the Khatib Abu'l Fazl Kāzarun. This personage from his appreciation of merit and knowledge of men, adopted him as a son and diligently instructed him in various knowledge, and made him commit to memory the subtleties of the Shifā,[4] the Ishārāt, the Tazkirah and Ptolemy's Almagest. Thus the garden of learning was refreshed with irrigation and the penetration of his vision was further increased. That learned man at the instance of the princes of Gujarāt, had come from Shirāz to the country, and the groves of wisdom received a renewal of bloom. He had acquired learning under divers theologians of the time, but in the great branch of mystical contemplation he was the disciple of Maulānā Jalālu'ddin Dawwāni. That learned doctor had first received the leading principles of science from his own father, and subsequently, in Shirāz had attended as a pupil the lectures of Maulānā Muhyi'ddin *Ashkbār*, or the Weeper, and Khwājah Hasan Shāh Baqqāl, these two theologians being among the principal pupils of Sayyid Sharif Jurjāni. He for a time also frequented the school of Maulānā Humāmu'ddin Gulbāri who was proficient in drawing horoscopes and there lit the lamp of erudition, [P. 262] and through good fortune thus acquired a wonderful extent of knowledge. He had also

[4] The *Shifā* and *Ishārah* are two works of the famous Avicenna, *i.e.*, Abu Ibn Sina (980—1037 A.D.), whose full name was Abu Ali al-Husayn-b-Abdu'llah ; the former on logic according to Hāji Khalifah, but Ibn i Khallakān states its subject to be philosophy (*hikmat*), a term wide enough in application among Orientals to include medicine, and may signify science in general. The *Ishārat i'la i'lm 'il Mantik* (indicium ad scientiam logicæ), is on the same subject and by the same author. There are many works under the title of Tazkirah. The reference is probably to the great work of the grammarian Abu Ali Hasan-b-Ahmad al-Fārisi, who died in A.H. 989 or 1581 A.D. *Ency. Islam.* ii. 419.

made a thorough study of philosophical works the principles of which he explained with much elegance, as his treatises on that subject evidence and commendably illustrate. In the same city of grace, my venerable father had the good fortune to attend upon Shaykh U'mar of Tattah, who was one of the greatest saints of the time, and that night-illumining jewel possessing the power of an exquisite discernment, inspired him transcendentally with elevation of soul and sublime knowledge. He also fell in with many doctors of the Shattāri, Tayfuri, Chishti and Suhrawardi orders, and profited by their instruction. In the city likewise, he made the acquaintance of Shaykh Yusuf, who was one of the most ecstatic and inspired of mystics, and through him was filled with new wisdom. He was ever absorbed in the ocean of the divine presence, and omitted no minute particular of ceremonial worship. From the holy influence by which he was surrounded, his desire was to erase altogether from the expanse of his mind the impressions of knowledge, and withdrawing entirely from the conventional obligations of intercourse, to become absorbed in the contemplation of the divine perfections. But that reader of the secrets of the heart's recesses discovering his intention dissuaded him therefrom, and he courteously communicated to him that a ship was about to sail, and that he should visit Agra, and if his difficulties were not there overcome, he should proceed to Irān and Turān, and wherever the spirit led him or a call directed him, thither should he go and occupy himself with secular teaching.

[Mubārak comes to Agra in 1543 and marries.]

Conformably to this direction in the first of the (Persian) month of the Urdibihisht (April), in the Jalāli year 465, corresponding to Sāturday, the 6th of Muharram 950 A.H. (A.D. 10th April 1543), he happily alighted in that prosperous seat of empire which may God guard from all adversity! In that delightful residence he happened to become acquainted with Shaykh Alāu'ddin Majzub or the ecstatic,

who could read the tablets of the heart and the secrets of the tomb. This saint, in one of his returns to consciousness from an ecstatic trance, informed him that it was God's will that he should remain in that city and abandon further wanderings, and he announced to him good tidings and comforted his roving spirit. He took up his residence on the banks of the Jumna, in the vicinity of Mir Rafi'u'ddin Safawi of Ij.[5] He here married into a Quraysh family distinguished for wisdom and virtue, and lived on terms of intimacy with its head, the chief of the quarter; and this upright personage, looking upon the arrival of that nursling of wisdom as a rare distinction, received him with warmth of affection and cordiality. Since he was a man of much wealth, he wished my father to share his mode of life; but by the guidance of fortune and grace, he did not consent, and preferring the threshold of reliance and an independent mind, he pursued a life of interior recollection combined with worldly pursuits. The Mir was one of the Hasani and Husayni Sayyids. Some account of his ancestors is given in the works of Shaykh Sakhāwi. Although their birthplace was originally the village of Ij of Shirāz, yet for a long time past they preferred to live at Hijāz, and some members of the family have been continually settled in both places where they have been the givers and recipients of benefit. Although he had studied [P. 263] philosophy and theology under the direction of his own parents, he nevertheless, as a pupil of Maulānā Jalālu'ddin Dawwāni, reached a higher distinction therein. In Arabia he studied the various branches of traditional lore under Shaykh Sakhāwi of Cairo in Egypt, who was a disciple

[5] Blochmann has "Iuju (Shirāz)," but Yāqut gives no such name. The text has distinctly Ij and Yāqkut locates Ij in the district of Dārābjird, and states that the Persians pronounce it "Eek." One Dārābjird he places in the district of Istakhr adjacent therefore to Shirāz. Abul Fazl intends this locality, as he shows lower down. The present ruins of Dārābjird formed the ancient citadel of Pasargadae which contained the tomb of Cyrus.

of Shaykh Ibn-i-Hajr al-Asqalāni,[6] and when he died in A.H. 954 (A.D. 1547), my father retired to his own seclusion.

[Mubārak sets up as a teacher at Agra.]

He continued his efforts in the regeneration of his soul while attending to the perfect propriety of his exterior conduct, and was assiduous in his worship of God. He employed himself in teaching various sciences and made the expounding of the opinions of the ancients an occasion for withholding his own, and gave no tongue—that fatal member—to the expression of desire. Some few prudent and virtuous persons of whose sincerity he was assured, he admitted to his society and appreciated their merits, but from the rest he held himself excused and avoided association with them. In a short time his house became the resort of the learned where high and low were honourably received. Among gatherings of friends, there were also conclaves of the envious, but these did not depress him, nor those elate. Sher Khān, Salim Khān and other grandees proposed for him a stipend from the State revenues and to settle on him a suitable freehold, but as he possessed a high spirit and lofty views he declined and thus raised his own reputation.

As he was gifted with an innate aptitude for the direction of men, and held a divine commission for the enunciation of truth, while at the same time he had the concurrence of the saints of his time and the affection of his well-wishers daily increased, he undertook the guidance of those who frequented his lectures and sought enlightenment, and he denounced all evil habits. Self-interested worldlings took offence and entertained unseemly intentions. As he had no desire to oppose any hostile discussion and allowed no thought of acrimony or servility to enter his mind, he did not the less continue to

[6] Shihābu'ddin Abu'l Fazl Ahmad-b-Ali-b Hajr al Asqalāni, the well-known author of the Isābah fi tamyiz is-Sihābah (recta institutio de distinctione inter socios prophetæ). He died in A.H. 852 (A.D. 1449). *Ency. Islam*, ii. 379, under *Ibn-Hadjar*.

speak the truth boldly and to reprove evil doers, and did not attempt to win over quarrelsome seceders. And this occasioned that the Almighty miraculously blessed him with true friends and spiritually-minded sons. Although he employed his hours in teaching philosophy, during the time of the Afghāns he lectured little on theology. When the lofty crescent-bearing standards of Humāyun shed a new splendour over Hindustan, some students from Irān and Turān attended the school of that knower of the mysteries of the spirit and of the world, and his lectures grew in repute, and the field of the thirsty in the drought-year of discernment overflowed with water, while timid travellers encamped in the pleasure-ground of repose. Affairs had now scarcely got into train when the evil-eye fell on them, and Hemu[7] now rose in the ascendant. The well-disposed withdrew into obscurity and retired in disappointment. My venerable father with a stout heart, continued firm in his own seclusion, and by the favour of God, Hemu sent messengers with expressions of apology, and through the interposition of a man of my father's excellent character many were released from the oppression of anxiety and entered the meads of joy.

