

**THE MUGHALS
AND
THE JOGIS OF JAKHBAR**

Some Madad-i-Ma'āsh and Other Documents

by

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With all men peace is surely to be preferred, for if they live in accordance with God's will, to quarrel with them is the height of foolishness; and if they do not, they verily suffer from the malady of ignorance and deserve in fact our compassion.

AKBAR

Quoted by Abul Fazl in the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*.

P R E F A C E

The purpose of this book is to present to the readers a collection of Mughal documents that belong to the *Jogi gaddi* of Jakhbar in the Punjab, and to share with them the excitement of their discovery. In a sense we retain to this day, nearly a year after having come upon these documents, a measure of that excitement, for a detailed examination of these has only deepened our belief in their significance. Discussions with kind and learned friends like Professor Nurul Hasan have persuaded us to believe also in the value of their publication. This publication owes itself then to the encouragement that we have received in the idea of bringing them to wider notice, on the one hand from several friends, especially Dr Nihar-ranjan Ray, Director of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study at Simla, and on the other hand from the enlighten-ed and generous attitude of the Mahant of Jakhbar, Baba Brahm Nath, and his learned disciple and our friend, Mahant Shankar Nath.

The Jakhbar collection is not the only collection of Mughal documents on the subject of endowments of one kind or the other to non-Muslim establishments and individuals; but it is a collection distinguished from the others by its size and range and character. The seventeen documents presented here form a homogeneous group spread evenly over a period of more than two centuries and belonging to the reign of every major Mughal ruler; they also refer to the same *madad-i-ma'āsh* grant, enjoyed, almost undisturbed, over this long period, and in fact to

this day by the Jogis. We thought therefore of publishing these documents in their entirety. And if we appear to have been a little pretentious and tiresome in our presentation of these with a photograph and transcription and translation and annotation of each document, with a generous measure of appendices added, we have, we believe some justification for the weary detail that we inflict upon the reader in the fact that these are offered here essentially as sources for the student of Mughal India. We have drawn relatively few conclusions ourselves, throwing out only some suggestions at places, and have aimed generally at publishing these in as full a manner as possible so that they can be put to more learned use by other scholars.

The only conscious effort we have made to save the reader, especially the general reader, from unbearable tedium, is by providing a short and, we hope, readable introduction, and by reducing to the very minimum such learned things as diacritical marks, retaining them only for unfamiliar words and names, and then following simply the easily accessible scheme that Steingass uses in his *Persian-English Dictionary*.

The deciphering of these documents was easily the most difficult part of our work on them, and the transcriptions given in this volume find their justification, we hope, in the rather unfriendly script of many of the documents. A few minor lacunae are still there and our deciphering may not always be acceptable, but a comparison with the originals is likely to give the reader some idea of the long and anxious hours that we had to devote to the task.

In the preparation of this volume we have received generous help, and our debts are many and deep. The foremost of these we owe of course to the *mahants* of Jakhbar whose magnanimity made it possible for us to

obtain and publish these documents, and whose help in the collection of oral traditions, during our field work at Jakhbar and its neighbourhood, enabled us to piece together even the fragmented picture that we present here of the history of the *gaddi*. Dr Niharranjan Ray associated himself with this project from the very beginning and we have gratefully received consistent support from him, both personally and as the Director of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study. We have had several occasions to consult our friends, Dr Irfan Habib, Mr. I. A. Tirmizi and Mr. B. R. Grover; and they gave us generously of their time and attention. We have also received a great deal of help from Mr. Rashpal Malhotra, Mrs. Swaranjit Mehta, Mrs. Karuna Goswamy, Miss Tripta Wahi, Mr. Gurtej Singh, Miss Indu Banga, Mr. Dharam Paul and Mr. Kewal Anand, to all of whom we owe much gratitude.

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The shrine of the *Jakh*
(The present structure belongs to the early nineteenth century).

INTRODUCTION

THE ESTABLISHMENT

The tiny village which is the home of the Shaiva establishment from which the documents that form the theme of this volume come, bears a very descriptive name: it is called Jakhbar Jogian, "Jakhbar of the Jogis". The first part of the name is explained locally with reference to the small temple of a celebrated and bountiful *Jakh* (Sanskrit, *yaksha*), which is topped by an enormous tree, *bar*, and stands at the eastern edge of the village; the second part refers to the Natha Jogis around whose monastery or *dera* the village has apparently grown. The significance that the village possesses it owes wholly to the Jogis, and neither to its size which is negligible nor to its situation which is obscure. Jakhbar in fact occupies a remote corner¹ at the north western end of the Gurdaspur district of the Punjab which touches on the one hand the state of Jammu and Kashmir and on the other the country of Pakistan. It is approached with a little difficulty, either from the road which connects Gurdaspur with Pathankot or alternatively from that which forms the crude link between Pathankot and the border town of Narot Jaimal Singh. From either direction one has to cover some distance on foot to get to the village.

Around the village of Jakhbar are several villages which share its comparative obscurity but find frequent mention in the papers belonging to the establishment and possess names suggestive sometimes of historical association.

Towards the north² is Sherpur on the Pathankot-Narot Jaimal Singh road; in the north-east is Muradpur with which the Jogis of Jakhbar had a persistent boundary dispute; in the south-east lies the sizeable village of Narot, locally referred to as Narot Mehra which name serves to distinguish it from the other Narot, of Jaimal Singh, and to keep the local population reminded of its connection with Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who is said to have given this name to the village after a not very edifying episode;³ towards the south-west lies Bhoa, still spoken of with reverence at Jakhbar as the original place of this *gaddi* of the Nathas and once almost totally destroyed by the floods, but now a sizeable village; towards the west is Bhagwansar; and towards the north-west are the villages of Sunderchak and Bani Lodi. Not very far from Jakhbar are villages like Aima Mughlan, Kotli Mughlan, Aima Changan and Aima Gujran, the names of which acquire some significance in the context of the Mughal documents of which we treat here. At a distance of a bare two miles, starts the *bet*, old bed, of that indecisive river, the Ravi, made so broad by the river's tendency to inundation and changing its course ever so often.⁴

The village of Jakhbar itself has little of interest outside of the Jogi establishment and the shrine of the *jakh*; it is an overgrown hamlet which clusters around the considerable complex of buildings that house the Jogis. It is dominated by the *dera* of the Jogis much in the same manner, one might think, as the local population is by the Mahant who occupies the Jakhbar *gaddi*. The *dera* is enclosed on its eastern side by an enormous wall of masonry which lends it an air of grandeur not wholly possessed even by the foremost Jogi monasteries elsewhere. The huge gate at one end of the wall is overlooked by a stucco *dvarapala*, stern if somewhat lonely guardian of the establishment,

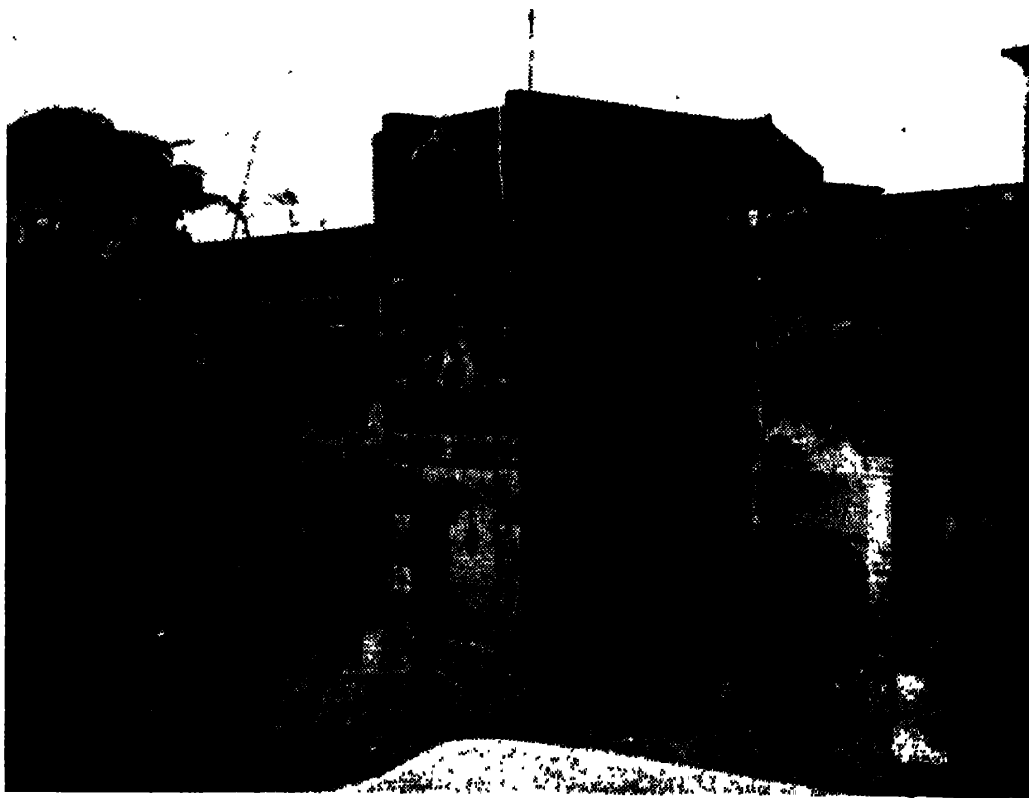
holding rigidly, and appropriately, an English musket, for the date of this part of the construction is said to be the middle of the nineteenth century.

The wall has several extremely interesting designs in what might be called brick-inlay, the elephants and peacocks and chess-players being formed to look like silhouettes with thin black bricks against the usual red ones. Above the gateway and the passage is a set of rooms, now occupied by the junior *mahant*, from which a balcony projects on the vacant space below on what is the tiny square of the village. On the inside one emerges through the passage into an open space at the left of which is a large masonry platform overgrown with flowers: this is the *samadhi* of Baba Udant Nath, the founder of the Jakhbar *gaddi*, and the unusual fact of there being no structure above the rather austere platform is explained by the tradition preserved at Jakhbar that Udant Nath chose the time to "surrender his life" himself and did not die in the normal manner. A little further down in this open space is a covered shed which now houses some cattle but did once serve as the 'chamber' of the *wazirs* of the establishment. The present use to which the structure is being put is appropriately indicative of the low opinion now held at the *dera* of the *wazirs*, for the story is that one of the *wazirs* proved disloyal enough to induce the then Mahant to abolish the very institution of the *wazirs* completely. The *samadhi* and the *wazirs'* chamber are features which, among others, proclaim the true character of a Jogi monastic establishment of some magnitude; and what the Jakhbar *gaddi* has by way of structures in the inner courtyard confirms emphatically the nature of this considerable *dera*. At one end is the large kitchen, *bhandar-khana*, with an inscription which dates the present construction to A.D. 1879, in the period of Mahant Madho

Nath. The *gaddi ghar* or the seat of the ruling Mahant is a spacious but austere double-storeyed structure and next to it is a part of the building now in a dilapidated condition which had a painted ceiling with an inscription dating it back to the period of Mahant Dhaja Nath in the early years of the nineteenth century. One part of the structure appears to be the oldest in the establishment and is said to belong to the sixteenth century; in this is the small shrine in which the *dhuni*, constant smouldering fire which distinguishes every Jogi establishment,⁵ slowly burns. In this part of the structure also are little temples of Shiva, the Devi and Bhairava, holy deities of the Jogis,⁶ and at one end are several sets of rooms to accommodate the pilgrims and the resident Jogis alike.

To the west of the complex of buildings just described, is another open space with a number of *samadhis* of former *mahants* and in one corner the lonely *samadhi* of the *wazirs* with faint traces of frescoes still lingering on the ceiling of its dome. All the *samadhis* are regularly worshipped as a part of the daily ritual at the *dera*, their presence so close to the living quarters realizing partly the Jogi ideal of living in a cremation ground.⁷

The Jogis of Jakhbar belong to the Kanphata sect: the very appearance of the present *mahant*, the venerable, octogenarian Baba Brahm Nath, and his enlightened and genial disciple, Shankar Nath, proclaiming emphatically their religious affiliation. In the manner of the strictest of the Kanphatas they wear large *mudras* in their ears and carry on their persons the sacred symbols of the faith:⁸ the *seli*, consisting of a string of black woollen thread, a bead, and the *nād*, a little whistle made of horn; and the *rudraksha mala*, the rosary made of the fruit of the *elaecarpus ganitrus*. The texts read and recited at the *dera*



The main entrance to the Jakhbar establishment



Baba Brahm Nath, the present *mahant* of Jakhbar

include hand-written copies of the works sacred to the Jogis, many of them inscribed at Jodhpur for Mahant Chanchal Nath, according to their colophons. The names of Gorakhnath and Machhandarnath are hallowed names at the *dera*; the legend brings in profuse references to Raja Gopichand and Bhartrihari, to Puran Bhagat and Raja Rasalu.

The strong impression that one receives at Jakhbar, however, is that this *gaddi* of the Jogis has come to be a little isolated from the general organization of the Kanphatas over the years. This may have been due to the general indifference of the *mahants* to outside matters, which is a point that often emerges from any discussion with Baba Brahm Nath, or again to the relative lack of importance of the sub-sect to which this *gaddi* belongs. The only organizational fact prominently mentioned at Jakhbar is that this *gaddi* belongs to the Ganganathi *panth*. The Ganganathis do not happen to be the most prominent of the twelve sub-sects in which the Kanphatas are according to tradition divided:⁹ the Jakhbar *gaddi* has consequently gone almost completely unnoticed so far. In his study of the Kanphatas, Briggs¹⁰ makes the briefest of mention of the Ganganathis and then makes no reference at all to any *gaddi* associated with them. In the scores of names of sacred places and monasteries of the Jogis, the Jakhbar *gaddi* is not mentioned even once. This, however, is less a measure of the insignificance of the Jakhbar *gaddi* in the Kanphata scheme of things than of the special circumstances which have forced a degree of obscurity on it. Even in the fuller and brilliant study of the Nathas by Dr Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, the Jakhbar *gaddi* finds but a brief mention, on the authority of a Bengali Jogi, as the principal seat of the Ganganathis.¹¹ The principal Jogi monasteries in the popular mind thus remain Tilla

and Gorakhpur and Dhinodhar and the like, even though at least in the Punjab, Jakhbar remains probably the oldest after that at Tilla in the Jhelum District, now in Pakistan, and once the premier Jogi establishment in the whole of India.¹²

Rather unexpectedly, one should think, however, no attempt is made at Jakhbar to push the antiquity of the place any further into the past than is warranted by verifiable historical evidence. Every tradition preserved at the place and every material object that could lend substance to the legend, points to the fact that the *gaddi* was founded by Udant Nath, also referred to as Pīr Bhaur Nath,¹³ "Pīr" being an epithet which in spite of its strongly Muslim association is always used for the heads of Jogi monastic establishments. The date of Udant Nath is not specifically mentioned, except on a nineteenth century 'portrait' in oils of the ascetic where it is given as A. H. 989, possibly following tradition preserved at Jakhbar; but he is referred to always in association with the Emperor Akbar. The contemporaneity of the two is sought to be proven in several ways and a number of stories are to be heard at Jakhbar that tell of the deep reverence in which Udant Nath was held by the Mughal Emperor

Nothing is known of the *guru* of Udant Nath and no names come to us to bridge the long period of five or six centuries that must have elapsed between Gorakhnath and the Jakhbar ascetic. The history of the Jakhbar *gaddi* begins suddenly with the second half of the sixteenth century. The apparent insistence of the tradition at proving the connection between the Emperor Akbar and Udant Nath - the name seems to spring from his miraculous power to fly through space, the legend says, for his own *guru* whom he was fond of bathing everyday with a

pitcher full of water brought from the Ganga - receives firm support from the documents that are being presented here. The first grant appears to have been made in this Jogi's name by the Emperor Akbar in A.H. 979 (A.D. 1571). Whether this was done by the Emperor after a personal witnessing of the occult powers of Udant Nath who miraculously transferred a *ber* tree from Mecca to this place to satisfy the Emperor's sudden craving, or after a little less spectacular event than this legend suggests, it is not possible to determine. The documents only mention the sober fact of a grant.

The time of the death of Udant Nath is not known to the tradition at Jakhbar, but the documents indicate that he was alive in A.D. 1597 and had been succeeded by A.D. 1606. One important event took place before Udant Nath's death, the settlement at Jakhbar. He is said originally to have lived at the small village of Bhoa where the documents clearly indicate the first grant of land to the Jogis was made by the Mughal Emperor. The Bhoa grant, however, was ill-fated, for it happened to be on the bank of the wayward Ravi, and seems to have been submerged under water soon after the Jogis received it. The popular legend - it is curious how most of the legends cloak a near historical fact - gives a more engaging explanation of the destruction of Bhoa. It is associated with the curse of Dhuni Nath, another Jogi ascetic who was not connected with the *dera* at Bhoa but happened to wander in its direction in the absence of Udant Nath. He appears not to have been allowed to settle down, light his own *dhuni*, at Bhoa at which in great anger he picked up his smouldering fire, wrapped it in his *gudri*, and moved away, invoking a disaster upon the village which he said shall be submerged the very same night under the waters

of the Ravi. The flood, of course, did come¹⁴, as we know from the documents, and the Jogis moved out of Bhoa.

We are tempted to speculate a little on the events that followed. The Jogis must have decided to shift to a place not very distant from Bhoa, being interested only in moving away from the bed of the river. It is perhaps reasonable to assume that their choice of a place for settling down fell on a spot close to the nearby shrine of the *Jakh*, which must have then stood in a field as so many *Jakh* shrines still do, because of the sanctity of the site and the large number of people who must have resorted to the *Jakh* for gaining boons and favours. The shrine was not far from the rather large village of Narot from which, at a later time, an area of land equivalent to that held by the Jogis at Bhoa was carved out to be given to them following imperial orders. Gradually, we are led to believe, the new home of the Jogis became the nucleus of a settlement which kept on growing, though not very much, with the years and is the Jakhbar Jogian of today.

The Jogis of Jakhbar do not marry and it is a spiritual not a natural heir who succeeds to the *gaddi*. It is not clear as to who succeeded Udant Nath who must have had several disciples. The names of a very large number of *mahants* who came after Udant Nath are listed in a genealogical table of the *gaddi* which was compiled at the time of the preparation of the British record of rights in A.D. 1865 by the then *mahant*, Chanchal Nath¹⁵. But the accuracy of this table is a little open to question. The tree of succession according to the present tradition at Jakhbar differs from it in material respects¹⁶ and there is obvious confusion in this matter. There are several names which are common to both the lists and there is complete identity between them as far as the last four generations

that preceded Mahant Chanchal Nath are concerned, but it is the order in the earlier part of the lists which is very uncertain.

It is possible to ascribe this confusion to several factors among which must be the reliance by the compilers of these tables on memory rather than on document, and to the fact that some of the prominent *gurubhāis*¹⁷ of the *mahants* may have been confused with their successors.

The *shijrā-nasb* of the 1865 settlement has the following list :

Udant Nath
 |
 Bhau Nath
 |
 Anant Nath
 |
 Surat Nath
 |
 Kanchan Nath
 |
 Dridh Nath
 |
 Rattan Nath
 |
 Pancham Nath
 |
 Hira Nath
 |
 Shraddha Nath
 |
 Lal Nath
 |
 Subudh Nath
 |

Mayya Nath
|
Gomti Nath
|
Dhaja Nath
|
Chanchal Nath

This table, understandably, comes down only to Chanchal Nath who was the *mahant* at the time of the Settlement. The list is brought down to date by the present *mahant* of the establishment in this manner:

Chanchal Nath
|
Madho Nath
|
Tani Nath
|
Sohan Nath
|
Brahm Nath (present *mahant*)

It would be reasonable to accept the authenticity of these lists only from Mahant Subuddha Nath onwards, not only because of the agreement between the two lists mentioned earlier, but also because Mahant Chanchal Nath should be taken to have been familiar at least with the names of the three generations that preceded him. What followed after 1865 is recent history and the accuracy of the table can be ascertained beyond any doubt.

The possibility of the *gurubhāis* finding mention as successors in the tables is both likely and interesting in the extreme, for the *gurubhāis* of the *mahant* must always have been held in high esteem by the followers and at several places in these documents, in the context of grants of land, we come upon expressions like "Than Nath, Bhau

Nath and others" which can perhaps be taken to mean that the entire *jamā'at* or at least the principal ones among the Jogis living at the establishment were technically regarded as jointly enjoying the grant.

The certainty about the correctness of the table from the middle onwards has unfortunately been of no help to us in the editing of these documents. We have consequently carefully collected and tabulated the evidence about the names of the *mahants* of the *gaddi* from these documents ourselves and are of the belief that between the first of the *mahants*, Udant Nath, and Subuddha Nath, the last *mahant* to be mentioned in these documents, at least five generations must have intervened. A number of the *mahants* referred to in the documents, we feel, must have lived contemporaneously with each other and must have been closely related either as *gurubhāis* or as senior and junior *mahants*. The fact that they are mentioned as "grantees" in the documents owes itself possibly to the practice of one of the principal Jogis of the establishment personally representing the *gaddi* before the Mughal authority at the time of the confirmation of the grant and thus being named in the document as a grantee together with others.

In this context it is of deep interest to find the names of as many as ten Jogis listed in the appendix on the reverse of the document II which is a grant in the name of Udant Nath. Among these occur the names of Tan Nath, Ban Nath, Surat Nath, Chandar Nath, Balak Nath, and Bhairon Nath, who must have been either the *gurubhāis* or the immediate disciples of Udant Nath. The first four of these again find mention in separate documents of somewhat later dates but so close to each other in point of time that they cannot possibly have belonged to a vertical line in succession .

On this reckoning, it is likely that Udant Nath was succeeded by one of the group of Jogis among which certainly were Tan Nath, Ban Nath, and Surat Nath, another Jogi from the above list, Chandar Nath, receiving a small grant from the Emperor Jahangir at a different place and founding there what must have been regarded as a branch of the Jakhbar *gaddi*. The documents lead us to believe that, of these three, it was Surat Nath who became the direct successor of Udant Nath. In the next generation we get the names first of Than Nath, disciple of Surat Nath, and then of Than Nath in association with Bhau Nath who might possibly have been a *gurubhāi*. Their successor appears to have been Mahant Anand Nath with whom we find the Emperor Aurangzeb in a relationship of great closeness, even warmth. A document of the 4th year of Aurangzeb's reign (A D. 1661), mentions him by name, but he appears to have lived not beyond the 16th year (A D. 1674) when Hira Nath succeeded him. The period of the *gaddi* of Mahant Hira Nath seems to have been long—tradition ascribes to him a life of 101 years—and eventful. The death of Hira Nath in A.D. 1740 made the succession devolve upon Subuddha Nath who finds mention in these documents as Subodh Nath. Our information is far from complete and it is not possible to state with certainty that the *gaddi* passed to these *mahants* in this order of direct succession. There is every likelihood that other *mahants* intervened, although it is possible to see that if they did, the period of their occupation of the *gaddi* must have been rather short.

There is evidence to prove that some of the Jogis who never ascended the *gaddi* in succession to their *guru* received lands in their own right and enjoyed them at places other than where the principal grant was located. They passed such grants to their own successors and the Jogi

Chandar Nath mentioned above was succeeded in the Naroli Sanga grant by Bhandar Nath (document III) who had presumably little to do with the Jakhbar *gaddi*.

Tradition associates each fresh grant of land to the Jogis with some miraculous deed performed by a *mahant* and if this is to be believed then the Jakhbar *mahants* must have been an unusually gifted group indeed, for their vast possessions were at one time spread over a considerable area from Jwalamukhi in the Kangra district to Parol in Jammu. Stories are told at Jakhbar not about Udant Nath alone but also of several other *mahants* and their miraculous powers. There is one that connects the Jogis of Jakhbar with the prosperous householder *mahant* family of Gurdaspur through the blessing of Mahant Subuddha Nath who granted to a childless Gurdaspur *mahant* the boon of a son to perpetuate the name of the family. This boon, however, was granted on the important condition that the child should be given a name ending in "Nātha" which strongly suggests that the story may only signify the conversion of the Gurdaspur *mahants* to Shaivism by the Jogis of Jakhbar. The Jakhbar *mahants* do not go out on visits to the homes of their disciples outside Jakhbar, the visits that in the terminology of monastic establishments are called going on *sewakai*, and this appears to have been a rule enforced by Mahant Chanchal Nath who, it is said, was once tested for his miraculous powers by a disciple during one of his visits and who, after performing the required miracle, decided, rather wisely, that the institution of going on *sewakai* should be abolished lest another *mahant*, less endowed with powers, should not be able to perform an equal deed and thus bring disgrace to himself and the *gaddi*. The occult powers of the *mahants* did not apparently decline, however, and the gifts of his own *guru*, Sohan

Nath, are stressed by the present *mahant* although he claims none for himself.

Whether it was for reasons of the practice of *hathayoga* by the Jogis or their personal piety, the Jakhbar *gaddi* seems always to have wielded great influence. The antiquity of a *gaddi* is always a factor with the people paying it homage, and in this matter the Jakhbar *dera* has been looked upon with deep reverence. Apart from the *gaddi* of Tilla which is associated with Gorakhnath himself or with Lakshman Nath, his disciple,¹⁸ this appears to have been the most ancient of the Jogi monasteries in the Punjab. The heavily endowed Kirana monastery near Sargodha, now in Pakistan, dated back possibly only to the time of the Sikh chief, Maharaja Ranjit Singh,¹⁹ and the Asthal Bohar establishment near Rohtak²⁰ is said to have been founded only as late as the second half of the eighteenth century.

The antiquity of the place must necessarily have been a strong reason for the position of pre-eminence to which it appears to have attained even among the religious establishments in this region. This area is unusually rich in religious houses and in the districts of Gurdaspur and Kangra, within a radius of not more than twenty five miles from Pathankot, are as many as three major Vaishnava establishments at Pandori,²¹ Damthal²² and Bathu,²³ the first of these having an enormous following even to this day in these parts. The *gaddi* of Jakhbar has a strangely intimate relationship with all these shrines, in spite of the fact that they are dedicated to the Vaishnava sect which at least at one time stood in direct opposition to the Shaivas, especially the Jogis. Even to this day, the accession or *tilak* ceremony of a *mahant* of any of these establishments is not deemed to be complete till a repre-

sentative of the Jakhbar Jogis is present to bless the event²⁴ He, in fact, puts the *seli* or black woollen thread, and the *topi*, a conical cap which is to be seen in so many of the paintings of the Pandori *mahants*, on the new *mahant* as tokens of his spiritual authority This custom of the Jakhbar *mahants* virtually installing the *mahants* of the Vaishnava shrines is explained by Baba Brahm Nath with the aid of a popular tradition according to which Pandori itself was at one time in the hands of a Jogi, Mahesh Nath, who, at the time of his death, bequeathed the land on which he worshipped to a greatly devoted Vaishnava disciple This, in later years, became the nucleus of a *gaddi* The story of the Gurdaspur *mahants*, noticed above, is only another illustration of the great respect paid to the Jogis of Jakhbar and their *gaddi*.

This reverence the *gaddi* of Jakhbar appears to have claimed from the people of this region over a long period of time as is evidenced by the grants held by this house of the Jogis in far spread areas, from the Mughal rulers and the Hindu Rajas alike In one of the documents mention is made of thousands of persons visiting with regularity the Jakhbar *gaddi*—the Shivaratri festival is still celebrated there on a considerable scale—and the bestowing of favours upon the *mahants* of Jakhbar by the Mughal rulers may have been on their part an act alike of piety and prudence There seems to have been little doubt on the part of the Mughals about the Jakhbar *mahants* deserving their munificence: in document after document a particular *mahant* is called *mard-i-mustahiq*, the entire body of Jogis is described as *ahl-i-qanā'at*; and the piety of these Jogis must almost certainly have been a factor in the situation The fact of the *mahants* wielding enormous local influence must undoubtedly have been yet another consideration with the Mughals when they con-

ferred these grants on this establishment, for by these gifts they were creating what could easily be called a vested interest. An interesting and additional reason for the attachment of the Mughals to the Jogis of Jakhbar is suggested by the document which is a letter from the emperor Aurangzeb to Mahant Anand Nath and in which he obviously refers to a medicinal preparation that he is eager to obtain from the *mahant*. Baba Brahm Nath, the present *mahant*, still practises his own kind of medicine for charitable purposes.

An extremely interesting document not reproduced here but also coming from the Jakhbar *dera* illustrates the nature and the extent of the influence exercised by the *mahants* among the people: it speaks of a painter of Nurpur having come to Jakhbar and finding his personal belongings stolen, appealing to the *mahants* who got the belongings restored and asked the painter to declare in the presence of the local *Qazi* discharging the thieves of any further responsibility.

One gets the feeling that the *mahants* of Jakhbar had almost a controlling power over the local population. Their spiritual supremacy combined with their humility, if the attitude of the present *mahant* is any indication, and the extent of their material possessions must have given them a position of unquestioned eminence in the area, a considerable part of which they undoubtedly enjoy to this day. The tenants and the agricultural labourers who cultivate the land belonging to the *mahants* stand somewhat naturally in a position of loyalty to the *gaddi*, but the area of their influence is much wider than the neighbourhood of the village. It is quite an experience to move out of the *dera* with the junior Mahant, Shankar Nath, for at nearly every step he is detained by men and women and

children who bend low to touch his feet out of reverence. His election as the *sarpanch* of the *panchayat* of nearby Sherpur is an accurate index to his influence and popularity. The *mahants* and their officials exercise undoubted influence and command great respect in the town of Pathankot, and a general measure of their importance in the area is demonstrated by an event like the general elections in which the support of the *mahants* to a candidate becomes for him a factor of great confidence.

THE CONTEXT

Most of the historical problems turn out in the last analysis to be the problems of methodology in its widest sense, for the approximation of our knowledge to the actual past depends on the availability and interpretation of evidence on the past. Therefore, all 'traces' from the past become naturally important to the historian.

In the present state of our knowledge of Mughal India, official documents form one of the most important sources of concrete information on that age. How such documents can be used for elucidating specific issues was demonstrated in the early years of the present century by J. J. Modi in the *Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherjee Rana* (Bombay, 1903); and, later on, by H. S. Hodivala in his *Studies in Parsi History* (Bombay, 1920). Subsequently, the appearance of K. M. Jhaveri's *Imperial Farmans* has been followed by the publication of a considerable number of documents relating to medieval India.²⁵ All this work has been done on the obviously sound assumption that official documents provide the student of medieval India with a most useful source-material. That a fruitful use of such material can be made

by the historian of medieval India is evident, for example, from Dr Irfan Habib's *Agrarian System of Mughal India* ²⁶

The importance of the documents which are here being presented to the student of Mughal India is taken for granted. They are not meant to solve any specific issues. But they have already proved to be of immense help in our attempt at describing the Jakhbar establishment. It is now being widely recognized that the historian cannot adopt a passive attitude towards his sources on the ambiguous assumption that his 'facts' would speak for themselves. To make the best use of his evidence, a serious historian has to ask a number of questions relevant to the issues raised by himself, and he has very often to 'extract' answers from his evidence. The value of these documents will depend ultimately on the kind of relevant questions which are put to them by the student of Mughal India. We do not presume to know all the significance of this evidence for the future historian. However, a few points may be made in this brief introduction to the present group of documents for the consideration of the student of Mughal history.

The number of these documents is not very large - some detail follows in section III. They are only seventeen, consisting of four imperial *farmāns*, four *parwānchahs*, three *sanads*, a *maḥzar*, a *muchalkah*, a *yād-dāsh*t, a *chak-nāmah*, a personal letter and, what may be called, a *hukmnāmah* ²⁷. But they all belong to one establishment and cover a span of two centuries. The only set of such documents published so far is to be found in Jhaveri's *Imperial Farmans*. Such 'family papers' of Mughal times are not wholly unknown; but they are not very common. Even when their existence might be known, they are not easy to procure for publication or consultation. That the

present set of documents is as important as Jhaveri's may be readily conceded; but we may venture to claim that it is more important.

These documents are in a sense unique. Jhaveri's documents belong to the reigns of Akbar, Shah Jahan and Shah Alam; and relate, among other things,²⁸ to remission in perpetuity of fiscal demands, on lands purchased by Gosain Vithal Rai of Gokul, probably for the maintenance of the *thākurdwāra*. Unlike his documents, the present collection is quite evenly spread over the two centuries it covers—the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb, Bahadur Shah, Muhammad Shah and the early years of Sikh sovereignty in the Punjab. Furthermore, whereas Jhaveri's documents are not *madad-i-ma'āsh* documents in the strict sense of the term, eleven documents in the present collection pertain directly to *madad-i-ma'āsh* land. And that makes this collection quite unique

To understand the significance of these documents we may briefly consider them, first, in relation to the institution of *madad-i-ma'āsh*. The states of medieval India were not welfare states in the present-day sense of that term. But the medieval rulers did extend their patronage to individuals and institutions as an act of charity. Several terms referring to their 'charity' have been preserved in the literary documents of the Mughal times. The terms *milk*, which was current already in the days of Ziauddin Barani, and *in'ām*, which was certainly in use in sixteenth-century Gujarat, were not completely discarded by the Mughals who had imported a new term, *suyūrghāl*, from central Asia. Both *in'ām* and *suyūrghāl* appear to be more comprehensive than the more commonly used *madad-i-ma'āsh* or *a'imma*, each of which refers to land and not to cash awards. What was granted through the conferment of

madad-i-ma'ūsh was the right to collect the revenue and to keep it.

“Grants by which the king alienated his right to collect the land-revenue and other taxes from a given area of land, for the life-time of the grantee or in perpetuity, have an ancient history in India.”²⁹ Grants of land to temples are known to have been very common in India before the advent of the Turks; and a few instances of temples, or of non-Muslims, receiving the patronage of the pre-Mughal Muslim rulers are definitely known. The grandfather of the Parsi Dastur Mahrji Rana, for example, was holding an *in'ām* land near Navsari, fifty years before the conquest of Gujarat by Akbar.³⁰ In Dr Yusuf Husain's *Farmāns and Sanads of the Deccan Sultan*, there is a *farmān* of the last of the Qutb Shahs, Abu-ul-Hasan Tana Shah, granting land-revenues for the maintenance of the temple of '*mara 'alishvar sami*' (Muralishvara? Mahabaleshwar?).³¹ It is quite likely that patronage of non-Muslim institutions was adopted by several Muslim rulers in the various regions of the Indian sub-continent. That some of the grantees, non-Muslim as well as Muslim, of earlier time were confirmed in their positions by the Mughal rulers is evident from a few known cases: an old grant of *madad-i-ma'ūsh* to the descendants of the Suhrāwardī Shaikh Majduddīn, for example, was confirmed by Akbar in A.D. 1580;³² Dastur Mahrji Rana was already holding a grant of one hundred *bigahs* when in the late 1570's an additional grant of two hundred *bigahs* was conferred on him by Akbar;³³ and an old grant to the Nāthas at Tilla Gorakhnath in the Jhelum District was confirmed by Akbar.³⁴

Not content with the confirmation of old grants, Akbar was bold or considerate enough to confer *madad-i-ma'ūsh*

on non-Muslims of known sanctity, even when they could not put forth any old claims. As it would be evident from the present collection of documents, the Jogi Udant Nath was given two hundred *bigahs* of *madad-i-ma'āsh* land for the first time in A.D. 1571, seven or eight years earlier than Mahrji Rana received his additional two hundred *bigahs*. In A.D. 1578, another Shaiva, Chandar Nath, was patronized for the first time by Akbar. The patronage of a new Jogi establishment by Akbar makes it highly probable that he extended his patronage to the Sikhs and the Shāktas also: there is a strong Sikh tradition that he had conferred land on Guru Rāmdās; and a known *farmān* of Shah Jahan conferring land on the Guru's descendants at Kartarpur, appears to confirm the tradition regarding Guru Rāmdās himself.³⁵ Similarly, according to a long tradition at Jwalamukhi, the Shāktas of that place were patronized by Akbar for the first time. In giving fresh grants to non-Muslims, Akbar was followed by some of his successors. Jahangir, for instance, gave a fresh grant of *madad-i-ma'āsh* land to the Vaishnava *gosāins* in the Punjab.³⁶

It is generally believed, however, that *madad-i-ma'āsh* was meant only for the Muslims. Horace Hayman Wilson, whose *Glossary* is still regarded as a standard work for reference, had defined *a'imma* as land granted by the Mughal Government "to learned and religious persons of the Mohammedan faith, or for religious and charitable uses in relation to Mohammedanism".³⁷ Wilson probably did not know any exceptions. Dr Irfan Habib has noticed the extension of Mughal patronage to non-Muslim divines and institutions.³⁸ But he tends nonetheless to identify *madad-i-ma'āsh* with *a'imma* which, in his view too, was meant only for the Muslims. "Learning and religious devotion", he says with reference to the bulk of the *madad-i-*

ma'āsh grants, "were then the monopoly of a single class among Muslims and it was the current belief, entertained by this class, that the *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants were meant solely for its benefit." That the belief was not really far from the fact, adds Dr Irfan Habib, "is shown by the use of the words *a'imma* and *makhādīm*, both meaning religious leaders, as general names for the grantees even in official documents".³⁹ In the official documents belonging to the Jogis of Jakhbar establishment, however, the term *a'imma* is applied to their *madad-i-ma'āsh* lands also.⁴⁰ That would, no doubt, identify *madad-i-ma'āsh* with *a'imma*; but then, neither of these terms would remain confined to the revenue-free lands of the Muslim grantees.

Dr Irfan Habib's view, though amply justified on a quantitative basis, ignores the qualitative aspect of the institution of *madad-i-ma'āsh*. Abul-Fazl's men of learning and his religious devotees formed, indeed, the bulk of the recipients of *suyūrghāl* land, but it is doubtful if for him they were all necessarily Muslim. At any rate, by the time he was writing about *suyūrghāl*, non-Muslims too were holding *madad-i-ma'āsh* lands and Abul-Fazl was certainly aware of this fact.⁴¹

The imperial *farmāns* in this collection, granting *madad-i-ma'āsh* to the Nāthas, are not different in form from the other *madad-i-ma'āsh farmāns* of the time. The well-known imperial seals of Akbar and Jahangir appear on these *farmāns*; and the red ink of the *sar-nāmah* and the *tughra* of Jahangir's *farmāns* indicates the importance attached to them. On the reverse are the usual endorsements, besides the *ta'līqah*. The rights and favours conferred on the grantees are set out in a manner which would be adopted as a more or less set text for the

madad-i-ma'āsh farmāns; the Jogis were entitled to the revenue (*ḥāṣilāt*) from the given area and they were exempted from all obligations to pay the land-revenue (*māl-o-jihāt*) and the petty burdens imposed by officials (*ikhrajāt*) which were specified in detail; and, significantly, the grantees were expected to 'remain occupied with praying for the permanence of the Conquering Dynasty'. Thus, there is no essential difference between the *madad-i-ma'āsh* granted to the Jogis and to the 'ulemā or the *mashāikh*. They all belonged to, what Jahangir called, 'the army of prayer' which, from the political point of view, was equally important with the imperial army. If the Mughal arms were the basis of Mughal power, the 'army of prayer' contributed in its own way towards the acceptance of Mughal authority by a considerable number of people; and, like the imperial army, it consisted of both the Muslims and non-Muslims. The non-Muslim grantees would as much be the 'natural apologists and propagandists' of the Empire as the Muslim grantees. They both belonged to the vested interests astutely created by the Mughal Emperors.

The Nātha Jogis of Jakhbar group (*jamā'at*) were granted lands in *madad-i-ma'āsh* at several places, and their possessions had become quite considerable in the early part of the eighteenth century. Indeed, the Jakhbar establishment had considerably proliferated; and it may not be an unsafe assumption that they had come to wield a good deal of unobtrusive influence over the local populace. In the words of a document, "thousands of men flocked to the place"; and there is at least one document in the collection which directly reveals the consideration given to the Nāthas by the "whole *panchāyat*" of a neighbouring *qaṣbah*. It has been suggested recently that the holders of *a'imma* lands, who are assumed to be all Mus-

lims, were conservative to the point of being reactionary. It may safely be added that the non-Muslim holders of *madad-i-ma'āsh* lands were equally conservative, providing a strong support to the contemporary powers.

The *madad i-ma'āsh* to non-Muslims, an expression of Akbar's new outlook on their religion and piety, was likely to introduce an element of stability in the contemporary social order. The Shaiva establishment of Jakhbar survived the changing policies of Mughal administration as well as the changing fortunes of Mughal authority. The claims of the Jakhbar Jogis and, one may suspect, the stabilizing character of their conservative establishment appear to have been recognized by the Sikh Chiefs who supplanted the Mughals (and the Afghans) in the Punjab during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. What was apparently an innovation in Akbar's days had become an established tradition by now; and it is interesting in this connection to find the newly established Sikh Chief Bhag Singh giving a general instruction that "deviation from an old practice was not to be commended". The *madad-i-ma'āsh* was no longer simply a Muslim institution. It had been 'Indianized' by Akbar two hundred years earlier. At least the conservative among the early British rulers of India were quick to recognize the value as well as the fact of its existence.

THE DOCUMENTS

Ideally, to interpret a single document most satisfactorily, one should be conversant with the whole range of that particular kind of documents. We cannot claim to have gone through the whole range of Mughal *madad-i-ma'āsh*, or any other, documents. We feel, however, that

a few observations on each of the documents in this collection may be made on the basis of some familiarity with the relevant published work.

I

This is a copy of a *farmān* issued by Akbar towards the close of A.D. 1581. Being a copy, it does not bear any seal; and the date also appears to have been placed at the top by the copyist, and that is why it is missing at the end. In the light of the whole range of documents in this collection, we feel there is no reason to doubt that this is a true copy of an authentic *farmān*. It refers also to an earlier one, which was issued by Akbar under his personal seal in October, A.D. 1571, granting two hundred *bigahs* of land "by way of *in'ām*" to Udant Nath. That would make it one of the earliest known grants by Akbar to a non-Muslim.

As it appears from the *farmān* Udant Nath saw the Emperor personally in early November, A.D. 1581, and got the earlier grant confirmed. The occasion for this confirmation is evident: a part of the land granted in the village Bhoa in A.D. 1571 had been submerged under water and in lieu of that, fifty *bigahs* of land were given through this confirmation.

A few minor points are worth noting in this *farmān*. It refers to the well-known principle of giving the cultivated land and culturable waste in equal part; there is no mention as yet of the *Ilāhī-gaz*; and two hundred *bigahs* by the measure of the hemp-rope are equal to one hundred and seventy *bigahs* by the bamboo-measure, that is to say, the decrease in the number of *bigahs* is fifteen per cent.

II

In the Jakhbar collection as it stands now, this is the first original *farmān* of Akbar under his imperial seal. The date on the *farmān* is torn; but, from the *ta'liqah* on the reverse, it is evident that the *farmān* was issued in the forty-first year of Akbar's reign. It refers to the earlier grant of two hundred *bigahs* of land by the measure of the hemp-rope, "in the name of Udant Nath".

The occasion for this new *farmān* is clear from its text: an investigation into the grants of *madad-i-ma'āsh* land had been ordered by Akbar, and hence, the case of the Jakhbar Jogis was reconsidered. In spite of Abul-Fazl's proposal of seventy-eight *bigahs*. "Udant Nath and others" were granted one hundred *bigahs* "by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh*", on Mīrān Sadr Jahan's recommendation. The grant, obviously, was reduced.

However, the grant was not actually halved. This new grant being by the measure of the *Ilāhī-gaz*, the Jogis lost less than eighty *bigahs* by the old measure.

A few minor points may be noted in connection with the *farmān*. It repeats "the principle of equal part" and, from the figures given on the reverse, it is quite certain that two hundred *bigahs* by the measure of the hemp-rope were reduced to one hundred and seventy *bigahs* by the bamboo-measure; it contains the term "*jarībānah*" as one of the *sā'ir-jihāt* taxes, which is not to be found in the rest of the documents in this collection; and, as already pointed out, this *farmān* refers to the *Gaz-i-Ilāhī* and has the more or less standard form of text for the *madad-i-ma'āsh farmāns*.

It may be noted, however, that this *farmān* does not

contain the usual phrase about prayers for the Conquering Dynasty or the Everlasting Dominion.

III

This is an original *farmān* of Jahangir issued in July, A.D. 1606, under his imperial seal, with the *sar-nāmāh* "Allahu Akbar" and the *tughrā* in red ink. It grants ten *bigahs* of land to "Bhandar Nath and others" in Naroli Sāngā, a village in the *parganah* Kathūah (not in the *parganah* Pathān in which lay Bhoa).