[7] Hemu was a shop-keeper whom Salim Shāh had made Superintendent of the markets, and who was raised by Muhammad Shāh Aādili to the highest honours and entrusted with the whole administration. He certainly proved his great capacity, for he suppressed the revolt of Sikandar Sur in the Punjab, crushed Muhammad Sur in Bengal, captured Agra from the Mughal troops, and defeated Akbar's general Tardi Beg at Delhi. He was, however, eventually beaten at Panipat by Bayrām Khān on the 5th November 1556, after a desperate battle in which he fought with the greatest bravery. He had been shot in the eye by an arrow in his howdah, and though in great agony, he drew the arrow with the eye-ball out of its socket and wrapt it in his handkerchief, and continued the fight to encourage his troops. He was taken prisoner and carried before Akbar. Bayrām recommended the king to slay him with his own hand and fulfil a meritorious act. Akbar lightly touched him with his sabre and became entitled to the honours of a Ghāzi—a slayer of infidels. The deed itself he suffered Bayrām to execute, who decapitated Hemu at a single blow. Saladin, a true Ghāzi, would have spared so gallant a foe.

[Abul Fazl's recollections of the famine and plague in Hindustan in 1556.]

In the beginning of the year of the accession of His Majesty to the imperial throne, as though wild rue.[8] [P. 264] were set on fire upon the State with the view of arresting the evil-eye, a great famine occurred, which raised the dust of dispersion. The capital was devastated and nothing remained but a few houses. In addition to this and other immeasurable disasters, a plague became epidemical. This calamity and destruction of life extended throughout most of the cities of Hindustan. Still that enlightened sage remained in his seclusion and the dust of tepidity settled not in the serene chamber of his mind. The writer of this work was then five years old,[9] and the luminary of discernment so blazed before the arch of his vision that its expression cannot enter the mould of language, nor, if expressed, would it find access to the narrow hearing of mankind. He has a perfect recollection of this event, and the evidence of eye-witnesses confirms his testimony. The distress of the times ruined many families and multitudes died. In that habitation[10] about 70 people, in all, male and female, high and low, may have survived. Contemporaries marvelled at the easy circumstances and general cheerfulness of the dervishes and attributed it to magic

[8] It is popularly supposed that a fumigation with wild rue and its seeds which are set alight, arrest the malignant effects of the evil-eye. The term used is "the eye of perfection". The praise of any object in the possession of an Oriental is regarded as ominous by him and as bringing a nemesis with it, for all perfect things decline after reaching their zenith.

[9] He was born at Agra on the 6th Muharram 958 (14 January 1551).

[10] I presume this means the quarter in which his family resided. There is no mention of these distresses in Ferishta. Abul Fazl makes a brief allusion to it in the Akbarnāmah. He says that there was great scarcity throughout Hindustan, and especially in Delhi where the famine was extreme, and although money might be obtained, food-grain was not to be had ; men were driven to feed on human flesh, and parties were formed to carry off any solitary person in order to eat him. Text, Vol. II. 35.

and incantation. Sometimes a *ser* of grain would be obtained, which was set to boil in earthenware vessels, and the warm water distributed amongst these people. Most strange of all was that there occurred no difficulty of provision in my father's house, and except the worship of God no other thought disturbed his mind, and save an examination of his own conscience and a perusal of the travels of the spirit no other occupation employed him, until the mercy of God was vouchsafed unto all and a universal affluence lit the countenance of joy. The royal standards shone again with splendour and by a daily increasing justice filled the world with a new radiance. The palace of wisdom grew in amplitude and the wares of knowledge rose to a high price. Science in its many branches and learning of every kind were now diffused. New elucidations, high and lofty views and important discoveries were published abroad and all classes of men received countless benefits from the treasury of intellect. The quiet retirement of that discerning nature became the resort of the learned of the universe, and the highest topics were matters of discussion. But the envy that had been chilled now warmed to life, and the malevolence of the wicked increased. My father steadily followed his own course disregarding the fashion of the times and sitting at the gate of independence pursued not the road of prescribed conventionality. Men of little influence and envious, losing patience followed the path of detraction. Most of them accused him of attachment to the Mahdawi doctrines,[11] and uttered the most absurd fictions. They stirred up the simple and ignorant, and did their best to produce keen annoyance by their evil intrigues. The chief instrument in their hands was the affair of Shaykh Alāi.

[Affair of Shaikh Alāi, a follower of Mir Sayyid Md. of Jaunpur, who was regarded as the predicted Mahdi.]

[11] See Vol. I. Biog. iii, iv. ff. for the Mahdawi movement and the history of Shaykh Alāi. On the *Mahdawi* sect, *Ency. Islam*, iii. 111. On the *Mahdi*, *ibid*, iii. 111-115. [J. S.]

There is a sect in India who regard Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur as the predicted Mahdi and go to extreme lengths in this assertion, and forgetting the other demonstrations[12] of this mission besides doctrine, works, and blameless moral conduct, adopt this movement. In the reign of Salim Khān, a youth called Shaykh Alāi, irreproachable in his character and conduct, fell into this whirlpool, and came into that auspicious city (of Agra), originally for the purpose of seeing my venerable father with a view to a life of seclusion and retirement. Certain seditious men who sought [P. 265] but a pretext, were loud in their frivolous accusations and gave occasion to scandal. The learned of the day who are ignorant pretenders and sell poisonous herbs under show of antidotes, rose up in malice against him and conspired to put him to death, and even obtained judicial decrees. My father did not concur with them and found neither reason nor tradition on their side. They sought to bring the dispute before the Emperor of Hindustan, and strove for their own undoing. The king assembled a council of the learned of the time, and great efforts were made to obtain a legal sentence. My venerable father was also summoned to attend. When his opinion was asked, he gave it against the crafty pretenders who sought but their own advancement. From that day, they maliciously imputed to him an attach-

[12] Amongst these are that he must be of the tribe of the Quraysh and of the family of Fātima. His countenance will be open and his nose aquiline, and he will fill the earth with equity and justice as it has been filled with tyranny and oppression. A rival, also of the Quraysh, will be raised up to oppose him, who will levy war against him and obtain aid of his uncles of the tribe of Kalb. During the reign of the Mahdi, heaven and earth will be pleased with him and there shall be abundant rains, and the earth will give forth her fruits and men's lives will pass pleasantly, and he will continue on the earth seven, eight or nine years, and dying, will be prayed over by the Muslims. Other tokens have been predicted, such as the black ensigns coming from the direction of Khorāsān ; but these were additions made in the interest of the Abbasides and for the glory of that house. See also Blochmann's extract from the 'Rauzat u'l Aimmah. Vol. I. Biog. iii.

ment to that cause, and on so trifling a point as to whether the mission of the Mahdi is a tradition of authority or otherwise,[13] out of sheer malignity, they proceeded to such lengths that he was ruined. Some evil-minded men reviled him for the Shiah tendencies which they presumed he held, not understanding that knowledge is one thing and profession is another.

[Theologians opposed to Mubārak denounce Mir Muhammad as a heretic. Before Islam Shah Sur Mubārak defends the Mir's doctrines as orthodox.]

At this very time they also made a suspect of one of the Sayyids of I'rāq[14] who was among the choicest souls of the age, whose character and conduct were alike virtuous and his precepts harmonized with his actions; but by the royal favour their arm was shortened from reaching him. One day in the royal presence, they represented that no religious authority should be accorded to the Mir, and that since his views were repudiated, it would be inconsistent to recognize his leadership in religious functions. They adduced some cases in point from ancient Hanafi treatises in support of their contention that the teaching of I'rāq dignitaries (*ashrāf*), ought not to be accepted. The prospects of the Mir were gloomy. As he was on terms of fraternal religious intimacy with my father, he laid the whole truth before him, and my father comforted him with judicious counsel and encouraged him to confront more boldly the suggestions of the wicked,

[13] I accept the variant reading in the note; traditions related only on one authority are in contradistinction to traditions supported by several contemporary and concurrent narrators.