The occasion for this grant is evident from the *farmān*. In October, A.D. 1578, Akbar had granted ten *bigahs* of land "by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh*" to the Jogi Chandar Nath who by now had died. His disciples, notably Bhandar Nath, approached Jahangir with a view to getting the *madad-i-ma'āsh* confirmed on them, and their request was granted.

This is a different grant from the one given to Udant Nath in Bhoa. However, Chandar Nath, as a disciple, was one of the co-sharers of the grant given to Udant Nath. Here one may notice the beginning of a kind of proliferation in the Jakhbar establishment.

A few minor points may be noted in connection with this *farmān*. So far as the present collection is concerned, the Turkish calendar is used for the first time in this *farmān*; the non-fiscal imposts are covered under *ikhrājāt-o-'iwārẓāt* and not under *sā'ir-jihāt* (as it was done in document II); in this, as in Akbar's *farmān*, the term *sāwarī* as a non-fiscal impost is clearly written; *gao-shumārī* is included among the *ikhrājāt-o-'iwārẓāt*; and there are two imposts which appear to be peculiar to this *farmān*: *jalkar* and *bankar*.

From the reverse of the *farmān*, it appears that the grant to Chandar Nath in A.D. 1578 had been given by the measure of the bamboo; but now the *bigah-i-Ilāhī* is introduced, and the reduction due to the *Gaz-i-Ilāhī* is eleven per cent.

IV

This is an original *farmān* of Jahangir issued in November, A.D. 1606. The *sar-nāmah*, the seal and the *tughra* are exactly the same as in the preceding *farmān* which was issued only a month earlier. This document confirms a *madad-i-ma'āsh* of two hundred *bigahs* by the measure of the *Gaz-i-Ilāhī* to the Jogis Surat Nath in the *parganah* Pathān.

The *madad-i-ma'āsh* was not a hereditary grant until after A.D. 1690, and the grantee generally obtained the renewal of his grant after the accession of a new ruler to the throne. *A priori*, one would expect the Jogis also to get their grants confirmed on Jahangir's accession; and this, as well as the previous *farmān*, was issued in the beginning of the second year of Jahangir's reign. We notice, however, that in this *farmān*, as in the preceding one, the occasion for the grant is stated differently. Surat Nath had approached the Emperor to represent that the land which he had been holding "by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh* had been submerged under water due to an excessive flooding (of the Ravi). Jahangir issued the order that two hundred *bigahs* of revenue-free land, on the familiar principle of equal-part, should be allocated to Surat Nath, preferably in the old *maḥal*, but if that were not possible, somewhere in the neighbourhood.

The *farmān* is naturally silent about the exact place of

the land to be handed over to the grantee, "duly measured and demarcated"; but the document is silent also about the village in which Surat Nath was previously holding his *madad-i-ma'āsh* land of two hundred *Ilāhī-bigahs*.

We have noticed already (document I) that Udant Nath and his disciples were to be given fifty *bigahs* of wasteland somewhere. It is quite likely that those fifty *bigahs* were given to them in Narot (probably near the *Jakh* shrine). At any rate, the document which immediately follows this one strongly suggests that the present grant was given to Surat Nath in Narot. Furthermore, what we notice in this *farmān* is that not only had the original grant of two hundred *bigahs* been fully restored before the close of Akbar's reign, it was also given by the measure of the *Gaz-i-Ilāhī*, which actually meant some increase in the grant.

Coming to the minor points, we notice that the non-fiscal imposts in this *farmān*, as in the preceding one, fall under *ikhrājāt-o-'iwārẓāt*; and in both of these *farmāns* it is laid down that the land in question was the only revenue-free grant to be given to its recipients.

V

This is an undated *parwānchah*; and the seal in the margin is undecipherable, except one word which is very probably *Jamīl*. The date 1011 (A.D. 1602), however, is quite clear. But this date does not necessarily mean that the *sanad* was issued in that year; for, even in this collection of documents, there are several instances of seals remaining in use long after the dates they bear.

This *sanad* refers to two hundred *bigahs* of land in the use of "the Jogis Tan Nath, Ban Nath and others" in the village Narot.

The document, thus, takes a good deal for granted; and in the context of the other documents in this collection, a few points emerge for consideration. The Jogis "Tan Nath, Ban Nath and others" raised no problem. They were named on the reverse of Akbar's *farmān* of the forty-first year as the co-sharers of the grant to Udant Nath; in the *farmān* itself, they were referred to as "others". In this *sanad*, their names are mentioned, while the rest of the co-sharers are referred to as "others". There is hardly any doubt that this document relates to the *madad-i-ma'āsh* originally given to Udant Nath.

However, the village mentioned in this document is Narot and not Bhoa where the land was originally granted. It appears that the transfer of the original grant in Bhoa to Narot was an accomplished fact by the time of this *sanad* which, therefore, is silent about the transfer and the reason for it. Furthermore, it is being stated here that the Jogis held "two hundred *bigahs* of land" but it is not mentioned by which measure; and, it may be inferred that it was by the measure of the *Gaz-i-Ilāhī* as in the previous *farmān*.

This *sanad*, which appears only to confirm the preceding *farmān*, mentions only Tan Nath and Ban Nath by name. But that does not necessarily exclude Surat Nath, because he could easily be covered under the "others". Tan Nath and Ban Nath, in all probability, had represented the Jogis in this case and, therefore, they are being mentioned by name.

VI

This is a *parwānchah* issued by I'tmād-ud-daulah in the 9th year of Jahangir's reign. It refers to a *farmān*,

issued by Jahangir in the same year, by which two hundred *bigahs* of land were conferred on the disciples of Surat Nath who, by now, had died. Only one disciple, Than Nath, is mentioned by name.

The *farmān* which is here referred to is not to be found in the Jakhbar collection as it now stands; but the occasion for that *farmān* is clear enough. A new *mahant* had succeeded to the *gaddi* of Jakhbar and he, as well as his *gurubhāis*, needed a confirmation of the old grant.

The occasion for this *parwānchah*, however, may only be guessed. This is the first document in this collection in which the *gumāshtahā-i jāgīrdārān* (the agents of the *jāgīrdārs*) are mentioned, and they are mentioned at the outset. It appears that the Jogis had suffered some inconvenience at the hands of the *gumāshtahs* of the *jāgīrdārs* and they approached the authorities at the Court. This impression is confirmed by another phrase which has been used for the first time, in this collection, in the present document: it is suggested (almost as an argument) that the land in question was a *khud-kāshtah* land of the Jogis.

On the reverse of this document, besides the mention of "two hundred *bigahs* of land in the old *maḥal*", there is a statement to the effect that the *zimn* was specified in the imperial *farmān*. It may be inferred from this, that no other detail was called for, because the *farmān* was already in the possession of the Jogis and contained all the necessary detail.

VII

This is a *parwānchah* issued by Musawi Khan in A.D. 1642. It refers to a *farmān*, in all probability of

Shah Jahan, issued in the twelfth regnal year by which Than Nath, Bhau Nath and "the other" were confirmed in their *madad-i-ma'ūsh* at Narot. They had presented themselves at the Court and had been found to be "deserving".

As in the preceding document so in this, the Jogis appear to have been harassed in some way by the agents of the *jāgīrdārs*, and they might have felt obliged to approach the Emperor. At any rate, Musawi Khan is sending strict orders that nothing whatever should be effected contrary to the imperial *farmān*.

Very similar to the preceding document, this *parwān-chah* is a little more interesting. Musawi Khan's is the only seal, in this collection of documents, to have an *āyat* inscribed on it. This might be suggestive of his piety or of his orthodoxy. All the same, he has no hesitation in enabling the Jogis to pray for the permanence of the Eternity-allied Dominion. Even if he was using a stock expression, it would indicate the willing acceptance of the tradition by Musawi Khan.

VIII

This perhaps may be regarded as the most interesting document in the collection. On a paper with beautiful floral designs, it bears the seal of "Shah 'Ālam-gīr". There is no date on the document itself but the seal bears the date 1072 (A.D. 1661-62) as well as the fourth year of the reign. A Persian couplet is inscribed on the seal. The *sar-nāmah*, "*Hū-al-Ghani*", appears for the first time here in this collection.

The document appears to be a personal letter to Mahant Anand Nath, written by Aurangzeb in the early

part of his reign. It is written in a most reverential tone and contains the Emperor's request for some well-treated quicksilver. The letter also suggests that a meeting had taken place between the Emperor and the Jogi.

From another document (not being published here), Aurangzeb's consideration for Anand Nath in the early 1660s is as clear as from this one. In the village Thār, Anand Nath was holding fifteen *ghumāos* of land by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh* and Aurangzeb increased that grant to twenty *ghumāos*. That document, incidentally, bears the same seal. We have no reason at all to doubt the genuineness of this letter which, we believe, presents Aurangzeb in altogether a new light.

IX

This is a *parwānchah* issued by Mukarram Khan in the thirty-ninth year of Aurangzeb's reign. It refers to the resumption of the *madad-i-ma'āsh* land which had remained earlier in conferment upon "Than Nath, Bhau Nath and the other Jogis" in the village Narot. This is a reference, no doubt, to the grant of two hundred *bigahs* coming from the days of Udant Nath and Akbar.

Aurangzeb is known to have passed a general order in A.D. 1672-73 that the *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants given earlier to the non-Muslims should be resumed. His general order appears to have been obeyed here; and, as it would be obvious from another document (No. XII), the *madad-i-ma'āsh* land of the Jogis at Narot was resumed towards the close of the fifteenth year of Aurangzeb's reign.

This apparently would go against our suggestion in connection with the preceding document that Aurangzeb

showed a good deal of consideration for Anand Nath. It is certainly possible that Aurangzeb's attitude towards Anand Nath could undergo a change during the ten years between the time of the preceding document and this. It may be pointed out, nevertheless, that Anand Nath died at about this time and his death must have militated against the possibility of his having the grant restored by the Emperor. The Jogis, however, do not appear to have suffered very much, because when they made a representation to the authorities, the land was left in their possession on the basis of a stipulated fixed revenue (*jama'-i-istimrār*). The present document simply confirms the arrangements then made, and by which due regard had been paid to the welfare of the Jogis, without injuring the financial interests of the Government. From the Emperor's point of view, the *jama'-i-istimrār* was a concession made in favour of the Jogis; and the total result of this entire transaction was some financial gain to the treasury of the State.

X

This is a *muchalkah* drawn up in the 47th year of Aurangzeb's reign. There was a dispute, regarding boundaries, between the Jogi Hira Nath, the disciple of Anand Nath, and the *muqaddams* of the village murādpur. All the parties accepted the *muqaddams* of two other villages as arbitrators and legally bound themselves to abide by their decision.

It may be of some interest to note that though the document was not signed in the court of any *qāzī*, it refers to the Sacred Law (*Shara'-i-Sharīf*) as the law of the land.

XI

This is a *sanad* issued by Faiz, probably in the early years of Bahadur Shah's reign. The date at the end is partially torn and the exact year, therefore, is unknown. The seal bears the date 1122 (A.D. 1710) and the *sanad* itself was issued perhaps in, or soon after, that year.

By this time, the *madad-i-ma'āsh* to the Jogis at Narot appears to have been completely restored. It is stated in the document that "Than Nath, Bhau Nath, Hira Nath and the other Jogis" had this grant of two hundred *bigahs* in conferment upon them "by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh*" from olden times. The order forbids the *'āmil*s to levy any *abwāb* from the Jogis, so that they may contentedly pray for the Everlasting Dominion. The restoration of the *madad-i-ma'āsh* (which would actually mean the remission of the annual *maḥsūl-i-istimrār* of one hundred and seven rupees), in our view, is implied in this order.

The *parganah* Pathān at this time was a part of the *jāgīr* of Prince Muhammad Ibrahim for whom the title "Sultan" is being used in the document. In the seal, the title of Emperor Bahadur Shah is "Shāh 'A-lam".

XII

This is now an incomplete document, coming from Bahadur Shah's reign; and, from the *qāzī's* seal and attestations of witnesses, it may be safely inferred that it is a *maḥzar*.

As it was mentioned in connection with document IX, there is the statement in this *maḥzar* that Akbar had granted two hundred *bigahs* to the Jogis at Narot (*sic.*) by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh* and that this grant was resumed in the fifteenth year of Aurangzeb's reign.

In the sixteenth year of Aurangzeb, Hira Nath and his followers went towards "Hindustan". For what purpose it cannot be known from this document, because it is torn. It may be suggested, however, that Hira Nath, who had succeeded Anand Nath by now, might have gone towards the Court to represent the case of the establishment after the grant had been resumed.

XIII

This is a *yād-dāsht* signed by the "panchas" of a *qaṣbah* before a *qāzī* in the fourteenth year of Muhammad Shah's reign.

According to a decision of the *Panchāyat* of the *bāzār* of Muḥiy-ud-dīn Pur, the shop-keepers of that place voluntarily undertake to pay one *tunkah-i-Ālamgīrī* per shop to Hira Nath of Jakhbar by way of *faṣlānah* (as the "first-fruit").

XIV

This is a *chaknamah*, signed in the presence of a *qāzī* in the fourteenth year of Muhammad Shah's reign.

From this document it appears that twenty-five *bigahs* of *madaḥ-i-ma'āsh* had remained in conferment upon the Jogis of Jakhbar from the times of Akbar and Jahangir in the *parganah* Domal of the *doāb* Bist-Jāllandhar. The detailed demarcation of that land is now made and it remains in conferment upon Mahant Hira Nath to enable him to pray for the permanence of the Conquering Dynasty.

If Muhammad Shah had issued any *farmān* to this effect, that is not to be found now in the Jakhbar collection.

XV

This is a *sanad* issued by Zakariya Khan, the famous Governor of the Punjab, in the seventeenth year of Muhammad Shah's reign.

This document refers to the lands and other possessions of Mahant Hira Nath not only at Narot but also at other places, all of which he was holding on the basis of authentic *farmāns* and *sanads*. Zakariya Khan's order confirms him in all his possessions which, as the reverse of this document reveals, were to be found around Jakhbar, and elsewhere in the *parganah* Pathān, in and around Jwalamukhi, in the *parganah* Gumtal and in the *parganah* Shāhpur.

This document refers to "*Hindwi*" (Tākri) as well as to Persian *sanads* in Hira Nath's possession. That would suggest that the *mahants* were holding grants not only from the Mughals but also from the vassal Chieftains in the Punjab hills. The document assumes in a sense the form of an inventory of all the possessions of the Jogis of Jakhbar, and serves to indicate the large extent of their possessions.

The increased consideration which now appears to have been given to the Jogis by the Mughal administration may be explained partly in terms of the value of their allegiance to the Mughal authority at a time when it was being thwarted by the "enemies" within this part of the Empire.

XVI

This is a *sanad* issued by Sa'īd Khān in April, A.D. 1741. It relates to the confirmation of twenty *ghumāos* of

madad-i-ma'āsh land in the village Thār of the *parganah* Shāhpur upon Subodh Nath.

The document refers to the death of Hira Nath. Obviously, he was succeeded by Subodh Nath.

It must be pointed out that this was precisely the grant which had been increased by Aurangzeb from fifteen *ghumāos* to twenty in favour of Mahant Anand Nath (*vide* the document not reproduced here but referred to in our introductory note to VIII).

XVII

This is a rather informal order issued by an autonomous Sikh Chief to his *dīwān*. The order does not bear any date, and it could have been issued at any time between A.D. 1765 and A.D. 1808.

On a representation made by the Jogis of Jakhbar, this order remits octroi duty on goods purchased at the nearby town of Sujānpur by the Nāthas of Jakhbar where Mahant Subodh Nath was on the *gaddi*.

The consideration which the Sikh Chief in this document shows to the Nāthas impels us to infer that their revenue-free lands remained intact during the phase of political turmoil in the Punjab. That a newly established Sikh Chief paid a great regard to traditional usages is extremely significant.

It is interesting to note that the Sikh Chief Bhag Singh seems in this document to adopt as much the form of Mughal documents of this nature as the Mughal attitude towards the Jogis.

NOTES

1. The village, to be exact, lies at a distance of seven miles from Pathankot in the western direction which makes it about twenty miles to the north of Gurdaspur. Small and uneven paths lead to it from the roads indicated here, but one has to walk a distance of about two miles if one approaches from Sarna on the Pathankot-Gurdaspur road, or a little less than a mile if one takes the Sherpur approach from the Narot Jaimal Singh road. The mode of transport on the latter, which is preferred by the local people, is mostly the *tanga* for which one waits patiently for some time and which then takes more than an hour to get to Pathankot.

2. These directions have been indicated here on the basis of personal observation during prolonged field work in the area. Detailed maps of this region are not easily available for a variety of reasons, among which are security considerations, and we have had to be content with these descriptions which if not absolutely accurate are at least in a general sense correctly indicative.

3. The story relates to an incident when Maharaja Ranjit Singh, during a journey in these parts, was obliged to cross a channel of water. Some of the persons from this village, who happen mostly to be Rajputs, helped the Maharaja cross by carrying him on their shoulders. When the Maharaja got across, it is said, he praised the loyalty of these "Mehras", or low-caste palanquin-bearers - which he took them to be—and said that the village Narot should bear their name also!

The Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District (1891-92, p. 62) connects a similar story with the Emperor Jahangir who "is said to have been carried across the Ghag on the shoulders of the Rajputs of Narot, who thereby earned the name of maheb' (*sic*) or *kahars*, which they have retained up to the present time."

4. *The Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District* (1891-92, p. 8) gives a detailed account of the vagaries of the Ravi which decided rather suddenly sometimes to flow partly into one of the several inundation canals. "For years a large volume of water had been passing down the Masto, and at last in about 1859 the whole Ravi deserted its former bed and adopted this channel. . . . The river runs about

two miles to the east of its former course which is still occupied by the Ujh." "As a rule" the *Gazetteer* continues, "the Ravi is not noted for very important changes by alluvion or diluvion, but it is subject to very sudden alterations in its course."

5. The *dhūni* is a necessary accessory of the Kanphata monastic centres, for the Jogi must light his fire wherever he takes up his abode. Beside the *dhūni* is sometimes a *morchhal* or fan of peacock's tail (Ghurye, G.S. *Indian Sadhus*, Bombay 1953, 156). George Briggs mentioned the interesting fact of the Forest Department of the then Government supplying two hundred and fifty bullock carts of wood annually for the *dhūni* of Bhairon at the shrine of Devi Patan (*Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis*, Calcutta 1938, 21).

6. The worship of this group of deities by the Gorakhnathi or Kanphata Jogis points to their being the true descendants of the much older sects called the Pās'upatas, the Kāpālikas and the Kālamukhas, a fact that emerges from any historical account of the faith.

7. The compound with Jogi *samādhis* or tumuli should in fact be likened to a burial-ground, for they bury, not cremate, their dead. Every Jogi establishment has these *samādhis* which proclaim at sight the monastic centre of the Nāthapanthis. The Kāpālika associations of the Jogis, apart from this "living in a cremation ground", are also sometimes indicated in names like Masāna Nath. (Ghurye, *Indian Sadhus*, 156-57).

8. The Jogi insistence on the wearing of these symbols is almost obsessive, and an extremely serious view was taken, at least in earlier days, of the omission, even accidentally, to carry these. The minimum of punishment for a Jogi whose *seli* broke was that he could not take his meals till a new one was substituted. The ears of a Jogi getting completely split by the *kundala* or the *mudrā* was taken to be a disaster, and traditional accounts say that such a Jogi was sometimes buried alive (Ghurye, *Indian Sadhus*, 1952-53).

9. There are several views about which of the many sub-sects of the Nāthapanthis are the principal twelve. Briggs (*Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis*, 63-69) lists the twelve sub-sects as Satnath, Ramnath, Dharamnath, Lakshmannath, Daryanath, Ganganath,

Bairag, Rawal, Jalandharipa, Aipanth, Kaplani and Kanipa. There is a central organization of the twelve sects called the *Bhek Barah Panth*.

10. The only facts given about this sect by Briggs are that it was founded by Ganganath who followed Kapalmuni. From this some people trace the Kāyānāthis and there appears to be some connection between this and the Ratannath sub-division (*Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis*, 65). There is no indication by Briggs of any *gaddi* of this sect anywhere in India.

11. Dwivedi, Hazari Prasad, *Natha Sampradaya*, (in Hindi), 2nd ed. Varanasi 1966, 12-13.

12. There are numerous references to the Tilla establishment from very early times under its various names : it is called variously Tilla Gorakhnath, Tilla Balnath, Jogi Tilla, or simply Tilla. The *Gazetteer of the Jhelum District* (Pt. A, 1904, 35-36) refers to it as "undoubtedly one of the oldest religious establishments in Northern India," and states later that the Jogis of Tilla "claim, and apparently with correctness, that this is the original Jogi foundation from which all others have sprung." Briggs also states that the Pir of Tilla is the head of all the Gorakhnathis (*Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis*, p. 102).

13. *The Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District* (1891-92, p. 62), in the very brief reference it makes to the Jakhbar *gaddi*, names its founder as "Bhur Nath, the adversary of Farid Godar". It is likely that Bhaur Nath was the real name of Udant Nath who was given the latter name because of his occult powers. The style of "Pir" which the Jogi *mahants* adopted is common to all their monastic centres, and there are folk songs in the Shahpur District of West Punjab which involved the blessing of the "Pir of Kirana." Dr Ghurye (*Indian Sadhus*, 157) believes that the title was taken by the Jogi *mahants* possibly "to escape utter annihilation at the hands of the Muslims."

14. The documents would suggest that the flood which made the Jogis shift ultimately to the land in Narot came in A.D. 1605 when Surat Nath approached the Emperor Jahangir for compensation for the lands entirely submerged at Bhoa, but this would run counter

to the tradition at Jakhbar which emphatically says that the settlement at Jakhbar took place while Udant Nath was still alive. It is possible, in view of this, that the shift from Bhoa took place as early as A.D. 1581 when Udant Nath was alive and a flood had come, partially submerging the lands of the Jogis. The fifty *bigahs* of land that were conferred upon the Jogis, as compensation after that flood (see document I), they might have received near the *Jakh* where they might have settled then only, although still holding part of their grants in Bhoa. The event in A.D. 1605 (see document IV) might then have been the total transfer of their grant from Bhoa to Narot, following imperial orders.

15. The *shijrā-nasb* or "family tree" of the Jogis, as indeed of all the other landowners, was appended to the record of rights prepared in the first Regular Settlement which came soon after the British assumption of authority in the Punjab. This *shijra* was dictated by Mahant Chanchal Nath and, unlike most families which contented themselves with tracing their family-tree to three or four generations that immediately preceded, the Jakhbar *mahant* decided to trace the *gaddi* back to the founder. This 'feat of memory', we believe, was not performed with much accuracy.

16. The family tree as given to us, orally, by Mahant Brahm Nath at Jakhbar ran like this :

Bhaur Nath (Udant Nath), Kanchan Nath, Tind Nath, Surat Nath, Anand Nath, Hira Nath, Lal Nath, Shardha Nath, Subuddha Nath, Mayya Nath, Gomati Nath, Dhaja Nath, Chanchal Nath, Madho Nath, Tani Nath, Sohan Nath and (the present *mahant*) Brahm Nath. Mahant Brahm Nath himself ascended the Jakhbar *gaddi* in A.D. 1916.

17. The disciples of the same *guru* are described as *gurubhāis*, and in this case one of the disciples of a senior *mahant* having succeeded him on the *gaddi* would ensure that his *gurubhāis* stayed with him in the monastery on terms almost of equality. They, being senior Jogis, are likely to have been trusted to handle certain important matters, one of which may have been representing the case of the *gaddi* before the Mughal authorities.

18. The date of the Tilla establishment is difficult to ascertain, and would naturally depend on what view we take of the date

of Gorakhnath himself; but it should be older by at least a few centuries than the Jakhbar *gaddi*.

19. This information is based on an interview with Shri Kundan Lal Gosain, former Judge of the Punjab High Court, who appeared in a civil lawsuit on behalf of the Kirana *mahants*, while an advocate at Shahpur several years ago. He says that several papers were produced in the court on that occasion and the oldest document from which the grant to the Tilla *gaddi* could be proved was an order of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It has not been possible for us, for obvious reasons, to have any access to the records of Kirana which is now in West Pakistan.

20. There is a short and uncomplimentary reference to the Bohar establishment in the *Gazetteer of the Rohtak District* (1883-84, 53-54), but there is no mention there of the time from which it dates; the present information is based again therefore on an oral account of the *gaddi* that we were able to gather.

21. Situated at a distance of seven miles from Gurdaspur, and the most influential of the Vaishnava shrines in this region. There are scores of branches of this *gaddi* all over the Punjab and large gatherings of people assemble here to pay homage to the *mahant* on the Baisakhi day.

22. An important establishment of the Vaishnavas, situated at a distance of four miles from Pathankot on the Pathankot-Jullundur road. This *gaddi* stood in an intimate relationship with the ruling house of Nurpur in whose territory it formerly lay.

23. This is a small but important shrine that branched off from Pandori several generations ago. The place is approached from the Anur railway station on the Pathankot-Jogindernagar rail-link and once lay in the territory of the hill state of Guler.

24. In a recent civil lawsuit involving the succession to the Damthal *gaddi*, it was claimed by the present *mahant*, who won the case, that the Jakhbar *mahants* had sent, as always, a representative of theirs to complete the installation ceremony by bestowing upon him the traditional *seli* and *topi*.

25. Particularly in the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*; see, for example, Chaghtai, M.A. "A Unique Farman of Emperor Aurangzeb", *IHRC*, XVIII, 64-67; Roychaudhuri, M.L. "Jahangir's Farman of 1613 A.D.", *ibid.*, 188-96; Jaffar, S. M. "Mughal Farmans in Peshawar", *ibid.*, 236-45; Halim, A. "A Farman of Emperor Shah Jahan", *ibid.*, XIX, 56-60; Paramatama Saran, "A Farman of Farrukhsiyar", *ibid.*, 74-79; Chaghtai, M.A. "Imperial Grants of Land Concerning the Sanctuary of Makhdum Majudu'-din-Hajji, Delhi", *ibid.*, XXXV, 59-63; Tirmizi, I.A. "A Rare Edict of Nur Jahan", *ibid.*, 196-202; Momin, Mohiuddin, "A Soyurghal of Babur", *ibid.*, XXXVI, 49-54. Several selections have been published from Hyderabad: *Selected Waqai of the Deccan (1660-1671)*, Hyderabad 1953; *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign, 1659-1706*, Hyderabad 1958; *Farmans and Sanads of the Deccan Sultans*, Hyderabad 1963; it may also be mentioned here that the State Archives office of Hyderabad had published in 1933 the *Kitab-e-Daftar-Diwani-wa-Mal-wa-Mulki*, which contains facsimiles of old Persian documents relating to grants of land and cash grants. In 1950, the Office published the *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*. In 1915, *A Few Sanads of Maafi Grants from Mohamedan Emperors etc.*, had been published at Allahabad.

26. Asia Publishing House 1963. On a much smaller scale, but nevertheless significant, is, for instance, B. R. Grover's "'*Raqba-Bandi*' Documents of Akbar's Reign", *IHRC*, XXXVI, 55-60. The author has been making a consistent use of such documents in his studies of Mughal India.

27. The last document in the present collection is an order issued by Bhag Singh to a *diwān*. Though this Sikh Chief cannot be supposed to have assumed all royal prerogatives, it is very probable that he was acting like an autonomous ruler. Also, the document appears to be rather informal, though its mandatory import is clear enough. The term *ḥukmnāmah*, which in the Punjabi language as well as in the Persian would mean literally a letter containing an order, seems to be appropriate for this document.

28. For instance, the permission to graze cows without paying the *gāo-shumāri* or the *kāh-charā'i*; to collect the toll from a certain ferry; to have the weigher's charges in a certain *mandawi* appropriated exclusively by the men of this establishment.

29. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, 297.
30. Hodivala, H. S. *Studies in Parsi History*, 161. Incidentally, the words used in the document are *zamin-i-m'ām* and *kisht-i-m'ām*, 152.
31. Hyderabad 1963, 40-41.
32. Chaghtai, M.A. "Imperial Grants", *IHRC*, XXXV, 59-63.
33. For a copy of the relevant document, see Modi, J. J. *Paisces at the Court of Akbar*, and also page 40.
34. That would be evident from the following: "The old *jagiri* held by the Jogis of the village of Naugiran is referred to in a *sanad* of Akbar as an ancient grant. It has recently been restored after over forty years resumption, due to the misconduct of the late *gaddi-nashin*, with whose connivance the murder of a faqir at Tilla was said to have been committed. There are numerous other *sanads* of later kings relating to this *jagiri* in possession of the Jogis" (*Gazetteer of the Jhelum District, Part A, 1904, 35*); G. W. Briggs also states that the Jogis of Tilla Gorakhnath were "in possession of a deed granted by Akbar confirming earlier grants" (*Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis, 103*).
35. A transcription of Shah Jahan's *farmān* is given in Dr. Ganda Singh's *Makhiz-i-Tawarikh-i-Sikhan*, Amritsar 1949.
36. We have seen a large number of documents belonging to the Vaishnava establishment of Pandori in the Gurdaspur District and there is no doubt about the patronage of these *gosāins* by the Mughal Emperors.
37. *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms (etc.) of British India*, 13. Wilson defines *madad-i-ma'ūsh* as a grant of "means of subsistence in general; also assignment of revenue for the support of learned or religious Mohammadans, or the benevolent institutions, by the government" (*ibid.*, 346). It is not clear if non-Muslim institutions are covered in this definition. It is more likely that they are not.

38. *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, §10 & n 59, §12.

39. *Ibid.*, §08.

40. It has been possible to publish, in this collection, the documents in which the term *ā'imma* is used for the revenue-free lands of the Nāthas. The term *maḥṣūl-i-ā'imma* and *bāz-yāft-i-ā'imma* are written in so clear a hand that there is no possibility of any mistake in reading. It may be pointed out that the term *makhādīm* also occurs in one of the unpublished documents belonging to this group.

41. Abul-Fazl's association with the administration of *suyūrghāl* is well-known; for example, in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (I, 199) he relates how it was decided that the Sadr, "with the concurrence of the writer of this work, should either increase or decrease the grants" (tr. I, 269-70). His association with the *Şadr-uş-Sudūr* would be evident also from document II in this collection.

THE DOCUMENTS

Facsimiles, Transcription, Translation & Notes

محمد اکبر جلال الدین بادشاہ غازی

نقل

فرمان عالی شان سعادت نشان بہم حضرت ظل سبحانی و خلیفۃ الرحمانی
از قرار بتاریخ ۱۴ شہر شوال ۹۸۹ ہجری
فرمان جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاہ غازی چون قبل ازین بموجب فرمان
عالی شان کہ بہم اشرف اوزک بتاریخ ۲۵ شہر جمادی الاول ۹۷۹ شرف نفاذ
یافتہ موازی دوہست بیگہ مزروع و افتادہ بالنصف از پرگنہ پٹھان از سرکار
پنجاب از موضع بوہ بجزیب سن کہ یکصد و ہفتاد بیگہ بطناب بانس میشود
در وجہ انعام اوڈنت نات جوگی مقرر بودہ درینو بتاریخ ۵ شہر شوال ۹۸۶ شہ
اوڈنت نات مذکور چون بعتہ بوسی مشرف گشت حکم شد کہ اراضی مذکور
بدستور سابق در وجہ انعام او مقرر باشد و از جملہ آن اراضی پنجاہ بیگہ زمین کہ آب
بردہ عوض آن موازی پنجاہ بیگہ زمین بنجر پیمودہ دہند کہ حاصلات آنرا سال بسال
بہ تمام و کمال صرف معشیت خود نمودہ بدعاگوئی دوام دولت قاہرہ اشتغال نماید
می باید کہ کردری و عاملان و جاگیر داران پرگنہ مذکورہ بریں موجب مقرر دانستہ
زمین مذکورہ را پیمودہ و چاک بستہ بتصرف مشار الیہ گذارند و بعلت
مال و جہات و اخراجات و عوارضات معاف و مسلم مرفوع القلم شناختہ بہ بیسج وجہ
من الوجوہ مزاحمت نرسانند و ہر سالہ دریں باب فرمان و پروانچہ مجدد طلب نمازند

**MUHAMMAD JALĀL-UD-DĪN
PĀDŠĀH GHĀZI**

The Exalted and Auspicious *Farmān*
bearing the seal of the Emperor,
the Shadow of God and the Vicegerent
of the Merciful.

Issued on the 14th day of Shawwal,
A.H. 989 (November 11, A.D. 1581).¹

WHEREAS, formerly according to the exalted *farmān* bearing the *auzak*² of the Emperor, issued on the 25th day of Jamādī-ul-awwal, A.H. 979 (October 15, A.D. 1571), two hundred *bigahs* by the measure of the hemp-rope³, which is equal to one hundred and seventy *bigahs* by the measure of the bamboo⁴, of culturable waste and cultivated land in equal part⁵ in the village Boh (Bhoa⁶) of the *parganah* Pathān in the *sarkār* of Punjab⁷ (had been) granted to the Jogi Udant Nath⁸ by way of *in'ām*⁹.

Now, as on the 5th day of Shawwal, A.H. 989 (Nov. 2, A.D. 1581) the said Udant Nath was honoured with admittance to the imperial court, it was ordered that the abovementioned land should remain in conferment upon him by way of *in'ām* in accordance with the former practice. Out of that (grant), fifty *bigahs* of land (have been) submerged under water and in lieu¹⁰ of those, fifty *bigahs* of waste land should be measured and given (to the Jogi), so that he may remain occupied with praying for the

permanence of the Conquering Dynasty (while) sustaining himself year after year with the entire produce from that (land).

It is, therefore, on this account ordered that, keeping this (*farmān*) in view, the *karorī* and the *‘āmils* and *jāgīrdārs* of the said *parganah* should hand over the aforesaid land, duly measured and demarcated, to the abovementioned (grantee). On account of the *māl-o-jihāt*¹¹, *ikhrajāt*¹² and *iwārzāt*¹³ which they should regard as completely remitted, they should not molest (the grantee) for any reason whatsoever; and they should not demand a new *farmān* or *parwānchah* every year in this matter.

NOTES

1. This date should have come at the end of the *farmān*, but, as already pointed out in the introductory note to I, the copyist has placed the date here. The actual copy starts with the *ṭughrā*, after this date, on this copy. The *ṭughrā* served as the "Imperial signature, the sign-manual on a royal grant of revenue : the royal titles usually prefixed to a public document, written in an ornamental character also called 'Tughrā'" (Wilson, H. H. *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms (etc.) of British India*, London 1875, 526).

2. According to Abul Fazl, a small round seal with the Emperor's name in the *nastāliq* character was called *auzak*. This seal was used, among other things, for the *suyūrghāl* grants. During Jahangir's reign at one time, the *farmāns* were sent to the imperial *harem* to be sealed with the *auzak*, for according to 'Abdul Hamid Lāhori this seal was then kept by the Empress. (Sarkar, J. N. *Mughal Administration*, Calcutta 1952, 225).

3. The *jarib*, consisting of sixty *gaz*, was inherited by Akbar from the earlier time. A hemp-rope was used as a *jarib* in measuring operations and it was liable to shrink when wet and lengthen when dry. The officials would keep it wet on all sorts of "pretexts". Badaūni refers to this situation in a beautiful couplet : "In the warning-laden eyes of the cheated man, the double-headed snake is better than the measuring rope." (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, 214 & n 74; see also, H. M. Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary*, edited by John Beames as the *Memoirs on History, Folklore, and Distribution of the Races of the North Western Provinces of India*, London 1869, II, 189-90).

4. To obviate the decrease in the *jarib-i-san* (the hemp-rope) when wet, Akbar introduced the *ṭanāb-i-bāns* (the bamboo rod). The former was, now, supposed to consist of 56 *gaz* while the latter, of 60 *gaz*. Therefore a *bigah*, or a square *jarib*, by the new measure would be larger than the one by the old. The size of the *bigah* is believed to have increased by 13 or 13.02 per cent. To convert the old *bigaks* into the new, a reduction of 13 or 13.02 per cent was made. Grover, B. R. "Raḡba-Bandi Documents", *IHRC XXXVI*, Part I, 58 n 11; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 310

& n 18. In this document, however, the reduction is 15 per cent. Were there any regional differences in the percentage ?

5. According to Abul Fazl, the standing rule was to give half of the area of the grant in a land already cultivated (*mazrū'*) and the other half in culturable waste (*uftādah*, or *banjar-uftādah*). Only when culturable waste was not available, land under cultivation alone could be given; but then, this land was to be reduced to seventy five per cent of the total area granted. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 302.

6. A small village overlooking the old bed of the Ravi, towards the south-west of Jakhbar, at a distance by foot of about two miles. It is looked upon by the *mahants* of Jakhbar as the original place of this *gaddi* of the Jogis. The inhabitants of Bhoa are to this day, because of their early association with the Nāthās, sometimes called "Bhoa-nāthiyas", and the village referred to as "Nāthān-dā-pind" or the "village of the Nāthās".

7. The term *sarkār* was widely used in the Mughal period for the administration of a prince or a noble as well as for the sub-division of a province (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 226, 282 n 49). Wilson defines *sarkār* as even "a province" (*Glossary*, 446).

The term *sarkār-i-Punjab* of this document presents some difficulty, unless of course we accept Wilson's equation of *sarkār* with a "province". However, the term *sarkār-i-Punjab* is not peculiar to this document; it occurs also in Jahangir's *farmāns* (documents III & IV) and in another *farmān* of Akbar issued in A.D. 1571, which is now in the India Office Library, London (a copy has been shown to us by Mr. B. R. Grover). The province of Lahore was subdivided into *doābs*, except for sometime during Shah Jahan's reign. Is it possible that *sarkār-i-Punjab* refers simply to the relevant, in this case the *bārī*, *doāb* of the province ?

8. The founder of the Jakhbar *gaddi*, according to all accounts. He is also sometimes referred to as Pīr Bhaur Nāth. Several stories current at Jakhbar see him in an intimate relationship with the Emperor Akbar who, it is clear, must at least have thought well of Udant Nāth to make him this sizeable grant of two hundred *bigahs* of land for the first time. The dates of Udant Nath are not

known with certainty: he is only referred to as being a contemporary of the Mughal Emperor. The documents indicate, however, that he must have died in or before A.D. 1606 when Surat Nath, who in all probability was his direct successor, was in occupation of the *gaddi*. (See document V, below).

9. *In'ām* ordinarily would mean a gift, a benefaction in general or a gift by a superior to an inferior (Wilson, *Glossary*, 217). But here it means "a grant emanating from the ruling power of the time of the grant, free from all government exactions" (*loc. cit.*). Since this *in'ām* was to be held on the same basis as *jāgīr* but without holding any rank and without any obligation on the part of the grantee (except of course his voluntary "prayers"), it is evident that *in'ām* in this *farmān* is synonymous with *madad-i-ma'āsh*, a term which occurs in the next *farmān*.

10. From this document and from Jahangir's *farmān* (document IV) it would appear that compensation for the loss of *madad-i-ma'āsh* land through some natural calamity was recognized as almost a general principle of Mughal administrative policy. Dr Irfan Habib gives three causes for the transfer of *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants: recalcitrance of the cultivators, conflict between the grantee and the *muqaddam*, and hostility between the grantee and the "proprietors" (*The Agrarian System*, 300 & n 13, 301). To these may be added this fourth, that is loss through a natural calamity.

11. Wilson defines *māl-o-jihāt* as "a collective term for land revenues" (*Glossary*, 323). On the meaning of *māl* as "land-revenue", there is a general agreement but not on the meaning of *jihāt*. According to Abul Fazl, "whatever was collected from various kinds of arts and crafts was termed *jihāt*". In this *farmān*, Abul Fazl's definition may be safely accepted. Dr Irfan Habib understands *jihāt* to mean cesses in addition to *māl* as well as "taxes on certain trades" (*The Agrarian System*, 201 n 26, 243). By Aurangzeb's time, the term *jihāt* appears to have acquired a different connotation: it became an integral part of the *māl*. The term *māl-o-jihāt*, therefore, came to mean the revenue and the charges for its collection. The *jihāt* was probably five per cent of the *māl* (Siddiqi, Noman Ahmad, "Nature of the *Sair Jihat* Taxes", a paper read at the Allahabad Session of the *Indian History Congress* in 1965—a copy was kindly supplied to us by the author).

12. Dr Irfan Habib, basing his argument on the text of *madad-i-ma'āsh farmāns* in general, comes to the conclusion that *ikhrajāt* covered the petty burdens imposed by officials (*The Agrarian System*, 243 n 6, 299). In this document, however, the "petty burdens" are not specified in detail and one cannot be very sure about the exact connotation of *ikhrajāt* here (cf. n 13 below).

13. The term *'iwārzāt* occurs also in Jhaveri's *Imperial Farmans* (Document No. IV) and he defines it as taxes like the *peshkash* and *jaribānah* (Jhaveri has misread it as *jarmānah*). The exact connotation of this term is not clear from the present document but in document III it does cover *peshkashī* and other "petty burdens". That would equate the *'iwārzāt* of documents III and IV with the *sā'ir jihāt* of document II. The difference between *'iwārzāt*, *ikhrajāt* and *sā'ir jihāt* in the *farmāns* of Akbar and Jahangir in the present collection is not clear. They appear to be synonymous. However, it is possible that *ikhrajāt* in these documents is used for the charges related to the assessment and collection of the revenue, which would equate it with the later connotation of *jihāt* (cf. n 11 above).

اللہ اکبر

(Seal)

جلال الدین والدینا اکبر بادشاہ
ابن ہمایوں بادشاہ ابن ابر بادشاہ
ابن عمر شیخ مرزا ابن سلطان ابو سعید
ابن سلطان محمد میرزا ابن میران شاہ
ابن امیر تیمور صاحب قران

(Tughra)

فرمان جلال الدین اکبر بادشاہ غازی

چوں بموجب فرمان عالی شان موازی دو صد بیگہ زمین بطنا بس
در پرگنہ پٹیان بسم او دت ناتھ گذشتہ بود در بنولا (افادت)
واناضت پناہ حقان و معارف آگاہ علای شیخ ابوالفضل ہفتاد و ہشت بیگہ زمین تجویز نموده بودند چون تفاوت
سادات رفیع مکان میران صدر جہاں
بعرض اقدس رسانید موازی یک صد بیگہ زمین از محل قدیم از قرار مناصفہ بگزالی در روز ہمدو معاش او ذخیرہ بجز
تفصیل ضمن مقرر شد
و جہات
می باید کہ حکام و عمال و کرداریان و جاگیر داران حال و استقبال آنحال اراضی مذکور را بریں بموجب مقررات بہت مال
و وجہات و سایر جہات مانند قفلنہ و پیشکش و جریبانہ و دہ نیم و صد رومی قانون گوئی و تکرار زراعت و ضبط
ہر سال بعد از تشخیص (چک)

وکل تکالیف دیوانی و حبیبیہ اخراجات سلطانی مزاحمت نرسانند و بہ بیچ اسم و رسم
طبع و توقع نہ نمایند و ہر سال دریں باب فرمان و پروانچہ (مجدد طلب نمازند)

II

*ALLĀHU AKBAR*¹
(God is Great)

(Seal²)
Jalāl-ud-dīn-
wa-ud-duniyā, son
of Humayun Padshah, son
of Babur Padshah, son of
Umar Shaikh Mirza, son of
Sultan Abu Said, son of Sultan
Muhammad Mirza, son of
Miran Shah, son of
Amir Timur, Sahib
Qiran.

Ṭughrā
The *Farmān* of Jalāl-ud-dīn
Akbar Pādshah Ghāzī³

WHEREAS, in accordance with the exalted *farmān* (of the Emperor), two hundred *bigahs* of land in the *parganah*⁴ Pathān by the measure of the hemp-rope, had been granted in the name of Udant Nath.