[14] This was probably Miyān Abdu'llah, a Niyāzi Afghān and a disciple of Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur. See Vol. I. Biog. v. Badauni's own version of the persecution of Shaikh Mubārak is given in Vol. II, text p. 198-200, where he says that Mubārak first took refuge with Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fathpur, who merely sent him money by some of his disciples and advised him to go away to Gujrat; Mubārak next appealed to Mirzā 'Aziz Kokah, who praised the Shaikh to Akbar and secured the Emperor's pardon for him. [J. S.]

and in refutation of the traditionary authority that had been cited against him, he stated that they had not understood its drift. What had been brought forward from the Hanafi works referred not to Persian but to Arabian I'rāq, and many passages he quoted in confirmation thereof; and further that they had not distinguished between dignitaries *par excellence* (*ashraf i ashrāf*) and the nobles (*ashrāf*), for the degrees of royal rewards and punishments are assigned distributively to four classes. The *first* is the pre-eminent (*ashraf i ashāf*), such as doctors, divines, Sayyids, and holy men. The *second* is termed *ashrāf*, the noble, that is the officials and land proprietors and the like. The *third* is styled *awsāt*, or the intermediate, which is understood as comprising the industrial and commercial professions. The *fourth* comprises the inferior orders who do not rise to the preceding degree, such as the mob and the low rabble. Each of these orders is subject to a separate code of sanctions regulating the acknowledgment of honourable service and the penalties of misconduct. And, indeed, if every evil-doer was to receive the same punishment, this would be a deviation from justice. The Mir was emboldened by this assurance and much rejoiced, and in order to clear himself and expose the ignorance of his traducers, he submitted the opinion of the Shaykh for the royal consideration. Those wicked men with their evil machinations were confounded. When they discovered the source of their confusion, they were inflamed with jealousy. Similar instances of assistance such as this were divulged and contributed to the turbulence of the ignorant. Praise be to God that all men agreed in this, that there is no [P. 266] creed that may not in some one particular be in error, nor yet any such that is entirely false, and therefore, that if any one, according to his conviction, speaks favourably regarding a doctrine which seems at variance with his own faith, his motives should not be misunderstood, nor should people rise to decry him. After a long controversy, this point was abandoned and they

reverted to the accusation of his Shiah tendencies; but by the protection of God the detractor was covered with shame, his infamy exposed and he was overwhelmed with confusion: nevertheless, in his recusancy and blindness he took no admonition and continued to seek his occasion, confirmed in his malice, until the wondrous ways of destiny and the caprice of fortune were manifested, and a vast dispersion came as an exemplary warning.

[In 1570, Shaikh Mubārak sets up as a public teacher in Agra. The bigots in envy form a plot to ruin him.]

In the fourteenth year of His Majesty's reign, corresponding to A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569-70), my father came forth from his retirement, and great troubles presented themselves, of which I shall briefly make mention as a hortatory instruction. Although the hornet's-nest of envy was still in commotion, and the viper's hole alive with the brood, the night-lamp of friendship dim and even the good intent on molestation had closed the door of estrangement, as has been already alluded to, at this time I say, when learning was regarded with honour and the distinguished of the day were his disciples and the numbers at his lectures were in full attendance and my father, according to his custom, denounced all evil habits and exhorted his friends and well-wishers to avoid them, the learned doctors and divines of the time who regarded his beautiful soul as a mirror to their own defects, maliciously conspired to restore their position. Labouring under the convulsions of their tortuous purposes, they represented to themselves that if they could but adduce some particular instance to convince His Majesty who loved justice, it would signally re-establish their former titles to esteem and result in a condition disastrous (to my father). Oppressed by grief and vexation, they continued their intrigues and boldly advanced in a course of detraction and by their sophistries and crafty insinuation they led astray many of the courtiers with their show of affected regrets.

Some amongst the evil-disposed they roused by an appeal to their bigotry.

Although for a considerable period this unseemly conduct had continued, yet by the aid of virtuous and truthful individuals, the conspiracies of the wicked had always been defeated. At this juncture, however, this honest and trusty band were remote, and the chief of these intriguers at court set himself to gratify his malice. These shameless wretches and unclean spirits of evil found their opportunity. My venerable father had gone to the house of a servant of God and I had the happiness of accompanying him. That overweening braggart[15] with his affected haughtiness was also present at the visit and began his crafty discourse. The conceit of learning and exuberant youth possessed me. I had never before set foot outside of college to be present at any public functions, but his vain words drove me to open my lips and I spoke so much to the point that he was ashamed and the spectators were amazed. From that day, he vowed to avenge his being convicted of ignorance, and emboldened those who had lost heart. My venerable father was unconscious of their designs and I in my pride of knowledge, gave no heed. At first those worldlings without religion, like crafty schemers, convened assemblies ostensibly in the interests of truth and religion, and by persecuting assaults on those who sought but quiet, many were hunted to death. [P. 267] Whenever a monarch, well meaning and with every good intention, leaves the direction of religion, education and justice entirely to a body who are outwardly respectable, and himself assumes in their regard the mantle of indifference, the influence of the truthful and righteous wanes and the crooked-moving white-arms of learning and the

[15] This must refer to Makhdum-u'l-Mulk, whose bold opposition to Akbar's religious pretensions caused his dismissal from court, his banishment from the kingdom and finally his removal by poison at the instigation of Akbar, if the Sunnis are to be believed. See the notice of his life in Vol. I. Biog. vii.

courtiers unite in intrigue against these few and bigotry has full sway. And it comes to pass that families are subverted and reputations totally ruined. At such a time when these wretches had gained credit for virtue, like a bride that is falsely passed off for a virgin and proves a harlot, and when graceless worldlings were triumphant, and the sordid and blind of heart were united in purpose, sympathetic friends remote, the honest of speech secluded, and the gatherings of contention of the profane frequent, these conspiracies were hatched and compacts of persecution made.

[In a dark night Shaikh Mubārak and his two elder sons flee from their home, on hearing a treacherous friend's false report of an impending attack by their enemies.]

One of the double-faced and fickle, a fallen angel of malevolent cunning who had insidiously crept into the lecture-rooms of my venerable father under a show of sincerity and was in collusion and understanding with that body, was found and despatched at mid-night inspired with impious deceits and spells to infatuate. That clever imposter at dead of night with a trembling heart and tearful eyes, a pallid colour and dejected countenance, hastened to my elder brother's chamber and his evil spells disturbed that simple soul and seduced one ignorant of guile and deceit. The purport of his information was this: "The principal men of the day have been for a long time hostile, and the faithless and ungrateful without shame. They have now found this opportunity and mean persecution. Many of these turbaned divines are witnesses and having appointed a prosecutor, have incited him to procure an investigation on colourable pretexts into their slanders. Every one knows the influence these men have at court and how many eminent men for their own aggrandizement they have had put out of their way, and what high-handed persecutions they have enforced. I have a friend in their secret counsels. Even now at midnight he informed me of this, and I have in trepidation come to you lest when

day breaks it may be too late to mend matters. Now my advice is that they should convey the Shaykh to some concealment without any one's knowledge and let him for a few days live retired until his friends can assemble and he can represent his case fully to His Majesty." That good soul [Faizi] took alarm and with much agitation went to the Shaykh's chamber and informed him of the case. He answered: "Though my enemies may be powerful, the Almighty is vigilant and a just monarch now rules the world. If a handful of godless unprincipled men are unrighteously filled with envy, the obligation of pledges is still binding and the door of investigation is not closed. Moreover, if the decrees of God for my injury have not been issued, though all are united against me they can avail nothing and can do no evil nor inflict harm upon me; but if the will of the Creator be this, I will cheerfully and gladly give my life and withdraw from the possession of this fleeting existence." As my brother was scarce master of himself and afflicted with grief, mistaking truth for self-deception as he had mistaken a false pretext for condolence, he drew his dagger and said, "Practical business is one thing and religious mysticism is another; if you do not go I will at once kill myself; for the rest, look you to it. I shall not await here the day of ruin." The paternal bond and fatherly affection induced compliance with his wish. At the command of that serene sage I was also awoke.

Under compulsion, then, in the darkness of that night, three persons set out, having no appointed guide and unequal to the fatigues of travel. My venerable sire, reflecting on the accidents of fortune, maintained silence, while between myself and my brother, than whom one more inexpert at the time in political dealings or worldly business one could not imagine, a conversation continued and we spoke of our place of retreat. Whomsoever he mentioned I objected to and whom I named he disapproved.

With outstretched arm against me comes the foe;
No trusty friend averts the threatened blow.
Throughout the world man and his works I see,
But not a trace bespeaks humanity.

[The helpless fugitive family of Mubārak remove from place to place but find no friendly shelter.]