Now, the asylum of beneficence and generosity, the knower of truths and subtleties, Shaikh Abul Fazl 'Allāmī had proposed⁵ seventy eight *bigahs* of land. On the commendation of the pious among the eminent and of the exalted station, Mirān Sadr Jahan⁶, to the holy (Presence) one hundred *bigahs* of land in the old *maḥal*⁷,

شرح بالیقین واقعہ بتاریخ روز بادشاہ آبان الہی اسکندہ موافق روز چہار شنبہ... افاقت و نگاہ حقایق و
 و معارف آگاہ علای شیخ ابوالفضل سیادت و نقابت و نگاہ میر صدر جہان
 چونکہ مقرب المحض السلطانی رائید اس کچھوا ہوا واقعہ نویسی بندہ درگاہ فاضل منشی آگاہ بموجب فرمان عالی شان
 بتاریخ ۱۴ شہر شوال ۱۲۹۹ موزی دو صد گیکھ زمین بطناب سن از
 پرگنہ پٹھان باسم اوڈنت ناتھ گذر شتہ بود و درینو لا افاضل پناہ علای شیخ مشار الیہ ہفتاد و ہشت گیکھ بمشار
 الیہ صلاح دادہ بود چون سعادت پناہ میر صدر جہان بعرض اشرف رسانیدہ
 موزی یکصد گیکھ زمین بگز الہی از قرار مناصفہ از محل قدیم مضمین شدہ شرح ماشیہ بالیقین بخط واقعہ نویس
 موافق واقعہ است

۲۰۰ بطناب سن

۳۰ ... از قصور طناب بالنس

۱۶۰

۱۹-۱۴ .. تفاوت گز الہی

۱۵۲-۱

۱۰۰ گیکھ

۱۰ مقررہ ... شدہ

... ناتھ ... سورت ناتھ ... ناتھ

بالک ناتھ بھیر و ناتھ تان ناتھ چندر ناتھ

بان ناتھ ... ناتھ بیض

on the principle of (culturable waste and cultivated land in) equal part by the measure of the *Ilāhī-gaz*⁸ has been granted to Udant Nath and others⁹ by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh*¹⁰ according to the annexed detail.

It is, therefore, on this account ordered that the present and the future *hākims*¹¹ and *'āmils*¹² and *karorīs*¹³ and *jāgīrdārs*¹⁴ of those *maḥals* should not molest (the grantee) on account of the *māl-o-jihāt*, *wujūhāt*¹⁵, (and) *sā'ir-jihāt*¹⁶ like the *qunlagḥah*, *peshkashi*, *jarībānah*, *dah-nīm*, *sad-doi-i-qānūngo*, *takrār-i-zarā'at*, *zabṭ-i-harsālah-ba'd-az-tashkḥīs-i-chak* and all other fiscal demands and imperial imposts¹⁷. On no account whatsoever, should they entertain any avarice or hope of gain and they (should not demand) a new *farmān* or *parwānchah*¹⁸ every year in this matter.

.... (torn—the date, therefore, is missing)

II A

(Reverse of II)

Authenticated endorsement¹⁹, dated Bād, the 22nd day, of Ābān²⁰ *Ilāhī*, the (regal) year 41, corresponding to Wednesday... (*illegible*) the possessor of generosity, the knower of truths and subtleties, Shaikh Abul Fazl 'Allāmī, (and) the possessor of nobility and dignity, Mīr Sadr Jahan (during) the *chauki*²¹ of Raidas Kachhwaha, the favoured of his Majesty, and the *wāqī'a-nawīsī*²² of Fazil Munshi, the servant of the court, to the effect that according to the exalted *farmān* of the 14th day of Shawwal A.H. 989 (a grant of) two hundred *bigahs* of land by the measure of the hemp-rope in the *parganah* Pathān had been issued in the name of Udant Nath. Now, the asylum of the learned, the Shaikh 'Allāmī, had suggested seventy eight *bigahs* for the aforesaid (Udant Nath); on the commendation, however, of the asylum of felicity, Mīr Sadr Jahan,

(Seal A)

(Seal B)

مرسدہ تفاوت سادات رفیع مکان صد جہاں چوکی مقرب حضرت السلطان
رائیداس کچھواہ واقعہ نویسی بندہ درگاہ فاضل منشی

(Seal C)

(Seal D)

Seals

...

... خان ۹۹۳ A

کوکہ میرزا خان مرید اکبر بادشاہ ۱۰۰۱ B

نظر علی بن حسین C

(Below) مرقوم فی التاريخ ۲۴ ماد بہن ۱۲۸

عبدہ کمال الدین حسین D

(Below) بتاریخ ۱۶ بہن ۴۱

to the noble (Presence), (the grant of) one hundred *bigahs* of land in the old *maḥal* on the principle of (culturable waste and cultivated land in) equal part by the measure of the *Ilāhī-gaz* has been detailed. The authenticated *sharah-i-ḥāshiyah*²³ verily in the hand of the *wāqi'a-nawīs* "conforms to the *wāqi'a*".²⁴

200 (*bigahs*) by the measure of the hemp-rope, less
30 (*bigahs*) on account of (the difference due to) the measure of the bamboo²⁵.

170 (*bigahs*)

17-19 (*bigahs-biswas*²⁶) (allowance for the difference due to) the *Ilāhī-gaz*²⁷.

152-1 (*bigahs-biswas*) *muqarrarah ... shudah.*

... Nath, ... Nath, Surat Nath, ... Nath, Balak Nath, Bhairon Nath, Tan Nath, Chandar Nath, Ban Nath, ... Nath²⁸ *Baiz.*

100 *bigahs.*

II B

(Reverse of II, inverted)

Through the *risālat*²⁹ of the pious among the eminent and of the exalted station, Mirān Sadr Jahan (during) the *chauki* of the favoured of His Majesty, Raidas Kachh-waha, and the *wāqi'a-nawīsī* of Fazil Munshi, the servant of the Court.

A : ... Khan ... A. H. 993 (A.D. 1584-85).

B : Kokah Mirza Khan³⁰, the *murīd* of Akbar Padshah, A. H. 1001 (A.D. 1592-93).

C : Nazr Ali, son of Hussain. (below) Affixed on the 24th day of Bahman, the (regnal) year 41.

D : The slave³¹ Kamal-ud-din Hussain³². (below) Dated the 17th of Bahman, of the (regnal) year 41.

NOTE : This document bears an endorsement in Urdu, dated the 15th of July, 1853. It appears to have been produced for examination before a British Settlement Officer.

NOTES

1. According to J. J. Modi, *Allāhu Akbar* was adopted by Akbar for his coins and seals in A.D. 1575-76 and as a form of salutation in A.D. 1586. As it is obvious from this *farmān*, Allāhu Akbar was adopted by Akbar also as a *sar-nāmāh* or superscription for his *farmāns* and, in this, he was followed by Jahangir. The most commonly used *sar-nāmāh* before this time was probably *Hū-al-ghanī* which appears also on a few of the documents in the present collection. The *sar-nāmāh*, in due course, lent itself to a great variety (Tirmizi, I.A. "A Rare Edict of Nur Jahan", *IHRC*, XXX, Part II, 196-202).

2. Abul Fazl tells us that in the beginning of Akbar's reign, Maulāna Maqṣūd, the seal engraver, cut the Emperor's name and of his ancestors upto Timur on steel in the *riqū'* character in a circular form. This seal was meant originally for diplomatic correspondence only, but, later on, came to be used on the *farmāns* also. The seal on the present document is true to Abul Fazl's description. It appears on Modi's document No. 2 in the *Parsees at the Court of Akbar* (in a *farmān* of the fortieth regnal year—that is, only a year earlier than the present *farmān*); but Modi has wrongly read Akbar's name as "Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Padshah". In that seal as well as in this, the correct reading is "Jalāl-ud-dīn-wa-ud-duniyā Akbar Padshah", Modi was probably misled by the *tughrā* on his document which does contain "Muḥammad".

3. The term *ghāzī* is defined by Steingass in his *Persian-English Dictionary* as a "conqueror, hero, gallant soldier (especially combating infidels)". The championship of the faith of Islam is generally associated with the term; but with Akbar perhaps its use would signify no more than a convention or a legacy from his ancestors.

4. *Parganah* is defined by Wilson as : "A district, a province, a tract of country comprising many villages, but of which several constitute a *Chaklā* or *Zila*; the actual extent varies, but the distinction is permanent" (*Glossary*, 402). Elliot emphasises the fiscal character of the *parganah* as an administrative unit (*Memoirs etc.*, II, 201-02). According to B. R. Grover, the *parganah* generally coincided with the *maḥal* which

was purely a fiscal unit; but this co-incidence did not necessarily always imply co-jurisdiction (" 'Raḡba-Bandi' Documents of Akbar's Reign", *IHRC*, XXXVI, Part II, 56 n 2). Dr Irfan Habib makes a distinction between the territorial and other *maḡals*, and the *parganaḡ* is equated with the territorial *maḡal* (*The Agrarian System*, 2, 162, 259, 261, 289). The *parganaḡ*, as an administrative unit, existed before Akbar's time and its limits were generally determined by the existence of a clan or tribe over a contiguous tract, which made the *parganaḡ* almost "a tract of land in the possession of one undivided clan".

5. The *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants were non-proprietary as well as non-hereditary and to reduce or resume a grant at any time was the Emperor's prerogative. Dr Irfan Habib observes that Akbar's reign presents "the spectacle of wholesale resummptions and reductions of grants, either on the suspicion that they had been obtained by corrupt or fraudulent means or simply as part of policy directed against certain classes of grantees" (*The Agrarian System*, 303). In this *farmān*, the grant is surely being reduced, but it is not clear if it was due to any of the reasons mentioned by Dr Irfan Habib. Abul Fazl does refer to bribery practised by the holders of *madad-i-ma'āsh* lands, which induced Akbar to order an investigation into the *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants. That general order would bring in the case of the grantees of the present document also. In any case, Abul Fazl was associated with Mirān Ṣadr Jahan in this investigation and hence, in this *farmān*, there is a reference to the proposal made by Abul Fazl.

6. Abul-Fazl says that Akbar had employed "an experienced man of correct intentions" to consider the petitions of men for the purpose of granting *suyūrḡhāl*. The reference here is to the office of the *Ṣadr-uṣ-Ṣudūr* who was authorized to confer *madad-i-ma'āsh* and other charitable grants and who was variously known as the *Ṣadr-i-Kull*, *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, or simply the *Ṣadr*. He was served by the provincial *ṣadrs* (*ṣadr-i-juzw*) and, at a still lower level, by the *mutawalīs*. Thus, an elaborate imperial department had come into existence to look after the *suyūrḡhāl*. At the time of the grant in question, Miran ṣadr Jahan was the *Ṣadr-uṣ-Ṣudūr*.

7. Wilson has defined *maḡal* as "a division of a *ta'alluqa* or district, yielding revenue according to assessment. Also, an estate,

defined as any parcel or parcels of land which may be separately assessed with the public revenue" (*Glossary*, 318-19). Sir Jadunath Sarkar's equation of *maḥals* with "villages" might underline the smallness of the unit, but it is misleadingly simplified (*Mughal Administration*, 38). *Maḥal* and *parganah* are treated by Elliot as "equivalent expressions" (*Memoirs etc.*, II, 201-02). See, our note 4, above. Dr Irfan Habib observes that "the markets of larger towns and the ports were constituted into separate *maḥals* (as distinct from the *parganah* or territorial *maḥals*)" (*The Agrarian System*, 259). It is both interesting and significant to find in this connection that for the pilgrims to the Ganges the *maḥal* of *sū'ir* (taxes other than the land-revenue) was used (*ibid.*, 99 n 63).

8. The *gaz* as a measure of length varied from 18 to 58 inches and, of the great variety of measures of this denomination, the *gaz-i-sikandarī* was probably in official use before Akbar introduced the *Gaz-i-Ilāhī* as the sole official standard unit of measurement in the thirty-first or the thirty-third year of his reign. The *Gaz-i-Ilāhī* was longer than the *gaz-i-sikandarī*, but no actual measure had survived into the early nineteenth century and the actual value of *Gaz-i-Ilāhī* was made the subject of many inquiries and experiments during the revenue survey of "the western provinces" by the British administrators. According to different reports and measurements, the value of the *Gaz-i-Ilāhī* appeared to vary from 29 to 35 inches; the majority, however, of actual measures of land appeared to make the *Gaz-i-Ilāhī* equal to about 33 inches; and "that was assumed as the fixed standard value". Dr Irfan Habib has discussed the measure at some length and he concludes that the value of the *Gaz-i-Ilāhī* was something between 32.00 and 32.25 inches (*The Agrarian System*, 352-62).

See also, Elliot's *Memoirs etc.*, II, 194; Wilson's *Glossary*, 171; and Grover, B. R. "Raqba-Bandi Documents," *IHRC*, XXXVI, Part II, 58 n 12.

9. This has reference apparently to the other Jogis at the Jakhbar establishment who must have included both the *gurūbhāis* and the disciples of Udant Nath. This expression occurs in several other documents also and suggests that even though most of the time only one Jogi, the *mahant*, is mentioned by name in the document, the grant belonged technically to the entire body of the Jogis living at the establishment.

10. In the *farmān* of A.D. 1581, the term used was *in'ām*; now, in the forty-first year of Akbar's reign, it is *madad-i-ma'ūsh*.

11. The term *hākim* was used for the provincial Governors as well as for "an official". Wilson defines it as a "ruler, a governor, the supreme administrative authority in a district; also, a judge" (*Glossary*, 195).

12. The officials, in charge of both the assessment and the collection of the revenues, were called *'āmils*. They were required to deposit the collected revenues into the treasury and to be responsible for getting from the treasurer the receipts for the peasants. The *'āmil's* accounts were subjected to audit. The *jāgirdārs* also had their own *'āmils* and it was not easy to keep them in check. It was considered desirable that the *'āmils* should not have any local ties or links in the areas to which they were appointed. Uncertain about their tenures, they tended to be rapacious and levied "extortions" from the *muqaddams* and *patwāris*. The *'āmil's* demands could sometimes be exorbitant. (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 69 n 40, 171, 173, 178 n 45, 242 n 9, 247-48, 275, 280, 284, 285, 287, 321, 347).

From Wilson's *Glossary* (23), it appears that the position of the *'āmils* changed significantly in later times; for the *'āmil* is defined not only as an "officer of Government in the financial department, especially a collector of revenue on the part of the Government" but also as "the farmer of the revenue".

13. In the 19th year of Akbar's reign, a radical and comprehensive change was brought about in the organization of the *khālisah* administration. The whole land of the Empire, excepting only three provinces, was divided into districts so that each district was expected to yield a *karor* of *tankahs*. The officials appointed to these districts came to be called the *karoris*, and they appear to have been the *'āmils* of earlier time with a greater latitude in action. The name *karori* stuck to these officials, even though the "Karori experiment" was wound up. The *karori* was assisted by the *amin* who now carried out measurement for the purposes of assessment. For enforcing the collection of revenues, the *karori* could employ the troopers called *sih-bandis*. In the reign of Shah Jahan, however, the work of assessment was entrusted to the *amin* and the

karori's task was confined to the collection; then, with the appointment of *amin-faujdar's* to the newly created territorial unit called *chaklah*, the *karori* became subordinate to that official.

The *karori* was allowed eight per cent of the total receipts for himself and his staff; but this allowance was reduced to five per cent after the creation of a separate office for the *amin*. See Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 275-77, 279; Wilson's *Glossary*, 298; Elliot's *Memoirs etc.*, 197-200.

14. *Jāgirdār* is defined by Wilson as the "holder of any assignment of revenue" (*Glossary*, 225). Over a large portion of the Empire, the Mughal Emperors transferred their right to the revenue and other taxes to certain of their subjects; and these assignees, known as *jāgirdār's*, were usually *manṣabdār's*. In fact, lands held on the same basis as *jāgīr*, but without any rank or obligation, belonged to the category of *in'ām*. The *jāgirdār's* were entitled to collect the entire revenue due to the State; and that embraced a variety of cesses and petty taxes. Except in the case of *al-tamghā* assignments, which were rather rare, the *jāgīr's* were constantly transferred after short periods. This system of periodic transfers was inconvenient to the *jāgirdār's* and created its own complications. The *jāgirdār's* appointed their own agents or *gumāshtah's* who were liable to come into conflict with the holders of *madad-i-ma'āsh* lands. See, Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 171, 257, 260, 264-66, 267-68, 269; Wilson, *Glossary*, 224.

15. Wilson defines *wujūhāt* as "a collective term for land revenues" and equates it with the *māl-o-jihāt* (*Glossary*, 323). But Abul Fazl applies the term to a number of taxes other than the land-revenue. Dr Irfan Habib believes that the *wujūhāt* consisted of *jihāt* (or taxes on certain trades) and *sā'ir-jihāt* (or market and transit dues)—*The Agrarian System*, 243. But in this document, the *sā'ir-jihāt* cover all the specified non-fiscal imposts. It is possible that *wujūhāt-o-sā'ir-jihāt* of this document collectively cover what is covered by *ikhrajāt-o-iwārẓāt* in the *farmāns* of Jahangir (documents III & IV) in this collection.

16. As suggested in the previous note, the *sā'ir-jihāt* in this document may either be synonymous with *wujūhāt* or complementary to it. In any case, the term *sā'ir-jihāt* relates here to taxes other than the land-revenue; cf. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 243 &

n 4. According to Noman Ahmad Siddiqi, all the taxes apart from *māl* (or land-revenue) and *jihāt* (or taxes on various kinds of arts and crafts) were covered by the term *sā'ir-jihāt* in the days of Abul Fazl. By Aurangzeb's reign, however, when *māl-o-jihāt* came to connote the land-revenue and the charges connected with its assessment, *sā'ir-jihāt* covered some other tax of rural and agricultural incidence and, as such, it was closely related to *māl-o-jihāt*. The rest of the taxes then were covered by the term *sā'ir-ul-wujūh* ("The Nature of Sair Jihat Taxes", *Indian History Congress*, Allahabad, 1965).

17. The expression *kull takālif-i-dīwānī wa jamī' ikhrājāt-i-šultānī*, which occurs in this *farmān*, also occurs in Akbar's *farmān* published by J. J. Modi in the *Parsees at the Court of Akbar* in which it is translated as "all civil taxes and all royal revenues". Following upon a number of demands and imposts, this expression re-inforces in a general but emphatic manner the fullness of the concessions granted.

The detailed imposts of this *farmān* are repeated in the *farmāns* of Jahangir (documents III & IV) with the exception of *jaribānah* which occurs also in the *farmāns* published by J. J. Modi in the *Parsees* and by K. M. Jhaveri in the *Imperial Farmans*. But they have read it as *farmānah*. *Jaribānah* is defined by Wilson as an "assessment on the cultivators for the expenses of measurement" (*Glossary*, 233). In this *farmān*, *jaribānah* occurs with *dah-nīm* (not *dah-nīmī*). It is suggested by Noman Ahmad Siddiqi that by Aurangzeb's reign both these heads were covered under *jihāt* which was five per cent of and above the *māl* or land-revenue. That connotation of these terms does not appear to be there in Akbar's time, at least not in this *farmān*.

18. Abul Fazl says that *farmāns* were sometimes written in *tughrā* character and the first two lines were not made short. These *farmāns* were called *parwānchahs*. He goes on to add that these *parwānchahs* were not to be laid before the Emperor in the interests of quick despatch. Probably the term did not remain confined to imperial *farmāns* and it covered also the orders by the highest officials. We have used *parwānchah* to designate the orders of the highest officials.

19. According to Abul Fazl, the Emperor had appointed fourteen *wāqī'a-nawīses*, two of whom were daily required to write down the orders and doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments reported. This diary was corrected by one of the Emperor's servants and laid before him for his approval. The approved diary was returned to the *wāqī'a-nawīs* who made a copy of each report, which was signed by the person who had laid the diary before the Emperor, and this signed copy was sent to the official concerned. The report in this state was called *yād-dāsht* or memorandum (of which several copies were made) which probably remained as a kind of permanent record in the relevant office for future reference. An abridgment of the *yād-dāsht* was made and it was signed by the *wāqī'a-nawīs*, the *risālahdār*, the *mīr-i-arz* and the *dāroghah*. This document was called *ta'liqah* which, not the *yād-dāsht*, was put up before the minister of State for his seal. And then the *farmān* was prepared.

The procedure through which a *madad-i-ma'ūsh farmān* had to pass was not different from that of the other *farmāns*. After the *ta'liqah* was prepared from a *yād-dāsht*, it was inspected, sealed and signed by the *mustaufī* or the auditor and handed over to the *diwān-i-sa'ādat* who was in charge of the finances in the office of the *Şadr-uş-Şudūr*. The *farmān* was prepared, with the seals of the concerned auxiliary authorities, for the seal and endorsement of the *Diwān-i-Kull*. The imperial seal was the last thing to be put at the top of the *farmān*, a little above the *tuğhrā*.

The words *sharah bi'l-yaqīn-i-wāqī'a*, which appear here on the reverse of the *farmān*, would imply, therefore, that the statement which follows was based on the actual entry in the *yād-dāsht*. We hope that this sense is conveyed aptly by the words "authenticated endorsement" which every genuine *ta'liqah* was bound to be by its very nature.

20. The eighth month of the Persian calendar. See, Appendix A.

21. According to Abul Fazl, the four divisions of the army were divided into seven parts, each of which was appointed for twenty-four hours to attend upon the Emperor. This mounting guard was called "*chauki*" in Hindi. For some additional detail of the mounting guard, see Bernier's *Travels in the Mughal Empire* (ed.

Archibald Constable—2nd ed. by V. A. Smith), Oxford University Press 1914, 210, 214, 243, 258.

Rāidās Kachhwāhā obviously was one of the Rajput *manṣabdārs* who, according to Bernier, were subjected to the same regulations as the Muslim *manṣabdārs*, but who did not mount within the fort; they pitched their own tents outside.

22. On that particular day, it was the turn of Fāzil Munshi to act as the *wāqi'a-nawīs*. See note 19, above.

23. This should refer to the marginal note on the *yād-dāsh* by the *wāqi'a-nawīs*.

24. This should be actual wording of the marginal note referred to in the note above.

25. Akbar had introduced the *ṭanāb-i-bāns* (the bamboo measuring rod) in the nineteenth year of his reign. Therefore, in converting the *bigahs* by the hemp-rope into *bigahs* by the bamboo measure, the difference in the two measures had to be taken into account. Hence the "reduction (on account of the difference) due to the bamboo rod" was to be effected. As already pointed out, that reduction is believed to have been 13 or 13.02 per cent. But in this case, it was fifteen per cent. Cf. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 354 n 6.

26. The *bigah* as a unit area consisted of a square *jarīb* (or 60×60 *gaz*). But since the value of the *gaz*, and therefore of the *jarīb*, was not standardized, the *bigah* also varied in actual area. With the introduction of the standard *Gaz-i-Ilāhī*, the *bigah* was also standardized and consisted of 3600 square *Gaz-i-Ilāhī* (or nearly 5/8ths of an acre).

The area figures in the *Ain-i-Akbarī* are given in the *Bigah-i-Ilāhī* which, as an official measure of land, became firmly established by the middle of the eighteenth century in the Punjab (as elsewhere in the north), though the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century statistics give the area figures probably in the *bigah-i-daftari* which had been introduced by Shah Jahan and which was only two-thirds of the *Bigah-i-Ilāhī*. It is possible that the grantees of

madad-i-ma'ūsh were largely responsible for the continuation of the use of the *Bigah-i-Ilāhī* in actual practice, for to retain the original limits of their lands they had a permanent interest in its survival. It may be pointed out in this connection that in the case of the *Jogis* of Jakhbar the introduction of the *Gaz-i-Ilāhī* proved eventually to be of advantage to them, because when their full grant of two hundred *bigahs* was restored it was given in the *Bigah-i-Ilāhī*.

Biswa, literally a twentieth, was applied especially to the twentieth part of a *bigah*. And in this document, the *bigah* is certainly broken up into *biswahs* and not into *kanāls*, a unit which was peculiar to the Punjab (4 *kanāls* forming a *bigah*).

* See, Grover, B. R. "Raḡba-Bandī Document," *IHRC*, XXXVI, Part II, 58; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 3, 363, 365, 366; Wilson, *Glossary*, 85, 90.

27. With the introduction of the *Gaz-i-Ilāhī*, the new *bigah* became larger in size than the *bigah* by the measure of the hemp-rope as well as by the measure of the bamboo. Mr. B. R. Grover has argued, on the basis of *raḡba-bandī* documents coming down from Akbar's reign, that the increase in the *Bigah-i-Ilāhī* over the *bigah* by the measure of the hemp-rope was 22.1675 per cent (and not 20 per cent as suggested by W. H. Moreland in his *Agrarian System of Moslem India*); and the increase of the *Bigah-i-Ilāhī* over the *bigah* by the measure of the bamboo was 9.1675 per cent. "Raḡba-Bandī Documents," *IHRC*, XXXVI, Part II, 58 n 12).

In the present case, however, we find that 200 *bigahs* by the measure of the hemp-rope are reduced to 152 *bigahs* and 1 *biswa* by the *Gaz-i-Ilāhī*. Therefore the reduction on account of the difference due to the *Gaz-i-Ilāhī* is 23.975 per cent. The reduction from the *bigahs* by the bamboo rod to the *bigahs* by the *Gaz-i-Ilāhī*, in this case, is only a fraction less than 10.59 per cent (cf. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 354-55).

28. The presence of this list here is both interesting and unusual. Interesting, because these are the names probably of "the other" *Jogis* referred to in the grant (see n. 9 above); and unusual, because such a detailed list of the names does not occur on any of the other documents. It is not clear as to what the status of these *Jogis* named here was, but some of them at least must have been

disciples of Udant Nath. The names of as many as four Jogis from this list find mention in other documents (see documents III, IV and V below).

29. H. S. Hodivala, keeping in view Abul Fazl's statement that the *risālahdār* was one of the four who signed the *yād-dāsht*, suggests that the word *risālah* in the *ta'liqah* stands for *risālahdār* (*Studies in Parsi History*, 174 n 44). Abdul Hamid Lāhori states, however, that the prince who was given the power of *risālah* used to write his *rasālatun* on the back of the *farmān* and seal it with his own seal. Below the *risālah*, the *dīwān* wrote his *mā'rifat* or a note of the fact that the *farmān* was being transmitted through his hands (Sarkar, Sir Jadunath, *Mughal Administration*, 224). Sarkar's inference that *rasālatun* indicated the person through whose mediacy the *farmān* was granted appears to be correct. "Farmāns granting lands or favours were always issued as the result of suit paid to a minister or other favourite at Court for influencing the Emperor, and the name of such 'intermediary' was entered on the back of the *farmān* by means of the word *rasalatun* ('through the medium of')". Sarkar goes on to add that some ancient Hindu inscriptions of land-grants conclude with the name of the *dutak* or the intermediary (*ibid.*, 222). S. M. Jaffar takes the "b'risālati" in the same sense ("Mughal Farmans in Peshawar", *IHRC*, XVIII, 236-45).

30. Mirza 'Aziz Kokah was the *wakil* or prime minister of the Empire at this time, having been appointed to that office in A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1596). His seal appears also on a *farmān* in Modi's documents in the *Parsees at the Court of Akbar*. For some detail of his life, see Blochmann, H. *Āin-i-Akbarī* (2nd ed.), 243-47.

31. 'Abduh is an abbreviation of *anā 'abduh-hu*, which means "(I am) his servant or slave". Wilson noticed that 'abd (a slave) was frequently prefixed as a mark of humility to the official signatures by Indian officers, whether Hindu or Muslim; and in law papers, it was sometimes prefixed to the name of each subscribing witness (*Glossary*, 2).

32. This seal appears on Modi's document No. 1 in the *Parsees at the Court of Akbar*, and basing himself on Abul Fazl's description of how seals were put on the *farmāns* by the various officials, Modi suggests that Kamāl-ud-dīn might be the *ṣāhib-i-taujīk* or *mustaufī*

(auditor). Three persons bearing this name during Akbar's reign are known : Mir Kamāl-ud-din Khwafi who served Akbar, but in what capacity is not known; Kamāl-ud-din (the father of Abū Turāb) was the Mir Hājji under Akbar; and Maulānā Kamāl-ud-din Hussain (the father of Maulānā 'Alā-ud-din) who was Akbar's teacher. This last might be the signatory (*Parsees*, 116-17).

(Seal)

الذاکر

نورالدین محمد جہانگیر بادشاہ غازی ۱۰۱۳

ابن اکبر بادشاہ ابن ہمایوں بادشاہ

ابن ہمایوں بادشاہ ابن عمر شیخ مرزا

ابن سلطان ابوسعید ابن سلطان میرزا

ابن میران شاہ ابن تیمور صاحب قران

Tughra

فرمان المنظر نورالدین محمد جہانگیر بادشاہ غازی

چوں موازی دہ بیگہ زمین بموجب فرمان عالیشان کہ بتاریخ ۲۹ شہر شوال ۸۹۷ھ

بدفاتر گذشتہ در وجہ مدد معاش چندر ناتھ جوگی مقرر بود

مشار الیہ ودیعت حیوۃ سپرد درینو لاکہ بھنڈا ناتھ وغیرہ چیلہ متوفی مذکور بدرگاہ خلیق پناہ آمدہ بنظر

اشرف اقدس گذشتند

حکم جہاں مطاع آفتاب شعاع شرف نفاذ وعز اصدار یافت کہ اراضی مذکور از برگنہ کاٹھوہہ موضع نارانی ساٹکا

تپہ پرول سرکار پنجاب از ابتدائے فصل خریف یونٹ ایل از محل قدیم در وجہ مدد معاش بھنڈا ناتھ وغیرہ بموجب شرح ضمن

مقرر و مسلم باشد کہ حاصلات آنرا سال بسال صرف معیشت خود نموده بدھای دوام دولت قاہرہ اشتغال نمایند

می باید کہ حکام و عمال و جاگیر داران و کروڑیان حال واستقبال برگنہ مذکور اراضی مزبور را از محل مسلوب پیویدہ و چک بست

حوالہ مومی الیہ وغیرہ نمایند و بجلت مال و جہات و اخراجات و عوارضات و پیشکشی و سادوری

ودہ نمی و مقدمی و قانوںگوی و عدد دوتی و گاؤں شماری و حصہ رسد و شکار و بیگاؤں جلکر و بکر و محرقہ و باغات

و تکرار زراعت

و ضبط ہر سال بعد تشخیص چک و کل تکالیف دیوانی و مطالبات سلطانی مزاحمت نرسانند دہر سال

فرمان و پروا پنچہ مجدد و طلب ندارند و اگر در محل دیگر چیزے داشته باشند باز یافت نمایند دریں باب

قدغن تمام لازم دانند

تقریبانی التاریخ ۳۰ تیر ماہ سنہ ۱۰۱۳ (۲۹) موافق ۱۴ شہر ربیع الاول ۱۰۱۳ھ

III

ALLĀHU AKBAR

(God is Great)

(Seal¹)

1014 (A D 1605)

Nur-ud-din Muhammad

Jahangir Padshah Ghāzī

son of Akbar Padshah, son
of Humayun Padshah, son of
Babur Padshah, son of Umar Shaikh

Mirza, son of Sultan Abu Said,
son of Sultan Muhammad

Mirza, son of Miran

Shah, son of Amir

Timur, Sahib

Qiran

Ṭughrā

The August *Farmān* of
Nur-ud-din Muhammad
Jahāngir Pādshah Ghāzī.

WHEREAS, ten *bigahs* of land in accordance with the exalted *farmān* (of the Emperor), entered in records on the 29th day of Sha'bān, A.H. 986 (October 31, A.D. 1578), had been granted by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh* to the Jogi Chandar Nath². The aforesaid (Jogi) resigned his life.

شرح تعلیقہ بتاریخ ۱۸ تیر ماہ الہی سنہ (۹) موافق بتاریخ ۳ شہر ربیع الاول ۱۱۱۵ھ آنحضرت مکی حضرت
 خلافت مزیت سلیمان مکانی حکم
 فرمودند کہ چون بموجب فرمان بتاریخ ۲۹ شہر شعبان ۱۱۸۶ھ موازی دہ بجگہ زمین دروہر مرد معاش چند نانات
 جوگی مقرر بود مشار الیہ فوت شد
 درین دلاکہ بہندار ناتجہ وغیرہ چلیہ متوفی مذکور بنظر اشرف گذشتند چون مستحق اندواز مرد دیگر و بہ معیشتی
 مدارد بنا بران اراضی ذیل از پرگنہ کاٹھوہہ موضع نارولی ساٹگا
 تپہ پرول سرکار پنجاب از فصل ربیع یونٹ ایل از محل قدیم مقرر بودہ باشد ریزہ یا ذر بتاریخ ۸ تیر ماہ الہی سنہ (۹)
 موافق روز پنجشنبہ ہر سال سیادت و نقابت
 پناہ صدارت دستگاہ صدر رفیع القدر میراں صدر جہاں المعرفت وزارت پناہ رفعت و فضیلت دستگاہ خواجہ محمد
 مومن دیوان سعادت و در چوکی مقرب المحضرت
 السلطانی کیشود اس مارو و نوبت واقعہ نویسی خواجہ علی نقی از انچہ آصف جاہ دستورالاعظم الاکرم عمد الوراعی
 بین الام حمید الملکی مدار المہامی اعتماد الدولہ
 بر حاشیہ واقعہ نقلی نمودہ اند کہ تعلیقہ نویسند شرح حاشیہ بخط واقعہ نویس آنکہ موافق واقعہ است شرح دیگر
 بخط واقعہ نویس آنکہ بخط وزارت مآب
 خواجہ محمد مومن آنکہ از فصل خریف یونٹ ایل تنخواہ نمایند

۱۰ بجگہ زمین
 ۱-۲ تفاوت گز الہی

۱۸-۸ بجگہ افتادہ لایق نداعت گز الہی

بھندار نانات

بیض

Now, Bhandār Nath³, the disciple of the said deceased, and others, having come to the threshold of the asylum of mankind, received notice of the noble and holy (Presence); (and) the order, obeyed by the world and radiant as the Sun, had the honour of being issued and proclaimed to the effect that the said land in the old *maḥal* in the village Naroli Sanga⁴ in the *tappah*⁵ Parol⁶ of the *parganah* Kathuah⁷ in the *sarkār* of Punjab should, according to the annexed detail, remain verily in conferment upon Bhandār Nath and others by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh* from the beginning of the *kharīf* crop for *Yūnt-īl*,⁸ so that they remain occupied with praying for the permanence of the Conquering Dynasty (while) sustaining themselves year after year with the produce from that (land).

It is (accordingly) ordered that the present and the future *hākims* and *'āmils* and *jāgīrdārs* and *karorīs* of the said *parganah* should hand over the aforesaid land in the aforesaid *maḥal*, duly measured and demarcated⁹, to the above mentioned (grantees) and should not molest them on account of the *māl-o-jihāt*, *ikhrajāt*, *'iwārḡāt* like the *qunlagḡah*¹⁰, *peḡkashī*¹¹, *sāwarī*¹², *dah-nīmī*¹³, *muqaddamī*¹⁴, *gānūngoī*¹⁵, *ṡad-doī*¹⁶, *gāo-shumārī*¹⁷, *ḡiṡṡah-i-rasad*¹⁸, *shikār*¹⁹, *begār*²⁰, *jalḡar*²¹, *bankar*²², *muḡtarifah*²³, *bāghāt*²⁴, *takrār-i-zarā'at*²⁵, *ḡabt-i-harsālah-ba'd (-az)- tash khīṡ-i-chak*²⁶, and all other fiscal demands and imperial imposts. They should not demand a new *farmān* or *parwānchah* every year. If (the grantees) have something in another *maḥal*, that should be resumed, and in this matter every care must be taken.

Written on the 30th day of Tīr of the first (regnal) year, corresponding to the 14th day of Rabī'-ul-awwal, A.H. 1015 (July 10, A.D. 1606).

(Seal E)

(Seal A)

(Seal B) (Seal C) (Seal D)

برسالہ افادت و افاضت پناہ نقابت و نجات دستگاہ صدر فیض القدر میران صدر جهان
و چوکی مقرب الحضرت السلطانی کیشوداس مارو و بمعزنت فضیلت شعان خواجہ محمد موسیٰ
و نوبت واقعہ نویسی خواجہ علی نقی روز دیباذرت تاریخ ۸ تیر ماہ الہی سنہ ۱۰۱۵ء موافق
روز پنجشنبه

(Seal G)

(Seal H)

(Seal F)

Seals

A ... نورالدین جهانگیر بادشاہ

(Below) بتاریخ ۲۸ ربیع الاول سنہ ۱۰۱۵ء ثبت شد

B اعتماد الدولہ غلام نورالدین جهانگیر بادشاہ

(Below) فی تاریخ ۸ ماہ امرداد ثبت شد

C عبیدہ صدر جهان الحسینی

D عبیدہ فرید بن ... احمد بخاری

E ... الملک مرید حضرت شاہ جهان

III A

(Reverse of III)

*Sharah-i-ta'liqah*²⁷, dated the 18th day of Tīr Ilāhī of the year (?), corresponding to the 3rd day of Rabī'ul-awwal, A.H. 1015 (June 29, A.D. 1606), to the effect that the servants of the exalted (Emperor), who bears the excellence of the vicegerent (of God) and holds the status of Solomon, (had) ordered that :

WHEREAS, in accordance with the (imperial) *farmān*, dated the 29th day of Sha'bān, A.H. 986 (October 31, A.D. 1578), ten *bigahs* of land had been granted to the Jogi Chandar Nath by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh* and the aforesaid (Jogi) died. Now, Bhandār Nath, the disciple of the said deceased, and others, received notice of the noble (Presence) and, since they are truly deserving²⁸ and have no other source of livelihood, the undermentioned land in the old *maḥal* in the village Naroli Sanga in the *tappah* Parol of the *parganah* Kathuah in the *sarkār* of Punjab has been conferred (upon them) from the *khariḥ* crop of *Yūnt-īl*.

Written on the day of Daibazar²⁹, Thursday, the 8th of Tīr Ilāhī of the year (?); through the *risālat* of the asylum of nobility and dignity, the possessor of the eminent office, the exalted *ṣadr*, Mirān Sadr Jahan, and the mediacy of the asylum of *wazārat* and the possessor of pre-eminence, the *dīwān-i-sa'ādat*, Khwājah Muhammad Momin, during the *chauki* of the favoured of His Majesty, Kesho Das Maru, and the *wāqī'a-nawīsī* of Khwājah Ali Naqqi :

With the wise status of Asaf, the exemplar among the dignified and the elevated, the elect among the pious, manifestly distinguished among all communities, praised throughout the dominions, the pivot of the affairs of the state, I'tmād-ud-daulah, has ordered in the margin of the

F عبده كمال الدين حسين

(Below) بتاريخ ٥ ماه امرداد قلمی شد

G موسن بن ولی

(Below) فی التاريخ ٦ ماه امرداد ثبت شد

H عبده

(Below) فی التاريخ ٦ ماه امرداد ثبت شد

wāq'ia, "the *ta'tiqah* should be inscribed"; *sharah-i-ḥāshiyah* in the hand of the *wāq'ia-nawīs*, "conforms to the *wāq'i'a*"; and the other endorsement in the hand of the *wāq'ia-nawīs*, "in the hand of the receptacle of the dignity of the ministerial office, Khwājah Muhammad Momin, (laying down) that (the decree) should come into force from the beginning of the *khariḥ* crop of *Yūnt-īl*."

10 *bigahs* of land

1-2 (*bigah-biswas*) on account of the difference³⁰ due to the *Ilāhī-gaz*.

8-18 (*bigahs-biswas*) of culturable waste by the measure of the *Ilāhī-gaz*.

Bhandār Nath.....

III B

(Reverse of III, inverted)

Through the *risālat* of the asylum of beneficence and generosity, the possessor of dignity and liberality, the exalted *ṣadr*, Mirān Sadr Jahan, (during) the *chauki* of the favoured of His Majesty, Kesho Das Maru, and the mediacy of the excellent Khwājah Muhammad Momin, and during the *wāq'i'a-nawīsī* of Khwājah Ali Naqqī, on the day of Daibāzar, Thursday, the 8th of Tīr Ilāhī of the year (?).

Seals : —

A :Jahangir Padshah, (below) Affixed on the 28th of Rabī'ul-awwal, A.H. 1015 (July 24, A.D. 1606).

B : I'tmād-ud-daulah, the slave of Nur-ud-din Jahangir Padshah. (below) Affixed on the 8th of Amardād.

C : The slave, Sadr Jahan al-Hussaini.

D : The slave Farid bin ... Ahmad Bukhārī.

E : ... ul-Mulk, the *murīd* of His Majesty, Shah Jahan³¹.

- F**: The slave, Kamal-ud-din Hussain. (below) Written on the 5th of Amardād.
- G**: Momin, son of Wali (below) Affixed on the 6th of Amardād.
- H**: The slave ... (below) Affixed on the 6th of Amardād.

NOTES

1. This appears to be the earliest seal of Jahangir. It closely resembles the imperial seal of Akbar and, from the date inscribed on it, it may be suggested that it was prepared almost on Jahangir's accession to the throne. It may also be noted that it remained in use during the second year of his reign (document IV, below).

2. Mentioned in the list of the ten Jogis on the reverse of document II, and probably a disciple of Udant Nath. He appears, however, to have founded a separate branch of the *gaddi* in the Jammu territory.

3. Nothing is known of Bhandār Nath apart from the fact of his having been a disciple of Chandar Nath. The *gaddi* to which Bhandār Nath had succeeded in ca. 1606, as is clear from this document, appears, however, almost certainly to have reverted at a later date to the parent *gaddi* of Jakhbar. That alone can explain the presence of the present document in the Jakhbar collection.

4. It has not been possible for us to identify this place with certainty, but it is possibly none else than the village now called Naroli or Nakki Naroli, on the Ravi, at a distance of about eight miles from Jakhbar, in the north-western direction.

5. *Tappah* is defined by Wilson as : "A small tract or division of country, smaller than a pargana, but comprising one or more villages : a division of country for the revenue of which only one engagement is entered into with the government : a small estate : in some parts of the north-west provinces a *Tappa* denotes a tract in which there is one principal town, or a large village, with lands and villages dependent upon them; or a cluster of villages acknowledging the supremacy of one among them, and forming a sort of corporate body, although not otherwise identical" (*Glossary*, 510). An eighteenth-century land-revenue Persian Dictionary (Br. M. Add. 6603, f. 55 b) defines *tappah* as the combination of a few villages for the convenience of fiscal administration (Grover, B. R. "Raqba-bandi Document", *IHRC*, XXXVI, Part II, 59 n 21). Basing himself on the *raqba-bandi* records of Akbar's reign, Grover has concluded that *tappah* was 'purely a fiscal unit'. He also suggests that this unit existed in some parts of India in pre-

Mughal times; it was made a uniform feature of the revenue administration throughout the dominions under Akbar; and it remained a regular part of the hierarchical set up of the *parganah* administration during the Mughal age, and even later. The official in charge of the *tappah* was known as the *tappahdār* and was responsible to the *chaudhari* and the *karori* (*ibid.*, 59, 60).

6. A small town, now falling in the Kathua district of Jammu and Kashmir, and lying at a distance approximately of nine miles from Jakhbar, across the Ravi, in the north-western direction.

7. Chief town of the district of the same name in Jammu and Kashmir. It is approached by road from Lakhapur on the Pathankot-Jammu link. The distance from Jakhbar, across the Ravi, is not more than six miles.

8. *Yūnt-il*, or the year of the horse, is the seventh year of the Turkish duodenary cycle. For the other years of the cycle, see Appendix B. The use of any lunar calendar, because of its non-concurrence with the harvests, was bound to be inconvenient both to the tax-payer and the tax-collector. Therefore, though the use of the Hijra era held its ground in political and other matters independent of harvests, the use of a solar calendar was adopted by many Muslim rulers for administrative convenience. The Mughal Emperors invariably used their regnal years in dating their *farmāns*, though at times the Hijra years were also used along with the regnal years (the regnal years only of Akbar and Jahangir were solar). Almost all the Mughal Emperors used the Turkish duodenary solar cycle (along with the regnal or Hijra years), particularly in their *farmāns* concerning land-grants, remission or exemption of taxes, payments of wages or pensions and other matters dependent on the revenues of the Empire.

For a discussion of the Turkish cycle, see, Khare, G. H. *Select Articles*, Poona 1966, 174-202.

9. The *farmān* specifies the number of *bigahs* and the place of the grant, but the actual measurement and demarcation could be carried out only at the spot. The land of the grant, or a land-holding, actually determined and demarcated in this way was called the *chak*. Hence Wilson defines "*chak-bastah*" as a definite portion of land (*Glossary*, 573) and *chak*, as a portion of land divided off;

and, the detached fields of a village, or a patch of rent-free land, or any separate estate or farm. The term was also applied to lands taken from the residents of a village and given to a stranger for cultivation (*Glossary*, 97).