Driven to extremity, after a thousand difficulties we arrived at the house of a person regarding whose fidelity my brother was assured and of whom I, fasting in the morn of existence and of little account in the market of this elemental frame, had not the least suspicion. At the sight of his peaceful and dignified visitors, the man was surprised and regretted our coming and was in hesitancy how to act. At last he found a place for our lodging. When we entered the house it was more forbidding than his own heart. A strange scene took place and an exceeding sorrow filled our minds. My elder brother hung round me saying, "Notwithstanding my greater experience, I have been mistaken, and thou with little knowledge of men hast judged aright. Now what is to be done and what is the course proposed, and where may we take refuge?" I replied, "Nothing has as yet happened; let us return to our own home and let me be the spokesman, and perhaps the badges of office of these worldlings will be removed and the trouble that threatens be overcome." My father applauded and approved the counsel, but my brother would not consent and said, "Thou hast no knowledge of this business nor perceive the fraud and diabolical malignity of these men. Let us leave this place and discuss as we go along." Although I had not traversed the desert of experience nor the good and evil ways of men, a divine inspiration suggested a person to my mind and I said, "It has occurred to me that if things go fairly well, such a one will help, but in a time of serious trouble it will be difficult for him to join us." As time was pressing and our minds in perplexity we set out in his direction. Footsore we pro-

ceeded through ways clogged with mud and reflected on the vicissitudes of fortune. Loosing hold of the "strong handle" of reliance in God, trudging onwards disspirited and thinking the world in pursuit, we advanced each step with difficulty, breathing with effort, oppressed with exceeding sorrow and believing the day of the resurrection of the wicked at hand.

At dawn we reached his house. At the news he met us with cordiality and found us a suitable lodging and our many cares were somewhat abated. [P. 269]

[Shaikh Mubārak's enemies get a royal warrant issued to arrest him for trial according to the Qurānic law against heresy.—Akbar orders his release—Mubārak's enemies still persecute him.]

In this retreat after two days, we learnt that these envious agitators had lifted the veil of shame and openly divulged the intentions of their foul minds and like crafty intriguers on the morning of that night they represented the r case to His Majesty and perplexed his august mind. An order was issued from the imperial palace that affairs of state should not be transacted without consultation with them, that this was a question of faith and religion the issue of which lay entirely in their hands, that the fugitives should be summoned before the judicial tribunal and whatever the illustrious law decided and the heads of the government determined should be carried out. The royal persuivants were set on and despatched in search, and when they learnt what had happened they made every effort at discovery. Some evil-doers, plotters of villainy, accompanied them and not finding us in our dwelling and believing a vain report, they surrounded the house and finding my brother Abu'l Khayr in the house they took him to the court and reported our flight with a hundred embellishments, and made it an occasion of shameless accusations. By an extraordinary favour of heaven His sagacious Majesty was apprised of this gathering of interested detractors and their manner of insinuation, and replied,

"Why is all this hostility shown against an obscure dervish and learned ascetic, and what is the object of this senseless clamour? The Shaykh constantly travels and has now probably gone abroad for recreation. Why have they brought this boy? and why interdicted the house?" The boy was at once released and the prohibition against the house removed. The breeze of favour now blew upon that dwelling. Since some difficulties were in the way and apprehension was uppermost and various rumours contradicted the above, we fugitives disbelieving it remained in concealment. The base villains covered with confusion now thought that as their victims were without house and home, this was the time to carry out their designs and that some dark-minded miscreants should be engaged to kill them wherever they met them, lest they should learn what had happened and introduce themselves to the royal court and secure justice by the lustre of their talents. Concealing, therefore, the answer of the King, they put forth some alarming and awe-inspiring language as though uttered by his august lips and thus terrified unsuspecting and time-serving friends. And they issued some plausible documents misleading men into wrong conclusions and thus held them back from intended assistance. After a week, the master of the house too becoming discouraged, began to be vexatious and his servants discontinued their former civility. The minds of the fugitives were under apprehension, and their agitated hearts were convinced that the first report had no foundation, that the King was investigating and the world in pursuit, and that the master of the house would undoubtedly surrender them. An exceeding grief overwhelmed them and a great fear entered their hearts. I said: "Judging for myself, of this much I am assured that the original rumour is correct, otherwise they would not have released my brother nor would the guards over our house have been removed. May not this supposed incivility [P. 270] be only outward? In a time of security whenever an ill

rumour was heard, even good men, led away by it, rose against us; now if a man like the master of the house, is afraid, what is there to wonder at? and if he intended to apprehend us, there would have been no change in his outward demeanour and he would not have delayed. The fabrications of malevolent reprobates have undoubtedly bewildered him and have induced his men to this, so that seeing this discourtesy we should leave the house and relieve his mind of anxiety." Thus reflecting we were somewhat recovered and set ourselves to devise some plan, and a dark day dawned more distressful than the first night, and gloomy was the prospect before us. They applauded both my first opinion and this statement of my views and recognized me as a counsellor and trusted adviser and overlooking my youth they promised not to oppose my advice in future.

[Wanderings of the persecuted Shaikh Mubārak and his sons—the dangers and privations they underwent when fleeing from the bigoted heresy-hunters.]

When evening drew on, with hearts filled with a thousand anxieties and wounded bosoms and minds oppressed with sorrow, we went forth from that dreadful abode of woe, without a helper in sight, with fainting limbs, no place of refuge visible nor any prospect of peace. On a sudden in that gloomy haunt of demons, a flash shone and gladness smiled again. The house of one of the disciples appeared in sight and there for a while we rested. Although his abode was darker than his heart and his heart blacker than our first night, we reposed a while and recovered from bewilderment; but though at the end of our resources and in the depths of depression, our minds continued active and our thoughts were roused to reflection. As we found no place of rest and nothing to comfort us I remarked that we had of late seen all that our best friends and oldest pupils and most steadfast disciples would do for us. The most advisable course to pursue was now to take ourselves away from this city of

hypocrisy which was a dungeon inimical to learning and injurious to perfection, and to withdraw from these double-faced friends and unstable acquaintances whose loyalty rests on the breeze of spring and their performance on a rushing torrent. Perhaps a corner of privacy might be obtained and a stranger take us under his protection. There we might learn somewhat of the condition of His Majesty and discover the measure of his anger or clemency. It was possible to fall in with some kindly and upright friends and get a savour of the state of the times. If the occasion be favourable and fortune propitious we may again see better days, and if not, why the expanse of the world has not been contracted. Every bird has its perch and the corner of its nest and there is no commission of perpetual residence in this region of penalty. A certain noble, having obtained an assignment of land in the neighbourhood of the city had here settled; we might decipher the impressions of truth from the daily journal of his circumstances and the odour of his friendship be inhaled by the sense of a penetrating brain. Let us therefore abandoning all else, betake ourselves to him that we may repose somewhat in that inaccessible spot. Although the amity of worldlings has no fixed centre or constancy, there is this much at least that he has no further intercourse with those people. My good brother, changing his garments, set out at once on the road and hastened in that direction. Our friend was delighted at the news [P. 271] and cordially welcomed our advent as a piece of good fortune. And since it was a time of insecurity, he brought some soldiers[16] with him so that no harm could come to us on the road and we should not be at the mercy of evil-disposed pursuers. In the midnight of despair that ready and vigilant friend arrived and conveyed the good tidings of comfort and brought the message of repose. On the instant we changed our garments

[16] Lit. Turks, but I apprehend the meaning is any guard of armed men. They were probably Mughals.

and started on our journey and by divers roads arrived at his dwelling. He displayed great geniality and did us the highest service and an exceeding contentment was the harbinger of our happiness. For ten days we rested in his house and were safe from the warfare of the world, when suddenly a disaster more overwhelming than the preceding fell upon us from the firmament of fate. For, verily, the man was summoned to the royal court, and with the same strong potation with which the second man had been intoxicated, they finished this one's business and he became more hopelessly drunk than the former. He straightway rolled up the parchment of acquaintance.

One night, leaving that place we came to another friend. He welcomed our auspicious arrival as a privilege. But as he lived in the vicinity of an evil-disposed and turbulent person, he fell into great bewilderment and exceeding anxiety nearly drove him distracted. When the house was all asleep, we set forth without any definite destination in prospect and however much we thought and pondered we found no resting place and therefore with an agitated heart and minds oppressed with sorrow, we returned to his house. Strangely enough the men of the house were not aware that we had left it. For a short space we who had severed the cord of reliance on God, took repose and thus forgot our troubles. My brother expressed his opinion that our leaving the place was an impulse of fear not a counsel of wisdom. However much I represented to him that the man's vacillation was a sufficient guide and the change of manner in his servants a clear proof, it was of no avail and as the signs of dissatisfaction in our host increased, no other remedy was at hand. When that light-headed, improvident and overreaching individual reflected in his mind that these people ignorant of the inconvenience they cause, will take no hint and will not vacate the house, at daybreak without taking counsel with us or saying a kind word, he marched off and his venal servitors loading

their tents took their departure. Here were we three left stranded in the wilds, in the neighbourhood of which a cattle-market had been established. A strange predicament it was —no place to abide in—no idea of whither to go—and no veil to conceal us. On every side were double-faced friends, determined enemies, base and cruel men, and time-servers banded together in pursuit, and we sitting in the dust of helplessness, in a wilderness without shelter, with gloomy prospects, in present distress and sunk in prolonged grief. However, in any case it was necessary to rise and proceed. Through that concourse of miscreants we passed on; the protection of God hung a veil before the eyes of men, and under the divine assistance and guard we went forth from that place of terror, and abandoning the fears of companionship and all trust in men, we escaped from the reproach of strangers and the God-speed of friends. We happened to come upon a garden where some kind of refuge offered itself. Our lost vigour returned and our hearts were greatly strengthened. And now it suddenly became manifest that some of our graceless pursuers frequented the place. Wearied with our search we rested for a while. Then [P. 272] with minds distracted and outwardly woebegone we came forth. In whatever direction we went, some unforeseen calamity filled us with gloom and our places were scarcely warm ere we set forth again in the wilderness of danger, until at length in this restless wandering and blind vagrancy the gardener recognised us and our condition became desperate. We were nigh expiring and resigning the bond of life. That good man with many expressions of good will restored our drooping spirits and charitably took us to his house and endeavoured to console us. Although my dear brother was still in the same wretched state and every moment grew paler, my spirits on the contrary rose. I read the signs of probity in the countenance of that genial person. My venerable father himself in communion with God was on the prayer-carpet of prudence

and watched the course of events. Some part of the night had passed when the master of the gardener came forward with great cordiality and lengthened the tongue of reproval saying, "What! with such a friend as I am here, do you alight in this place of confusion! Why have you plucked your skirts from me?" and he acted in a manner which we could not have anticipated. I answered: "In this storm, which is according to an enemy's desire, we sought withdrawal from all our sincere friends and loyal well-wishers lest any injury befall them on this account." He was somewhat confused and said: "If you are not contented to stay in my house, let us see what can be done." He indicated to us a place of safety; the appearances of sincerity were evident from his language and following his wish, we chose a quiet nook and there alighted. We found here a retreat such as we desired, and from that place we despatched truthful accounts to people of just and commendable dispositions and to faithful friends, and each one became cognizant of our condition and set about remedying it and thus our pulses were quieted.

[A noble intercedes for Shaikh Mubārak. Akbar summons the Shaikh to his presence.]

We remained a little more than a month in that restful place and my good brother went from Agra to Fathpur, meaning when he reached the royal camp, to make our devoted partisans more zealous in our behalf. One morning that all-loving and circumspect soul returned with a thousand anxieties and troubles, bringing distressing news. It seems that one of the chief nobles and grey-beard elders of the imperial court on the information of these envious wretches, became furious, and without soliciting the usual permission or paying his submissive respects, entered the presence of Majesty with brusqueness and roughly said, "Has the world come to an end or is the day of resurrection at hand that in this court malicious fanatics have their way and good men are confounded? What ordinance is this that we have;

and what ingratitude is this now shown?" My brother who loved peace, acknowledging his good intentions said, "To whom dost thou allude and what dost thou want of this person? Hast thou seen a vision? or is thy brain distracted?" When he mentioned the name, His Majesty was surprised at his wrong impression and said: "All the chief men of the day seem determined to persecute and do him to death and have passed judicial decrees against him. They give me no peace (P. 273) for a moment. Although I know that the Shaykh is in such and such a place (mentioning our retreat), I purposely take no notice of it, and I answer each one of them with a rebuke. Thou art clamorous without knowing and dost overstep due limits. Let some one go to-morrow morning and summon the Shaykh to the presence and an assembly of the divines shall be held." My good brother as soon as he heard of this disturbance came post-hate, and without any one's knowing, as before, we changed our clothes and set out and an anxiety more painful than on any previous occasion of disappointment, filled our minds with misgiving. Although it was in some degree evident how far people were in accord with us and what representations had been made by them to His Majesty and the extent of his knowledge of our circumstances,—knowledge that could read the invisible—nevertheless a greater apprehension disquieted us. Without our host's being aware, that very morning we began our journey. The blazing light of the sun, the dark plots of the wicked, the crush in the streets of the city, the movements of the spies, the absence of friends, the lack of these to share our burdens—what power has a pen of wood to tell but a fraction of this situation? and where even eloquent lips would stammer, what craft can lie in its divided tongue? At last with many heart-sinkings we turned into unbeaten tracks and escaped in some measure the turmoil of the city and the eyes of enemies.

[Painful wanderings of Shaikh Mubārak and his sons

in search of a safe refuge—no friend bold enough to shelter them—their privations and residence in hiding.]

Since the condescension of His Majesty had newly become manifest, we now proposed to get together some horses and from those wilds to hasten on to the city of auspiciousness and alight at the residence of a certain person of whose integrity we had had long experience. Then perchance this turmoil might abate and the King put forth the hand of clemency. Of necessity, then, like prudent men, we prepared the requisites of travel and on a night darker than the minds of the envious and more protracted than the machinations of the vain of speech, we set out on the road. Withal the inexperience of the guide and his crooked proceedings, in the dawn of morning we arrived at that gloomy place. Our not very cordial host though he did not deny us, yet told such a tale of discomfiture as cannot be expressed, and by way of consideration for us said that the occasion had now passed and that His Majesty's august mind was somewhat irritated; had we come before, there would have been no detriment and our difficulties would easily have been overcome: that he could point out a village, in the neighbourhood, in the obscurity of which we might pass a few days until the hallowed pleasure of the King might incline to favour. Putting us into a conveyance he sent us off in that direction. We became a prey to a variety of sorrows. When we reached the spot, the land-proprietor in dependence on whom we had been sent, was absent. We alighted without a shelter in that ruin in the midst of civilization. The overseer had occasion to read a document and discovering the signs of intelligence in our appearance, he sent for us. As we were pressed for time we hurried along the road of refusal and it shortly appeared that this village belonged to one of those said stony-hearted miscreants. The man in his stupidity had sent us here. With much disquietude and full of anxiety we flung ourselves out of the

place and taking an unknown guide we made for a village in the dependency of the capital city of Agra whence some savour of friendliness had reached us. Travelling for three *kos*, on the same day by devious paths we reached our destination. That good man shewed us every courtesy, but it was discovered that there also one of those vain schemers had a farm and that at times he visited the place. Retiring [P. 274] thence, at midnight with downcast hearts we set out for the city and reaching Agra, the capital, at daybreak we discovered the abode of a (supposed) friend. Here for a space in this dust-heap of disappointment and dormitory of oblivion, this place of depravity abounding in demons, this defile of ignorance, we reposed, but it was not long before he began to speak of those malevolent enemies of God and shameless intriguers. In the companionship as we were, of such a lying, crazed and quarrelsome fanatic, our minds were verily oppressed by a new grief and exceeding bewilderment. And since our feet were worn with tramping, our heads with thoughts of night-travel, our ears with the sound of "come in", and our eyes with the pricking of sleeplessness, an extraordinary anguish filled our spirits and a weight of grief was in stewardship of our hearts. Of necessity we thought of other plans and the master of the house also, occupied himself in finding a place for us.

[A good householder kindly entertains Mubārak and his sons of two months, while they seek for some friend at Court who would speak for them to the Emperor. Mubārak and Faizi are presented to Akbar.]

Two days we spent in this interior agitation, and passed the hours in thinking each moment was our last until the recollection of a certain well-disposed person occurred to the saintly mind of that serene sage (my father), and by the aid of the master of the house and his assiduous search he was discovered and a thousand happy announcements brought us security. Straightway we went to that abode of peace and

received comfort from the cordiality and genial reception of its master. The breeze of prosperity now blew upon the garden of our hopes and the face of our circumstances was newly refreshed. Although he was not one of the infallible guides to truth, he possessed a large share of virtue. In obscurity he lived with good repute; he was rich though possessing little, cheerful in his poverty, and though old in years, youth shone from his aspect. We here had a delightful retreat and we again began our correspondence and sought to repair our fortunes.