10. The frequency of this term in the *madad-i-ma'ash* documents is matched by its obscurity. Its Turkish origin may be certain, but its exact sense is not. Dr Irfan Habib has given one definition : "a gift made to the *hâkim*, more particularly the pot of yogurt which the *zamindâr* was expected to take with him to the *hâkim*, when paying him a visit" (*The Agrarian System*, 247 n 30).

11. *Peshkash*, or a fixed annual tribute, could also be applied to a large present or a cash offering, additional to any revenues which the chief might have to pay to the Government (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 181, 184, 185, 289, 347). Wilson has defined *peshkash* as "tax, tribute; lit. what is first drawn; first fruits; fine, quit-rent; a fine or present to the ruling power on receiving an appointment or assignment of revenue, or on a renewal of a grant or the like" (*Glossary*, 415). The term probably covered also the presents given to revenue and other officials of the Government.

12. In this *farmân*, as also in the next, the word *sâwari* is clearly written. It is not *dasawari* which is supposed to be an impost on transit goods. We have no idea of what *sâwari* stands for.

13. Literally, half of ten, i.e. five per cent, was the duty on manufactures which had been reduced from ten to five per cent by Akbar (Jhaveri, *Imperial Farmans*, Notes VI, 5). The term was applied later on to "a five per cent charge on the revenue which was equally divided between the *muqaddam* and the *desâi (chaudhari)*", and to "the share of the *muqaddam*, amounting to five per cent, out of what is collected from the village" (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 131 n 10).

Dahnimi was often paired with *muqaddami* (as in this *farmân*) in the list of cesses remitted to *madad-a-ma'ash* holders, though it was not really a cess, being a deduction from the revenue collected (*ibid.*, 132 n 14). Even so, its inclusion in the list would imply that the revenue should go to the grantee without this deduction.

14. The term is defined by Wilson as relating to the office, duties or rights of the *muqaddam* and also as "dues paid to him by the cultivators, or, when the revenue is collected by the state, as a money allowance to the *Mukaddam*". Wilson also noted that in "the upper provinces" it denoted a rate of five to ten per cent on the collections (*Glossary*, 352; cf. n 13, above). By the reign of Aurangzeb, *muqaddamī* could be coupled with *satārhi* (from 17) and *biswī* (from 20) "which were the hall marks of *zamindārī* rights" (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 133).

15. J. J. Modi in the *Parsees at the Court of Akbar* describes *qānūngōi* as fees of the officer acquainted with land tenures. Wilson also had noticed that the *qānūngo* was paid "various allowances and perquisites" as well as through rent-free lands (*Glossary*, 260). The *qānūngo*, among others, was paid his perquisites sometimes from the *kharij-i-deh* or the collective expenses of the village and he shared with the *patwārī* a charge of two per cent (*ṣad-doi*).

Before Akbar's time the *qānūngo* was paid one per cent of the collected revenue but Akbar fixed the salaries of the *qānūngos* and gave them *in'āms* or revenue-free lands and sometimes also *nānkar* or cash allowances (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 127, 131 n 10, 291). In this *farmān*, *qānūngōi* appears to refer to the *qānūngo's* perquisites.

16. *Ṣad-doi* also occurs in combination with *qānūngōi*, the term then becoming *ṣad-doiqānūngōi* (as in the preceding *farmān* of Akbar in the present collection) and denoting a charge of two per cent on the revenue to be equally divided between the *qānūngo* and the *patwārī* (cf. note 15, above). In some places the *qānūngo* was entitled to levy from the peasants a customary cess of one per cent of the revenue. In any case, the prohibition of *ṣad-doi* would be relevant to the *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants which remitted all demands. It does not follow, however, that the grantees paid absolutely nothing. See, Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 299 n 7.

17. *Gāo-shumārī*, a tax on cows, occurs in the documents of Mughal India, but its exact connotation is not very clear. From the *Ain* it is evident that if culturable land was used as a pasture on which cattle were reared, then they were liable to a tax of six *dāms* per buffalo and of 3 *dāms* per cow or bullock. But the cattle kept for

domestic and agricultural purposes were not to be taxed; and the *gāo-shālas* too were exempt from this tax. *Gāo-shumāri* was remitted by Akbar and again by Jahangir, but it is not clear if it was the abovementioned tax. In any case, this tax appears to be different from *kāh-charā'i* which was imposed upon cattle driven into pastures not belonging to the owner of the cattle (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 244; Jhaveri, K. M. *Imperial Farmans*, Documents III A & XII).

18. Probably the contribution in kind to be offered to officials connected with the administration.

19. The term literally means hunt or chase; here it should refer to the labour required from the peasants when a hunt was organized for some potentate. "Jungles might have to be cut down, paths cleared, the camp baggage carried, animals rounded up, all in the preparation of a single chase" (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 248).

20. *Begār*, or compulsory labour, is often heard of in the *madad-i-ma'āsh* and other documents of the time. Wilson's definition makes it a forced labour for which no compensation was paid (*Glossary*, 70). He noticed, however, that in Karnata *begāri* was "the performance of the lowest village offices without pay, but required by fee in grain, or rent-free land". Dr Irfan Habib observes that *begār* was probably not a usual part of the fiscal system in Hindustan; but labour was commonly impressed to carry the baggage of touring officials. The *zamīndārs* were sometimes entitled to export unpaid labour services or *begār* which was an exceptional form of labour (*The Agrarian System*, 150, 239, 248).

21. Literally, "water-tax"; the term is not of a common occurrence in the documents of Mughal times. Wilson does not have a word to say about it and we are not able to go any further than the suggestion that it might be a tax related in some way to river and stream waters and might be peculiar to the region.

22. Literally, "woods-tax"; is equally obscure; it might have been a local tax related in some way to the woods and forests.

23. A tax levied on trades and professions, "on the artificers of a village or their implements", on transit dues, and sometimes on houses (Wilson's *Glossary*, 350, Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 259 n 9).

24. The term *bāghāt* applied in the Deccan to lands irrigated by wells, but in the north it bore its usual connotation of gardens or orchards which formed, after the land-revenue, a major object of taxation in an ordinary village. Akbar and Jahangir attempted to abolish this tax; but in the reign of Aurangzeb, it was being levied on almost all orchards. The quantity of the crop was assessed per tree and the Muslims paid a little smaller portion of the produce as tax than the Hindus (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 226 27 n 40, 244-45).

25. We have not been able to find any information on *takrār-i zarī'at*.

26. In the majority of published documents, the authors have not treated this as a single term, but there seems to be no doubt that in the text of this *ḡāimān*, *zabt-i-hars*, *ḡah-ba'd-az-tashkḡis-i-chak* refers only to one thing. What is being ordered here is that the *zabt-i-harsālah* (or annual measurement) should not be insisted upon, once the boundaries of the area of the grant have been laid down. The *zabt* or measurement involved a cess of one *dām* per *biḡah*, called the *zābiḡānah* (which does not occur in the present collection of documents), and hence the order involved a concession to the grantee (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 214, 216 & n 78).

27. For *ta'liḡah*, see our note 19 to document II, above; *sharḡh-i-ta'-liḡah*, therefore, would stand for the detail or explanation of the *ta'liḡah*.

28. The word used here is *mustahiq* and another word which is often used in this connection is *istihiqāq*; both of these refer to the "deserts" or "worth" (in terms of piety and spiritual attainment) of the grantee. The use of these terms with reference to the Jogis is worth remarking.

29. Daibāzar is the name of the eighth day in the Persian month. For the rest, see Appendix C.

30. The reduction in this case is eleven per cent (cf. note 27 to document II, above).

31. This seal would indicate that the document was examined and approved during the reign of Shah Jahan; and hence our inference that the grant remained in conferment upon the Jogis during Shah Jahan's reign. Such ratifications were not uncommon.

اللہ اکبر

(Seal)

نور الدین محمد جہانگیر بادشاہ غازی

ابن اکبر بادشاہ ابن ہمایوں بادشاہ

ابن بابر بادشاہ ابن عمر شیخ میرزا

(Tughra)

ابن سلطان ابوسعید ابن سلطان محمد میرزا فرمان المظفر نور الدین محمد جہانگیر بادشاہ غازی

ابن میران شاہ ابن امیر تیمور صاحب قران

چوں موازی دو دست بگمزمین بگزاہی موجب فرمان عالی شان دروہمد معاش
سرت ناتھ جوگی از پرگنہ ٹیہان سرکار پنجاب مقرر بود وینو لاکہ مشارالیه بدگاہ خلیق پناہ
حاضر آمدہ بوسیلہ ایستادگان پایہ سر ریخلافت میر یوسف اشرف اقدس رسانید کہ چک قدیم اراضی مزبور از کشت میلاب
زیر آب رفتہ بنا بران حکم جہاں مطلع گردوں ارتفاع شرف صدور و عز و رو دیانت کہ اراضی مذکور بدستور سابق
از محل قدیم افتادہ لائق زراعت بگزاہی خارج صبح از ابتدائے فصل خریف یونت ایل دروہمد معاش مومی الیہ
مقرر و مسلم باشد کہ حاصلات آنرا سال بسال صرف معیشت خود نمودہ بدعائے دوام دولت قاہرہ اشتغال نماید
می باید کہ حکام و عمال و جاگیر داران و کروڑیایں حال و استقبال پرگنہ مذکور اراضی مزبور را اگر گنجانش
داشتہ باشد از محل قدیم والاہر جا ارادہ نماید پیودہ و چک بستہ بہ تصرف مومی الیہ گذارنہ بعلت مال و جہات و
خواہات و عوارضات چون قلعہ و کشتی و ساوری و دہ نی و مقدمی و صد روئی و قانونگوئی و حصہ رشتہ کاران بگنجانند
و ضبط ہر سالہ بتخصیص چک و کل تکالیف دیوانی و مطالبات سلطانی مزاحمت فرسانند و ہر سال فرمان و ہر ماہ
مجدد طلب ندانند و اگر در محل دیگر چیزے داشتہ باشد آنرا اعتبار نکنند قدغن تمام لازم دامنند

قریبانی التاریخ ۷۱ ماہ آذر اہی سنہ ۹۱۰ موافق ۸ شعبان المعظم ۱۰۱۰ھ

IV

ALLĀHU AKBAR

(in red)

(God is Great)

(Seal)

1014 (A.D. 1605)

Nur-ud-din Muhammad
Jahangir Pādshāh Ghāzī
son of Akbar Padshah, son
of Humayun Padshah, son of
Babur Padshah, son of Umar
Shaikh Mirza, son of Sultan
Abu Said, son of Sultan
Muhammad Mirza, son
of Miran Shah, son
of Amir Timur, Sahib
Qiran

Ṭughrā (in red)

The August *Farmān* of
Nur-ud-din Muhammad
Jahangir Pādshāh Ghāzī.

WHEREAS, two hundred *bigahs* of land by the *Ilāhī gaz*, in accordance with the exalted *farmān* (of the Emperor), had been granted by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh* to the Jogi Surat Nath¹ in the *parganah* Pathān in the *sarkār* of Punjab.

(Seal A)

(Seal B) (Seal C) (Seal D)

Seals

A اعتماد الدولہ غلام نواز الدین جہانگیر بادشاہ
فی التاریخ ۱۹ ماہ دے الہی سنہ (۶) ثبت شد

(illegible) B

(Below) فی التاریخ ۱۶ ماہ دے الہی سنہ (۶).....

C عبدہ صدر جہان الحمینی

D عبدالرزاق کترین مریدان معموری

Now, the aforesaid (Jogi), having come to the threshold of the asylum of mankind, brought to the notice of the noble and the holy (Presence) through those standing at the foot of the throne² becoming of the vicegerent, that the duly demarcated abovementioned land (had been) submerged under water due to excessive floods; on that account the order, obeyed by the world and lofty as the sky, had the honour of being issued and proclaimed to the effect that :

In accordance with the former practice, the said land in the old *maḥal*, culturable waste, by the *Ilāhī-gaz*, and exempt from revenue demands³, should by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh* remain verily in conferment upon the aforesaid (Jogi) from the beginning of the *kharīf* crop of *Yūnt-īl*, so that he may remain occupied with praying for the permanence of the Conquering Dynasty (while) sustaining himself year after year with the produce from that (land).

It is (accordingly) ordered that the present and the future *hākims* and *'āmil*s and *jāgīrdārs* and *karorīs* of the said *parganah* should hand over the aforesaid land, duly measured and demarcated, to the above mentioned (grantee) in the old *maḥal* if possible, or else in the neighbourhood wheresoever he wishes⁴; and (they) should not molest him on account of the *māl-o-jihāt*, *ikhrajāt*, *iwārẓāt* like the *qunlagḥah*, *peshkashī*, *sāwarī*, *dah-nīmī*, *muqāddamī*, *ṣaddoī*, *qānūngoī*, *hiṣṣa-i-rasad*, *shikār*, *begār*, *takrār-i-zarā'at*, *ẓabṭ-i-harsālah-ba'd (-az)-tashkḥīs-i-chak*, and other fiscal and imperial demands. They should not demand a new *farmān* or *parwānchah* every year. If (the grantee) has something in another *maḥal*, that should not be given credence⁵ and in this matter every care must be taken.

Written on the 17th of *Āzar Ilāhī* of the year (?), corresponding to the 8th of *Sha'bān-ul-Mu'azzam*, A.H. 1015 (November 29, A.D. 1606).

IV A

Note

A paper has been pasted for support on the back of this *farmān*, making it impossible for us to examine the *ta'liqah* and the endorsements on the reverse. From a narrow parting at the side between the *farmān* and the pasted paper, however, we have been able to examine the following four seals :

- A : I'tmād-ud-daulah, slave of Nur-ud-din Jahangir Padshah.
- B : ... (illegible). (below) Affixed on the 19th of Dai Illahi ... (below) Dated, the 16th of Dai Ilahi.
- C : The slave, Sadr Jahan al-Hussaini.
- D : Abd-ul-Razzaq, the humblest of the *ma'mūrī murīds*.

NOTES

1. Disciple of Udant Nath and probably his direct successor to the *gaddi* of Jakhbar. His name appears in the list of ten Jogis on the reverse of document II, as also in the different genealogical tables given in the Introduction above. Surat Nath appears to have died in c. A.D. 1614 when he was succeeded by Than Nath. One of the *samādhis* in the Jakhbar *dera* is described as being his.

2. This phrase, referring to the ministers and courtiers in general, might imply also the *risālat* of a particular dignitary.

3. The Mughal revenue system consisted of two stages : first came *tashkhiṣ* or assessment which was recorded as the *jama'* and then, *taḥqīl* or collection which gave the *ḥāsil* (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 196, 197). A complete record of the measured land of the village was kept in a document called *taqsim*; at the time of every harvest, a record of the fields under cultivation was prepared; and the entire assessment of the village was recorded in *jama'-bandi* (Grover, B. R. "Raqba-Bandi Documents", *IHRC*, XXXVI, Part II, 58-59). Cf. Wilson, *Glossary*, 228. The term used in this document is *khārij-i-jama'* or excluded from the records of assessment, which would make the land "revenue-free". Wilson naturally defines *khārij-i-jama'* as : "Separated or detached from the rental of the State, as lands exempt from rent, or of which the revenue has been assigned to individuals or institutions" (*Glossary*, 280).

4. Apart from the concession which is being made to the Jogis in taking Surat Nath's wishes into consideration, the document also suggests that Akbar's policy of concentrating *madad-i-ma'āsh* lands in a particular area was being followed as a matter of convention. Akbar had discovered that the system of assigning *madad-i-ma'āsh* lands in widely scattered areas was liable to abuse through fraud. At the same time, the holder of a petty grant in an ordinary village was liable to oppression from officials, whether of the Government or of the *jāgirdārs*. In A.D. 1578, Akbar had decided to concentrate the existing grants in certain villages and had ordered that all new grants of land should be given in those villages (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 302). It has been mentioned in the Introduction that quite a few villages around Jakhbar still bear the epithet *ā'imma* in their names.

5. This phrase occurs in both the *farmāns* of Jahangir in this collection and also in his *farmān* of A.D. 1626 published by H.S. Hodivala in his *Studies in Parsi History*. It occurs also in a *farmān* of Farrukh Siyyar, issued in the sixth regnal year (Paramatama Saran, "A Farman of Furrukhsiyar," *IHRC*, Dec. 1942, 74-79). Hodivala takes it to mean that, if the grantees possessed land elsewhere, that ought not to be taken into account; but Dr P. Saran takes it to mean that the officials should not "rely on any document given on any other occasion than this (i.e., on any other document in preference to this)". In the light of our note 4, above, we may suggest that this general expression was meant to obviate the possibility of the grantee having any unauthorized *madad-i-ma'āsh* land elsewhere. It was intended to indicate that the grant in question was the only grant given to the recipient.

الذکبر

چون تان نات و بان نات جوگی وغیرہ در قریہ نروت من اعمال
پر گنہ پٹھان بموجب فرمان عالی شان کرامی نامہ واجب الاذعان
موازی دو لیت بیگہ زمین متصرف اند باید کہ گماشتہائے این جانب (Seal)
وغیرہ از یہیج باب بحال فقراے مذکور مزاحم و متعروض نگر دند
درین باب تا کیبہ تمام دانستہ نوشتہ را منظور دارند

..... جمیل ۱۰۱۱ (Seal)

V

ALLĀHU AKBAR
(God is Great)

(Seal)

.....Jamil
1011 (A.D. 1602)

WHEREAS, the Jogis Tan Nath and Ban Nath and others¹ are in possession of two hundred *bigahs* of land in the village² Narot,³ within the *parganah* Pathān, in accordance with the noble and the exalted *farmān* (of the Emperor), commanding obedience. The *gumāshthas*⁴ of this quarter, and others, should on no account molest or question the aforesaid holy recluses⁵ in their present state. In this matter, what has been written should be kept in view (and) recognized as a strict injunction.

NOTES

1. Both the Jogis mentioned here by name have found earlier mention, on the reverse of document II. We are inclined to believe that neither of these occupied the *gaddi* after Udant Nath, which went in all probability to Surat Nath. It is possible that their names are given here because they represented the case of the Jakhbar *gaddi* before the Mughal authority at one time or the other, and since the grant was supposed to be in the name of the entire body of the Jogis, to name one or two Jogis in the document did not materially affect the situation in any way. The tradition at Jakhbar ignores both Tan Nath and Ban Nath completely whose names do not occur also in the 1865 Settlement.

2. The term used here is *qariat* which applies to a village, a town or even a city (Steingass). But in this document it could only mean "a village". In fact, the word *mauza'* is used for Narot in document VII, below. It is not clear, however, if any distinction was made between a *qariat* and a *mauza'*.

3. Properly called Narot Mehra, a large village lying south-east of Jakhbar at a distance only of a mile, and briefly alluded to earlier (see Introduction, n. 3). The land that is here mentioned as belonging to the village Narot is the same as that now held by the Jakhbar Jogis, and it is now referred to as land falling within the limits of the village Jakhbar. Mahant Shankar Nath says that the inhabitants of Narot speak sometimes of this land as being of their village.

4. "An Agent, a steward, a confidential factor, a representative; an officer employed by Zamindars to collect their rents, by bankers to receive money &c., by merchants to carry on their affairs at other places than where they reside, and the like" (Wilson, *Glossary*, 189). Here the term might apply to the agents of the *jāgirdārs*. Since the order is being addressed primarily to the *gumāshtahs*, the grantees might have been harassed by the agents of the *jāgirdārs* in that quarter.

5. The term *fuqara* is translated here as "holy recluses" because of the association, in those days, of reverence with this word. It is also suggestive of an unconscious equation between the Jogis and the *Ṣūfis* for a considerable number of people in those days.

التد اکبر

گماشتہای حاگیر داران و کر و زبان حال و استقبال پر گنہ پنهان را اعلام آفکے چون بموجب فرمان عالیشان
بتاریخ ۲۶ ماه خورداد سنہ موازی دو بیست بیگہ زمین از پر گنہ مذکور کہ قبل ازین بموجب فرمان
عالیشان بہ صورت ناتھ داده شد

وفوت شدہ درینولامن ابتدا سے خریف پارس ایل در وجه مدد معاش تھان ناتھ وغیرہ جو گیان چیلہا متوفی
(Seal) مذکور مقرر شد باید کہ موافق حکم اشرف اعلیٰ عمل نموده اراضی مزبور از محل قدیم کہ خود کاشتہ آہنہا است
پیمودہ و چاک بستہ

بتصرف ایشان باز گذارند کہ حاصلات آنرا صرف اوقات گذر خود نمودہ

بدعایگوی دولت قاہرہ دام نمایند

تحریراً ۲۷ ماه تیر سنہ

(Seal) اعتماد الدولہ مرید جساگیر بادشاہ

(Reverse)

مقررہ ضمن موافق فرمان عالیشان

۲۰۰ بیگہ زمین از محل قدیم

بیض

VI

ALLĀHU AKBAR (God is Great)

(Seal)
I'timād-ud-
daulah, *murid*
of Jahangir Padshah

PROCLAMATION to the *gumāshthas* of the present and the future *jāgīrdārs*² and *karoriīs* of the *parganah* Pathān, to the effect that:

WHEREAS, in accordance with the exalted *farmān* (of the Emperor), dated the 26th of Khūrdād of the (regnal) year 9, two hundred *bigahs* of land in the abovementioned *parganah* had formerly been granted in accordance with an (earlier) exalted *farmān* to Surat Nath (who) has died.

Now, (the said land) is granted by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh* from the beginning of the *kharij* (crop) of Pāras-īl³ to Than Nath⁴ and the other Jogis (who are) the disciples of the deceased.

Acting upon the noble and the elevated order, they should hand over (to the Jogis) the aforesaid *khud kāshtah*⁵ land, in the old *maḥal*, so that they may pray for the permanence of the Conquering Dynasty (while) sustaining themselves with the produce from that (land).

Written on the 27th of Tīr of the (regnal) year 9 (A.D. 1614).

VI A
(Reverse of VI)

The *zimm*, as settled, in accordance with the exalted *farmān*.

200 *bigahs* of land in the old *maḥal*.

*Baiḻ*⁶

NOTES

1. This is a seal of the famous I'tmād-ud-daulah, Nur Jahan's father, who was given this title only a few years earlier. His tomb at Agra is the most eloquent monument to the position he held in the Mughal Empire during Jahangir's reign.