For two months we continued to abide in this home of comfort and the door of our desire was unclosed. Well-wishers seeking justice came to our rescue and men of experience and high position girt themselves in our aid. With speech of persuasive friendliness and sweet words of reconciliation they won over the seditious intriguers and ignoble wrong-doers, and next they brought before His Majesty the exemplary conduct of the Shaykh and made their representations in an engaging and conciliatory spirit. His Majesty in his foresight and knowledge of character, vouchsafed the most gracious answers and in his generous impulse and magnanimity desired his attendance. As I was inexperienced in worldly affairs, I did not accompany him, and that illumined sage with my elder brother set the face of supplication to the royal court. At once the hornets' nest of the ungrateful was quiet. The disturbed world was at peace. The courses of instruction and the quiet sanctuary of holy recollection were established as before, and the age again displayed the ways of the just.

Love's quarrels of the past, O night, bring never back their pain,
Nor secrets of the heart reveal as yesterday again,
For wearily the hours crept by, thou knowest, with lagging feet,
But give, O, give me back the days of love and union sweet.

[Shaikh Mubārak gives spiritual teaching to young Abul Fazl—takes him to join a party of divines on a grand pilgrimage to the saints' tombs around Delhi, though he disapproved of such ostentation and mystic ecstacies. Abul Fazl comes out of his school-boy seclusion into busy society.]

About this time my venerable father went on a pilgrimage to holy Delhi and took me with him, accompanied by some of the disciples of his saintly conferences. Since the time he had taken up his abode in the metropolis he was so much absorbed in spiritual contemplation in that hermitage of light that he had had no leisure to observe the marvels of the earth. Suddenly this desire took possession of his heart and he loosened the skirt of resolve, and honouring me with unique consideration, he made me, who over and above the earthly bonds of sonship was attached by spiritual ties, a partaker of his secret.

To recount briefly; once at early dawn, when his heart was lifted up to heaven and he was upon the carpet of praise and supplication, between sleeping and waking, Khwājah Qutbuddin U'shi and Nizāmu'ddin Awliyā appeared to him, and upon this numerous divines gathered together and a conference was held for consultation as to what it was advisable to do, and it was proposed to visit their tombs by way of propitiation (of the spirits of the two saints) immediately and there perform a religious ceremonial after their ordinances.[17] My venerable father after the manner of his saintly ancestors, preserved an exact outward decorum and indulged not in the hearing of songs nor the vanity of silk attire, and did not approve of the ecstasies of music and dance affected by the Sufis. He spoke against the followers of this practice and he used constantly to say that on the assumption of the in-

[17] The text (p. 275) reads *bazm-i-masālihat ārāstah āmad*, which Jarrett translates as "a feast of reconciliation was celebrated". I suggest the emendation *maslihat* (=advice, consultation) and take *bazm* to be Abul Fazl's usual bombast for an ordinary meeting. My other changes here are consequential. (J. Sarkar.)

difference between rich and poor, praise and blame, earth and gold, which was one of the principles on which this system proceeded, it contained within itself the volatility of unrest and he regarded it as a place of blacksliding unto the wise. He commanded a rigid abstention therefrom, withdrew from it himself and restrained his friends. But, in truth, on this night, these slumberers on the couch of vigilance who looked on this ceremony as they would on their last journey, went into such exhaustive proof of the innocence of their intention and the morality of the act that they carried away the concurrence of my father. In that happy journey many of the tombs of those who sleep in that land of roses were passed, and hearts were filled with light, and blessings were vouchsafed (whereof if the narrative were detailed, men would regard it as an idle fiction and in suspicion might impute the stain of sin), until I was carried from the hermitage of seclusion to the court of wordly intercourse and the gate of prosperity was opened and I obtained the summit of distinction. The condition of the inebriate with greed and those who were a prey to envy became gloomy and my heart was pained and compassionated their confusion. I made a steadfast vow to the Almighty and I promised myself that the wronging of these blind souls who are as a lamp without light and an invisible sign, should be effaced from the path of my upright heart and I would allow no feeling but kindness to enter therein. By the aid of the grace of God I enforced this resolve and gained new satisfaction and my mind new vigour. Men abandoning evil-doing took to sociability and drew the breath of repose. My venerable father occupied himself in admonition and exposed the quarrelsomeness, the crooked ways, the untruth and the unworthiness of men and enjoined the chastisement of evil-doers. I was inclined to be reticent about speaking of these close secrets and was ashamed to reply to my venerable father. Eventually I was compelled to represent what had

happened to him to His Majesty and relieved the ebullition of my father's spirit. Many of his anxieties were now relieved and his long open wounds were healed.

[P. 276] To make a long story short, when the imperial standards advanced to the capital of Lahore for reasons of state, and my heart was sore at parting from that preceptor of truth, in the thirty-second year of the reign, corresponding with the lunar year 995 (A.D. 1586-87), I invited his gracious visit. On the 23rd of the 3rd month (Khurdād) of the Divine Era and the thirty-second year of the reign, coinciding with Saturday, the 6th of Rajab of the above lunar year (31st May, 1586), that knower of all things material and spiritual fulfilling my desire, cast the shadow of his beneficence on me who though engaged in the world preferred solitude, and honoured me by special kindnesses. He ever found delight in seclusion, and renouncing all else passed his days in self introspection and in the renovation of the ever-capricious spirit.

Inasmuch as he troubled himself little about worldly knowledge, his conversation was always regarding the essence and attributes of God and he took heedful warning and led an independent life apart and gathered the skirts of liberation of spirit until his august health lost its elementary equilibrium. Although he had often suffered in the same way before, he learnt on this occasion, that it was his last journey and summoning this bewildered creature addressed me in words of salutary advice and went through the last obligations of farewell. As all that he said was between us alone and he shared with me in confidence his inmost thoughts, I kept down my anguish of heart and with many efforts commanded some self-restraint and by the miraculous efficacy of that leader in the world of sanctity, to some extent was calm. After seven days, in full consciousness and at the very dawn of the 24th of the 5th month (*Amurdād*) of the Divine Era, on the 17th of Zi'lqaadah, A.H. 1001[18] (Tuesday,

4th August, 1593) he passed into the gardens of paradise. The luminary of the firmament of knowledge became obscured and the light of an understanding that knew God grew dim. The back of Learning was bowed and the days of Wisdom itself passed away. Jupiter withdrew his robe from his head and Mercury destroyed his pen.[19]

Gone from the world is he its peerless sage
That to its gaze oped Wisdom's heavenly page.
Where shall his orphaned kin such marvel find,
The Adam and Messiah of his kind!

This has been to some extent evidenced in what has gone before.

[Abul Fazl's birth—his early intellectual brilliancy—diversified education—hard study for ten years.]

As I have now recounted somewhat of my ancestors, I proceed to say a few words regarding myself and thus unburden my mind, in order to refresh this narrative and loosen the bonds of my tongue. In the year 473 of the Jalāli era, corresponding to the night of Sunday, the 6th of Muharram 958 of the lunar reckoning (14th January 1551), my pure spirit joined to this elemental body came forth from the womb into this fair expanse of the world. At a little over one year I had the miraculous gift of fluent speech and at five years of age I had acquired an unusual stock of information [P. 277] and could both read and write. At the age of seven I became the treasurer of my father's stores of knowledge and a trusty keeper of the jewels of hidden meaning and as a serpent,[20] guarded the treasure. And it was strange

[18] In the Biography of Abul Fazl (Vol. I. xviii) Blochmann gives the date as the 4th September, but this cannot be, as the year 1001 began on Monday, 28th September 1592, and Zi'l Hijjah follows Zi'lqaadah.

[19] The office of Jupiter in the Oriental planetary system is supposed to be that of a Qāzi, and the robe represents his official dignity. Mercury is the heavenly scribe.

[20] The Oriental legend of the fabulous guardianship of buried treasure by a serpent has its parallel in the myth of the Hesperides.

that by a freak of fortune my heart was disinclined, my will ever averse, and my disposition repugnant to conventional learning and the ordinary courses of instruction. Generally I could not understand them. My father in his way conjured with the spell of knowledge and taught me a little of every branch of science, and although my intelligence grew, I gained no deep impressions from the school of learning. Sometimes I understood nothing at all, at others doubts suggested themselves which my tongue was incapable of explaining. Either shame made me hesitate or I had not the power of expression. I used to weep in public and put all the blame upon myself. In this state of things I came into fellowship of mind with a congenial helper and my spirit recovered from that ignorance and incomprehension. Not many days had elapsed before his conversation and society induced me to go to college and there they restored to rest my bewildered and dissipated mind and by the wondrous working of destiny they took me away and brought another back.

The temple as I entered, drew they nigh
And brought their gift, a wine-cup brimming high.
Its strength snatched all my senses, self from self,
Wherein some other entered and not I.

The truths of philosophy and the subtleties of the schools now appeared plain, and a book which I had never before seen gave me a clearer insight than any thing I could read. Although I had a special gift which came down upon me from the throne of holiness, yet the inspirations of my venerable father and his making me commit to memory the essential elements of every branch of science, together with the unbroken continuity of this chain, were of immense help, and became one of the most important causes of my enlightenment. For ten years longer I made no distinction between night and day, teaching and learning, and recognized no difference between satiety and hunger, nor discriminated

between privacy and society, nor had I the power to dissever pain from pleasure. I acknowledged nothing else but the bond of demonstration and the tie of knowledge. Those who had a regard for my constitution, from seeing that two and sometimes three days passed without my taking food, and that my studious spirit had no inclination therefor, were amazed, and stood out strongly against it. I answered that my withdrawal was now a matter of habit and custom, and how was it that no one was astonished when the natural inclination of a sick man on an attack of illness was averse from food. If therefore my love of study induced forgetfulness, where was the wonder? Most of the current arguments of the schools, frequently misquoted and misunderstood when heard, and abstruse questions from ancient works, had been presented to the fresh tablet of my mind. Before these points had been elucidated and the attribution to me of extreme ignorance had passed to that of transcendent knowledge, I had taken objection to ancient writers, and men learning my youth, dissented, and my mind was troubled and my inexperienced heart was in agitation. Once in the early part of my career they brought the gloss of Khwājah Abu'l Qāsim, on the *Mutawwal*.[21] All that I had stated before learned doctors and divines of which [P. 278] some of my friends had taken notes, was there found, and those present were astounded and withdrew their dissent, and began to regard me with other eyes and to raise the wicket of misunderstanding and to open the gate of comprehension. In my early days of study, the gloss of Isfahāni more than half of which had

[21] *Commentarius longior*, the name of a celebrated commentary of Saadu'ddin Masaud-b-U'marat-Taftāzāni (died A.H. 792, A.D. 1389) on the *Talkhisu'l Miftāh* of Shaykh and Imam Jalālu'ddin Mahmud-b-'Abdu'r Rahmān al-Qazwini ash-Shāfiai (died A.H. 739, A.D. 1338). The latter work is on the analysis of grammatical signification and the explanatory science, *i.e.*, rhetoric. Hāji Khalifah devotes several pages to its detail and the glosses that have been written on it and on its commentary, the Mutawwal. That referred to the text is by Abu'l Qāsim-b-Abi Bakr al-Laithi as-Samarqandi.

been eaten by white ants, came under my observation. The public being in despair at profiting by it, I removed the parts that had been eaten and joined blank paper to the rest. In the serene hours of morning, with a little reflection, I discovered the beginnings and endings of each fragment and conjecturally penned a draft text which I transcribed on the paper. In the meanwhile the entire work was discovered, and when both were compared, in two or three places only were there found differences of words, though synonymous in meaning; and in three or four others, (differing) citations but approximate in sense. All were astounded.

[Abul Fazl's strange mental disturbance at the age of twenty.]

The more my will was engaged, the more my mind was illumined. At the age of twenty the good tidings of my independence reached me. My mind cast off its former bonds and my early bewilderment recurred. With a parade of much learning, the intoxication of youth effervescing, the skirts of pretension spread wide, and the world-displaying cup of wisdom in my hand, the ringings of delirium began to sound in my ears, and suggested a total withdrawal from the world. Meanwhile the wise prince-regnant called me to mind and drew me from my obscurity, somewhat of which I have in its entirety and somewhat but approximately suggested and acknowledged. Here my coin has been tested and its full weight passed into currency. Men now view me with a different regard, and many effusive speeches have been made amid felicitous congratulations evoked.

On this day which is the last of the 42nd year of His Majesty's reign (A.D. 1598), my spirit again breaks away from its yoke and a new solicitude arises within me.

My songster heart knows not King David's strains:

Let it go free—'tis no bird for a cage.

I know not how it will all end nor in what resting-place my last journey will have to be made, but from the beginning

of my existence until now the grace of God has continuously kept me under its protection. It is my firm hope that my last moments may be spent in doing His will and that I may pass unburdened to eternal rest.

[Thirty-two ways in which Abul Fazl has derived benefits from the grace of God.]

As the enumeration of the benefits of God is one way of expressing gratitude therefor, I here set down a few of these and invigorate my spirit:—

The *first* blessing which I possessed was in belonging to a noble family. It may be hoped that the virtue of my ancestors may atone for my unworthiness and prove a restoration in allaying the turbulence of my spirit, as pain by medicine, fire by water, heat by cold, and a lover by the sight of his beloved.

The *second*, the prosperity of the age and the general security of the times. As eminent men of old have belauded the justice of strangers, what wonder if I glory in the puissance of the monarch of the visible and invisible worlds.

The *third*, the happy fortune that brought me from the womb of fate into so happy a time when the august shadow of majesty has fallen upon me. [P. 279]

The *fourth*, my noble birth on both sides. Somewhat of my father has already been said. What shall I write of her, (my mother), the fragrance of chastity? She possessed all the noble qualities of men and always adorned her precious hours with good works. She united modesty with strength of character, and her words were in accord with her deeds.

The *fifth*, soundness of limbs, proportionate balance of powers and their conformity.

The *sixth*, a long ministering unto those two blessed personages. It was a fortress against outward and inward disasters, and a fence against material and spiritual calamities.

The *seventh*, excellent health, and the antidote of bodily vigour.

The *eighth*, a good house.

The *ninth*, freedom from care as to means, and happy circumstances.

The *tenth*, a daily increasing delight in doing the will of my parents.

The *eleventh*, the kindness of a father which beyond the ambition of the times loaded me with many bounties and distinguished me as the true patriarch of his house.

The *twelfth*, prayerfulness at the throne of God.

The *thirteenth*, imploring the favours of pious ascetics and true seekers of wisdom.

The *fourteenth*, a perpetual guiding grace.

The *fifteenth*, the collection of books on sciences. Without dishonourable curiosity I became acquainted with the tenets of all creeds, and my spirit was weary of their multitude.

The *sixteenth*, the constant incitement to study on the part of my father and his restraining me from dissipating thoughts.

The *seventeenth*, virtuous companions.

The *eighteenth*, a material love, ordinarily the disturber of households and an earthquake of moral obligations, guided me to the goal of perfection. This wonder fills me every moment with a new astonishment and from time to time I am lost in amazement.

The *nineteenth*, the service of His Majesty which is a new birth and fresh happiness.

The *twentieth*, the recovery from my arrogant presumption through the grace of His Majesty's service.

The *twenty-first*, attaining to a perfect peace through blessings of the august condescension. For some turned from speech to silence; others [P. 280] joined in harmony with the upright of all sects, and for the remaining evil-doers, their penitence being accepted, a reconciliation was brought about. May Almighty God remove the impressions of evil by the rays of knowledge.

The *twenty-second*, my spiritual intercourse with the King of all those that know God.

The *twenty-third*, the raising of me up by His wise Majesty and the bestowal upon me of his confidence without the recommendation of men or my own seeking.

The *twenty-fourth*, the possession of brethren wise, virtuous, and seeking the pleasure of others.

[His brothers.]

Of my eldest brother what shall I say? who notwithstanding his spiritual and worldly perfections, took no step without my concurrence, indiscreet as I am, and devoting himself to my interests, advanced my promotion and was an aid to good intentions. In his poems he speaks of me in a manner which I cannot sufficiently acknowledge, as he savs in his Eulogium:

My verse may share both great and little worth,
Its theme sublime—I lowlier than the earth.
A father's virtues shall it far proclaim
And vaunt the glory of a brother's fame:
He, touchstone of all wisdom, who inspires
My strain with sweetness that a world admires;
If through a riper age, I pass him by,
In merit, centuries between us lie.
What though the branching savin taller grows,
What gardener mates its beauty with the rose?

He was born in the Jalāli year 469, corresponding to A.H. 954 (A.D. 1547). In what tongue shall I indite his praise? In this work I have already written of him[22] and poured forth the anguish of my heart, and quenched its furnace with the water of narration and broken the dam of its torrents and alleviated my want of resignation. His works which are the scales of eloquence and penetration and the lawns of the birds of song, praise him and speak his perfections and recall his virtues.

[22] See Vol. I. p. 548.

Another was Shaykh Abu'l Barakāt. He was born on the night of the 6th of *Mihr Māh* (September) of the Jalāli year 475, corresponding to the night of the 17th Shawwāl, A.H. 960 (25th September 1553). Although he has not attained to any high distinction in learning, he has nevertheless a considerable share of erudition, and in knowledge of affairs and as a military leader and for his practical sagacity he is considered one of the foremost. He is especially distinguished for his goodness of disposition, his reverence for holy men, and his benevolence.

Another was Shaykh Abu'l Khayr. He was born on the 10th of *Isfandārmus* (February) in the fourth year of His Majesty's reign, corresponding to Monday, the 22nd of Jumāda I., A.H. 967 (18th February 1560). The highest morals and most excellent qualities distinguished his disposition. He understood the temper of the times and kept his tongue like all his other members under the command of reason.

[P. 281] The next was Shaykh Abu'l Makārim. His birth took place on the night of the 1st of *Urdibihisht* (April) in the 14th year of His Majesty's reign, corresponding to Monday, the 23rd of Shawwāl, A.H. 976 (9th April 1569). Although at first he was a little unruly, the miraculous efficacy of my venerable father's will brought him back to the path of duty and rectitude and he read much of philosophy and tradition under that discerner of the mysteries of the spiritual and material worlds. Somewhat before his study of the ancient philosophers he read with Amir Fath u'llah Shirāzi.[23] He walks with circumspection and I trust he may reach the goal of his desire.

The next was Shaykh Abu Turāb. He was born on the 1st of *Bahman Māh* (January), in the 29th year of the reign corresponding to Friday, 23rd of Zi'l Hijjah, A.H. 988 (27th

[23] See Vol. I. p. 33. Vol. II. p. 30.

January 1581). Although he was by another mother, he has the happiness of being admitted to court and occupies himself in the acquisition of all perfections.

The next was Shaykh Abu'l Hāmid. He was born on the 6th of *Day Māh* (December) the 30th of the reign, corresponding to Monday the 3rd Rabii' II., A.H. 1002 (17th December 1593).

The next was Shaykh Abu Rāshid. He was born on the 5th of *Bahman Māh i Ilāhi* (January), the 23rd year of the reign corresponding with Monday, 1st of Jumāda I of the same year (12th January 1594).

Although these (last) two scions of the house of prosperity are of concubines, they bear on their countenances the marks of good breeding. That illustrious sage when informed of their coming birth, fixed the names they were to bear. Before they were born he died. I hope that through his inestimable prayers, fortune may wait on happiness and that they may become the recipients of numerous favours.

Although my elder brother is dead and has thrown the world into mourning, I pray that the other nurslings of joy may attain to long life in glad prosperity and the fruition both of this world and the next and be blessed with good things temporal and spiritual.

The *twenty-fifth*, my marriage into an honourable house and a family distinguished for learning and the respect in which it was held. This gave my outward person credit and was as a leading rein to my unruly spirit; Hindu, Kashmiri and Persian wives were occasions of great joy to me.

The *twenty-sixth*, the blessing of a dear and virtuous son. He was born on the night of the 18th of *Day Māh* (December) in the 16th year of the reign, corresponding to Monday night, the 12th Shabān 979 (29th December 1571). My father named him Abdu'r Rahmān. Although he is of Hindustani extraction, he has the Greek temperament and is fond of study, has much experience of the good and evil

of life, and his countenance displays the marks of a happy fortune. His Majesty has allied him in marriage with his foster family.[24]

[P. 282] The *twenty-seventh*, the sight of a grandson. On the night of the 30th of the month of *Amurdād Māh i Ilāhi* in the 30th year of the reign corresponding with Friday, 3rd Zi'l Qaadah 999 (13th August 1591), in an auspicious moment, this child of happy destiny appeared and the favour of God became manifest. His Majesty gave this sapling in the garden of felicity the name of Bishutan. It is my hope that he may be blessed with the highest perfections of nature and grace and attain to the fruition of eternal bliss.

The *twenty-eighth*, a love for the study of moral treatises.

The *twenty-ninth*, the knowledge of the rational soul. For many years I had studied the principles of ontology and physics and had conversed much with the professors of these two sciences and all the proofs by indagation and evidence, inductive and occular, had come under my observation. Still the path of doubt remained unclosed and my mind was not satisfied. By the blessing of faith this difficulty was solved and I became convinced that the rational soul is a subtile divine essence separate from the body, having, however, a peculiar union with this elemental form.

The *thirtieth*, that from high principle, the awe of the great in place has never withheld me from speaking the truth nor interfered with my pursuit of knowledge and light, nor the fear of ruin to property, life and reputation made me falter in this resolution; thus my course has run on like a flowing stream.

The *thirty-first*, indifference to wordly considerations.

The *thirty-second*, the grace to complete this work. Although the motive of this divine book is the praise of God which I have proclaimed with a tongue under the spell of

[24] "Akbar married him to the daughter of Saādat Yār Kokah's brother." Blochmann, Vol. I. xxxv.

a daily increasing felicity and gratitude for His favours expressed by the language of my pen, nevertheless it is the fountain head of various knowledge and a mine of wisdom to many. To industrious workers it is a guide, and the triflers and gay will find their portion therein. To youth it will be a source of pleasure, to manhood a cause of pride. The stricken in years will there find the experience of ages, and those who lavish the silver and the gold of this world will therein recognise the ordinances of manly fortitude. To the jewel of perspicacity it is a glad weighing-place; to the grasses of freedom, a fertile soil. It is the wicket of the laboratory of skill for the morn of felicity, the deep sea of creation's gem. The favored who seek for fame will in it find the road thereto, and the godly who pursue truth will rejoice in the custody of the volume of their deeds. Merchants of every kind of ware will learn the ways of profit, and champions in the arena of valour will read therein the tablets of heroism. Those who mortify the flesh for the edification of the spirit will take therefrom the institutes of virtue, and the blessed and sincere of heart will gather thence treasures without end, while those who repose in the pleasant vales of truth will by its means attain to their desire.

A wondrous work herein behold
That wisdom's treasures all enfold;
So fair upon its page they show
That he who reads shall wiser grow.

These various benefits announce the good tidings which my heart hears in gladness that the conclusion of my task will make for goodness and avail me unto everlasting bliss.

[Abul Fazl was both hated and admired.] [P. 283]

Although the son of Mubārak is at the present time the object of resentment and held up as a warning to mankind, and a strife of love and hate is kindled in his regard, the worshippers of God who seek truth give him the name

of Abu'l Wahdat,[25] and account him a unique servant of the Supreme Giver. The valourous in the field of bravery style him Abu'l Himmat and deem him one of the wonders of carnal self-denial. Wisdom proclaims him Abul-Fitrat, and considers him a choice specimen of that sublime house. In the writings of the vulgar herd which are noisy dens of ignorance, some attribute wordliness to him and hold him to be one of those plunged into this whirlpool, while others regard him as given up to scepticism and apostacy, and band together in reproof and condemnation.

Of me a hundred fictions rumoured fly,
And the world stares if I a word reply.

God be praised that I am not moved from these honourable dispositions by watching the strange vicissitudes of life, nor turn from well-wishing both to those who blame and those who commend, and defile not my tongue with reproof or praise.

The dullard's eye to sterling merit dim,
True ring of minted gold tells nought to him.
Worth must from noble souls unhidden blaze,
As from the moon her light, from Jupiter his rays.

[25] The Father of Unity, *i.e.*, professing the unity of God, instead of Abu'l Fazl, the father of bounty. Abu'l Himmat signifies the father of resolution, and Abu'l Fitrat, the father of understanding.

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ISBN 81-86142-24-X (Set)
ISBN 81-86142-25-8 (Vol. I)
ISBN 81-86142-26-6 (Vol. II & III)

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Delhi-110052