2. The term used here is *gumāshtahā-jāgirdārān*. For its significance, see our introductory note to document VI; and also our note 4 to document V, above. That the *jāgirdārs* had generally to appoint their own agents to the *jāgirs* was witnessed by Hawkins and Pelsaert : "The arrangements made by ordinary assignees for the management of their *jāgirs* could hardly have followed a uniform pattern. In general, since his assignment was transferred from time to time and he himself could be posted at different places, a *jāgirdār* usually sent his agents, or *gumāshtahs*, to arrange for the collection of revenues on his behalf" (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 283).

3. *Bārs* or *Pārs-il*, or the leopard-year, is the third year of the Turkish duodenary cycle. In these documents, the mention of the Turkish year is preceded by the phrase "from the beginning of the *khariḥ*" with which the Turkish years began. But it could also be from the *rabi'*. What it means here is that the grant became effective from that harvest (which, incidentally, was generally richer in the Punjab than the *rabi'* crop). It may be pointed out that the year mentioned may or may not be concurrent with the regnal or Hijra year mentioned in the document, which would mean that the grant could become operative with retrospective effect or in the future as well as in the same year (Khare, G. H., *Select Articles*, 180).

4. Nothing else is known of Than Nath apart from his having been a successor on the Jakhbar *gaddi* of Surat Nath. His name does not appear even in the 1865 *Shijrā-nasb*, nor, oddly enough, is any *Samādhi* at Jakhbar named as being his.

5. *Khud-kāsh* in the nineteenth century was applied to "a resident cultivator, one cultivating his own hereditary lands, either under a Zamindar, or as a coparcener in village" (Wilson, *Glossary*,

267). In the document, however, the term is *Khud-kāshtah* and it is applied to the land and not the grantees. The Jogis certainly did not themselves handle the plough; and the term "self-cultivated" by the grantees should refer to the category of this piece of land. The term did not appear in the original grants. In some of the *madad-i-ma'ōsh farmāns* and supplementary documents, the *ra'iyatī* or peasant-held land is specified separately from the *khud-kāshtah* land (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 300). It appears that at least the *uftādah* land of the original grants became in due course the *khud-kāshtah* land of the grantees.

6. The word *baiṣ* occurs in several documents in the present collection and it occurs also in some other published documents. Jhaveri and Modi have not deciphered it correctly wherever it has occurred in their documents; but Hodivala has. We too had some difficulty in deciphering it, but there is no doubt now either about the deciphering or in respect of its significance. According to Steingass, it is "a mark fixed to public writings by the magistrate or any principal officer". This is confirmed by the position in which the word is placed on the documents. It indicates "the end," to obviate any later additions by an unauthorized person. It is not clear, however, when this practice was adopted. In this collection, it occurs for the first time in Jahangir's *farmān* of A.D. 1606 (document III).

اللہ اکبر

عن دیوان الصدارت العلیۃ العالمیہ

گماشتہائے جاگیر داران و کروڑ داران مال و استقبالیہ پرگنہ پٹھان را اعلان کہ چون بموجب فرمان عالی شہسازستان
(Seal) حضرت از قرار تاریخ ۱۲ ماہ فروردین الٰہی ۱۳۰۲ موزی و دویست و یکم زمین ان موضع نزوت من اعمال پرگنہ

مذکور در وجہ

مدومعاش تھان ناتھ و بھادواتھ و غیرہ جو گیان حسب الضمن مقرر بودہ بنیولا حاضر آمدند و حقیقت استحقاق

آنها بوضوح پیوست

بنابران موزی مذکور از محل قیدیم بدستور سابق بشرط قبض و تصرف و دویست و یکم آنها بحال خود مقرر و مسلم باشد باید کہ
اراضی مذکور را بتصرف آنها باز گذاشتہ اصلاً و مطلقاً تغیر و تبدل بدان راہ نہ ہند و بہ ہیچ اسم و رسم طلب

مطالبہ نہ نمایند کہ

حاصلات آنرا فصل بفصل و سال بسال صرف معشیت خود نمودہ بدعا گوی دہا مدت ادب پر پیوند استغفال

می نمودہ باشند

دریں باب قدغن تمام دانستہ از فرمودہ تخلف و انحراف نوزند

تحریراً بتاریخ شہر رجب الاول ۱۰۵۲ ہجری مبارک

مطابق ۱۰۵۲ ہجری تحریراً

رب اشرح لی صدری

(Seal) موسوی خان خیرخواہ حضرت شاہ جہان ۷

دائری امری

VII

ALLĀHU AKBAR (God is Great)

(Seal¹⁰)

“O Lord, expand a heart
for me,
And make my effort easy for
me”.

Mūsavī Khān,
the well-wisher
of His Majesty
Shah Jahan.

‘Ann Dīwān-us-Sadārat-ul-‘aliyat-ul-‘āliya²
(The Dīwān of the exalted Ṣadārat)

PROCLAMATION to the *gumāshtahs* of the present and the future *jāgīrdārs* and the *karoṛīs* of the *parganah* Pathān, to the effect that :

WHEREAS in accordance with the exalted and auspicious *farmān* of the Emperor (Shah Jahan)³, issued on the 12th day of Farwardīn Ilāhī of the (regnal) year 12, two hundred *bigahs* of land, according to the annexed abstract⁴, in the village Narot, within the (administrative) jurisdiction of the abovementioned *parganah*, had been in conferment by way of *madad-i-ma‘āsh* upon the Jogis Than Nath, Bhav Nath⁵ and others.

Now, they presented themselves (before His Majesty) and the truth of their just claims has become manifest. On that account, the abovementioned land in the old *maḥal* remains verily in conferment upon them by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh*, and in their possession⁶ according to the former practice. It is (therefore) being ordered that having handed over the abovementioned land to them (the Jogis), no change or alteration of any kind should at all be affected; and on no account should any demand⁷ be put forth, so that they may remain occupied with praying for the permanence of the Everlasting Dominion, (while) sustaining themselves harvest after harvest and year after year with the produce (of that land). Taking every care in this matter, (the officials) should do nothing contrary to the commands.

Written on the ... of Rabī'ul-awwal of the auspicious (regnal) year 15, corresponding to A.H. 1052 (A D. 1642).

Inscribed⁸.

NOTES

1. A much clearer impression of this seal is to be found on Jhaveri's Document. No. VI (which is a *farmān* of Shah Jahan, issued in A.D. 1633) in the *Imperial Farmans* but he has read it as "Musawi Khan Jahan, well wisher of His Majesty the King". It also appears to be there on a *farmān* of Jahangir (ratified by Shah Jahan) discussed by M. I. Roy Chaudhuri who reads it as "Sadr Munavi Khan" ("Jahangir's Farman of 1613 A.D.", *IHRC*, XVIII, 188-96). We are indebted to I. A. Tirmizi of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, for deciphering the *āyat* in the upper and lower panels of this seal and also for the translation which we have given here.

2. The office of the *Ṣadr (ṣadārat)* is being treated here as feminine. The title '*aliyat-ul-āliya*' is used for Nur Jahan in one of her "*farmāns*" (Tirmizi, I.A. "A Rare Edict of Nur Jahan", *IHRC*, XXX, Part II, 196-202).

3. By its very nature, this reference is most likely to be to Shah Jahan. It is quite probable that Shah Jahan had issued an order to this effect only three years earlier.

4. In continuation of the note 3 above, it may first be pointed out that this reference to the *zimm* appears to confirm that Shah Jahan had issued an order in the twelfth year of his reign. There is no abstract annexed to this document; it must refer, therefore, to the *zimm* in the *farmān* which is assumed to be in the possession of the grantees. *Zimm* would be that endorsement which contained an abstract of the contents of the *farmān* (cf. Wilson, *Glossary*, 567).

5. The name of Bhav Nath appears always in association with that of Than Nath who may either have been his *guru* or *gurubhāi*. The 1865 *Shijrā-nasb* gives the name of Bhav Nath as one of the *mahants*, but if he was one of the *gurubhāis* of Than Nath, then the chances of his having occupied the *gaddi* are few. The last mention of Than Nath and Bhav Nath is in this document of A.D. 1642; by A.D. 1660 we find Anand Nath installed as the *mahant*. If Bhav Nath succeeded Than Nath, his 'rule' cannot have been very long.

6. This, again, would indicate that the grantees had remained in possession of the *madad-i-ma'ash* land in question.

7. This is a general but emphatic expression emphasizing the fullness of the concessions granted; it is a counterpart of the *kull takālif-i-dīwāni wa mutālbāi-i-sultāni* of the *farmāns*.

8. The word clearly is *tahrīran*, but we do not know what is the significance of its repetition here.

هوالغنی

۴ شاه عالمگیر ۱۰۷۲
من مرید گشتم این جهان و آن جهان
تا که باشد هر دو عالم قبله گاه راستان

انند ناگه چیو

رفعت دستگاه شومورت گورو (Seal)

همیشه در پناه شری شوب جیو بوده خوشوقت و سلامت باشند چون
پوشیده نمایند که عرضداشتی بمعده دو توله پاره ارسال داشته بودند رسید ما چنانچه گفته
رفته بودند نیست می باید که پاره دیگر خوب ساخته روانه سازند تغافل نخواهند کرد
ویک گودری پارچه و بیست و پنج روپیه بنظر خدمت فرستاده شد خواهد رسید
و دو کلمه به شجاعت شعار فتح چند نوشته شد که هر بابغ همانه دیگر گاه (۶) نماید و آنچه که
کایه و خدمت لائق این جانب بوده باشد همیشه می نوشته باشند زیاده چه نوشته آید

VIII

HŪ—AL—GHANĪ
(He is Independent)

(Seal¹)

“I became a disciple.....
this world and the next,
So that in both the worlds,
for the righteous there
is a place which they may
face in prayer.”

Shah Alamgir

1072

(A.D. 1661-62)

The possessor of the Sublime Station, Shiv Mūrat², Guru Anand Nath³ Jīo !

May Your Reverence remain in peace and happiness ever under the protection of Sri Shiv (?) Jio !

In strict confidence⁴ :

The letter sent by Your Reverence has been received alongwith two *tolahs* of quicksilver.⁵ However, it is not so good as Your Reverence had given us to understand. It is desired (by us) that Your Reverence should carefully treat some more quicksilver and have that sent, without unnecessary delay. A piece of cloth for the cloak⁶ and a sum of twentyfive rupees which have been sent as an offering⁷ will reach (Your Reverence). Also, a few words

have been written to the valiant Fateh Chand to the effect that he should always afford protection.

Your reverence may write to us whenever there is any service which can be rendered by us. What more need be said ?

NOTES

1. See our introductory note to document VIII, above. The verse in Persian is clearer on the other document referred to in the above note, but the first line appears to be short and even its full import is not very clear.

2. Literally, "the image or personification of Shiva," and a high compliment when paid to a devotee of Shiva. Epithets like this were often used, especially for Brahmins and one hears of expressions like "*Brahm mūrat/mūrti*," or "*tyāg mūrat*" preceding an honoured name. The usage of this epithet by the Emperor Aurangzeb here is evidence of his knowing these Jogis to be devotees of Shiva.

3. Disciple perhaps of Than Nath and his successor to the *gaddi* of Jakhbar. The exact date of his accession is not possible to ascertain, but he is noticed here as the *mahant* of the *gaddi* in A.D. 1660, and appears to have died in or before A.D. 1673 when Hira Nath succeeded him. The deeply respectful manner in which the Emperor Aurangzeb addresses him here suggests that he was personally acquainted with the *mahant* and had reason to revere him. In another document, noticed earlier, there is an actual increase in the grant of land to Anand Nath under the orders of Aurangzeb.

4. The expression which occurs more frequently is *poshidah na-mānad*, but here it appears to be *poshidah numāid*, which might indicate that the letter is a purely personal one and it was not to be made public. At any rate, we feel that our rendering does justice to the import of this phrase.

5. The reference to quicksilver strongly suggests that Anand Nath may have been a "*Raseśvara*" Jogi, of the highly esoteric sect which had firm faith in the substance called *rasa*. Composed mostly either of quicksilver and sulphur, or of quicksilver and mica, it was devoutly consumed alike for its medicinal value and mystical significance. (For the *rasesvara* sect, see Dwivedi, *Nātha Sampradāya*, 209-14). Whether he was a *rasesvara* or not, *mahant* Anand Nath must personally have handled the quicksilver almost certainly for

medicinal purposes, since the quicksilver is being sent by the Emperor "for being treated". The practice of medicine does not appear to have benefited the Jogis alone: an imperial grant to a family of Parsi physicians is rather well known. (See Modi, J. J., *Parsees at the Court of Akbar*, 41-42). It may not be devoid of interest to mention here that during one of our visits to the Jakhbar *gaddi* we found the present *mahant*, Baba Brahm Nath, engaged in tending a herbal preparation which was boiling in an earthen pot over a slow fire in front of him.

6. The word used in the document is *gudrī*, literally a patch-work quilt or cloak, and worn by many Jogis as a sign of humility or poverty. The photograph of the Jogi *mahant* of Puri reproduced by Briggs in his *Gorakhnath and the Kānphatā Yogis* shows him dressed in one. The *gudrī* is often associated with holy men of several denominations in India.

7. The sum sent by the Emperor cannot but be taken to be an offering for the *mahant*. It was customary to approach a *mahant* or a religious head, as much as a king, with some token of homage. In this case the *gudrī* and the amount of twenty-five rupees together made up the imperial token of homage.

جنت مکانی

ص

(Seal) متصدیان مہات پرگنہ پٹھان بدانند چون بعرض رسید کہ در موضع نزوت عملہ پرگنہ مذکور اراضی مدد معاش تھان ناتھ و بھاؤ ناتھ و غیرہ جوگیان بموجب فرمان والا شان حضرت مقرر بود ثانی الحال کہ اراضی مذکور با زیافت شدہ امانت خان دیوان خالصہ شریفہ نظر بر آنکہ بغیر از جوگیان برداشت آن زمین نمی شد پٹہ مبلغ یک صد و ہفت روپیہ جمع بطریق استمرا دادہ و جاگیر داران پیشین نیز موافق ہما پٹہ جمع حال دادہ شدہ الحال بعد از فوت آہنا میرا ناتھ بجائے مقرر شدہ اراضی مذکور کشت کار کنانیدہ محصول استمرا ادا میسازد لہذا جمع استمرا موافق اسناد حکام سابق بحال دادہ شدہ باید کہ مطابق ضمن محصول اراضی موافق پٹہ استمرا میگرفتہ باشند و آنچه زواید از جمع استمرا بہ تحصیل در آمدہ باشد واپس بدہند و من بعد بوجہی من الوجوہ مزاحمت نرسانند تحریر بتاریخ بیست و چہارم شہر ذوالقعدہ ۱۲۳۰ جلوس والا ہمایوں

بیض

(Seal) ۲۶ مکرم خان ولی شاہ عالمگیر ۱۱۹

IX

*Sād*¹

*Jannat Makānī*²

(*Seal*)³

Mukarram Khān,
the *walī* of Shah
Alamgir
1093
(A.D. 1682)

BE IT KNOWN to the *mutasaddīs*⁴ of the affairs of the *parganah* Pathān that :

WHEREAS, it has been submitted (to the Emperor) that in accordance with the exalted *farmān* of the Jannat-Makānī Emperor (Jahangir), land in the abovementioned *parganah* had been conferred by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh* upon the Jogis Than Nath, Bhav Nath and others. Subsequently, the abovementioned land having been resumed⁵, Amānot Khān, the *dīwān* of the *khālisah sharīfah*⁶ keeping in view (the fact) that no one except the Jogis came forward to undertake⁷ the cultivation (of that land), had given (them) a *paṭṭah*⁸ for the (annual) revenue of one hundred and seven rupees on a fixed basis⁹; and to the former *jāgīrdārs* also, revenue had been paid as stipulated in the same *paṭṭah*.

Now, after the death of those (Jogis), Hira Nath,¹⁰ who has succeeded to their place, gets the abovementioned land cultivated¹¹ and submits the stipulated revenue which,

therefore, has been fixed according to the *sanads*¹³ of the former *hākims*.

Hence, it is being ordered that the revenues (from Hira Nath) should be exacted in accordance with the revenue abstract of this land, and on a fixed basis. Any amount which might have been exacted in excess of the fixed revenue, should be returned (to him), and henceforth he should not be molested for any reason whatsoever.

Written on the 24th of *zul'qa'dah* of the Auspicious (regnal) year 39¹³

Baiṣ

قلمی شد

(Endorsement)

3

مقدمه ضمن بموجب فرد حقیقت بدستخط رسیده آنگه بموجب پروانگی رنعت پناه بهادر خان امر شده که در موضع نزوت عملہ پرگنہ پٹھان اراضی مدد معاش تھان ناتھ و بھا و ناتھ وغیرہ جوگیان بموجب فرمان عالی شان حضرت جنٹ مکانی مقرر بود ثانی الحال کہ اراضی مذکور بازیافت شده امانت خان دیوان خالصہ شریفہ نظر بر اینکہ بغیر از جوگیان برداشت آن زمین نمی شد پٹہ مبلغ یک صد و ہفت روپیہ جمع بطریق استمرا

(Endorsement)

4

داده و جاگیر داران پیشین نیز موافق ہمان پٹہ جمع حال داده شد سند دادند الحال بعد از فوت آہنہا ہیرا ناتھ بجائے آہنہا مقرر شدہ اراضی مذکور از جوگیان

(Endorsement)

(Endorsement)

5

کشت کارکنانیدہ محصول استمرا ادا می سازد مطابق اسناد سابق پروانہ جمع استمرا² بدہند و آنچه از استمرا زیادہ تحصیل شدہ باشد پس دہند در باب ارقام پروانہ ہر ہر امر

پٹہ بہر امانت خان و حاجی بہرام ڈنڈکیم پروانہ ۲۶ شہر رجب بہر حفیظ السدخان

۱۰۶ روپیہ

۱۰۶ روپیہ

خریف ریح

خریف ریح

۳۰ ۷۷

۳۰ ۷۷

پروانہ از قرار بتاریخ ۲۹ ذوالحجہ ۱۲۸۵ بہر نصرت خان

(Endorsement)

۱۰۶ روپیہ

1

خریف ریح

۳۰ ۷۷

(Seal B)

(Seal A)

IX A
(Reverse of IX)

Appended abstract, according with the record (of rights)¹⁴ has been received under signatures, (to the effect) that :

According to the *parwānah* of the asylum of loftiness, Bahadur Khan, it has been ordered that, in accordance with the exalted *farmān* of the Jannat-Makānī Emperor (Jahangir), land by way of *madad-i-ma'ūsh* was in conferment upon the Jogis Than Nath, Bhav Nath and others in the village Narot within the (administrative) jurisdiction of the *parganah* Pathān. Subsequently the abovementioned land having been resumed, Amānat Khān, the *dīwān* of the *khālisah shrifah*, keeping in view (the fact) that no one except the Jogis came forward to undertake the cultivation of that land, had given (them) a *paṭṭah* for the (annual) revenue of one hundred and seven rupees on a fixed basis; to the former *jāgīrdārs* also, revenue had been paid as stipulated in the same *paṭṭah*, (and) a *sanad* had been given (to them).

Now, after the death of those (Jogis), Hira Nath has succeeded to their place. He gets the abovementioned land of the Jogis cultivated and submits the fixed stipulated revenue. A *parwānah*¹⁵, indicating the fixed revenue, should be given (to him) in accordance with the former *sanads*.

Any amount which might have been exacted in excess of the fixed revenue, should be returned (to him). (Keep in view) what has been ordered in the matter of the figures of the *parwānah*.

*Paṭṭah*¹⁶, with the seals of Amānat Khān, Hājī Bahrām and Muḥammad Hakīm.

(Endorsements)

(1) دستخط وزارت پناه سائول داس دیوان بر فہرہ حقیقت

کہ نص ایخاص مرتب گشتہ آنکہ بموجب پروانگی رفعت پناہ

بہ سادر خاں پروانہ قلمی نمایند

(2) بتاریخ ۲۴ ذوالقعدہ ۱۳۹۰ سنہ

نقل بد فترہ ... شد

(3) موافق سیاہہ حضور است

۲۴ ذوالقعدہ ۱۳۹۰ سنہ

(4) بتاریخ ۲۴ ذوالقعدہ ۱۳۹۰ سنہ جلوس والا

نقل و قایع نمودہ شد

(5) بتاریخ ۲۴ ذوالقعدہ ۱۳۹۰ سنہ

نقل بد فترہ دیوان رسید

(Seals)

(A) ۳۳ سائول داس ۱۱۰۰

امیدوار لطف قادر

(Below) فی التاریخ ۲۴ ذوالقعدہ ۱۳۹۰ سنہ جلوس والا ثبت شد۔

د

(B) بندہ بجاگیر محمد بن پیرامن

(Below) فی التاریخ ۲۴ ذوالقعدہ ۱۳۹۰ سنہ

م

Rupees 107 (comprising of)

77 (for) *kharīf*¹⁷

30 (for) *rabī'*

Parwānah of the 27th of Rajab of the (regnal) year 33,
under the seal of Hafīz Ullah khān.

Rupees 107 (comprising of)

77 (for) *kharīf*

30 (for) *rabī'*

Parwānah, dated the 29th of zulhajj of the (regnal)
year 36, under the seal of Nuṣrat Khān.

Rupees 107 (comprising of)

77 (for) *kharīf*

30 (for) *rabī'*

Seals :

A : 33. Hopeful of the Almighty's Mercy, Sāṅwal Dās.¹⁸

A.H. 1100 (A.D. 1688-89)

(below) affixed on the 24th of zul'qa'dah of the
(regnal) year 39.

*dāl*¹⁹

B : The slave, Bhāgīrath, son of Hīrāman.

(below) dated, the 24th of zul'qa'dah of the (regnal)
year 39.

*mīm*²⁰

Endorsements :

1. Signatures on the *fard-i-ḥaqīqat* by the asylum of
ministership, Sāṅwal Dās, the *dīwān*; specially drawn
up by way of the document (or rights), in accordance,
with the order of the asylum of loftiness, Bahādur
Khān, that "the *parwānah* should be issued".²¹
2. Dated the 24th zul'qa'dah of the (regnal) year 39.
Copy...Office

mīm

3. In accordance with the *siyāhah*²² of the Emperor, the
24th of zul'qa'dah of the (regnal) year 39.

4. Dated the 24th of zul'qa'dah of the (regnal) year 39.
The copy of the *wāqi'a* was made.

dāl

5. Dated the 24th of zul'qa'dah of the (regnal) year 39.
The copy received in the office of the *dīwān*.

dāl

Note :

On the right hand top corner appear the words :
"Duly inscribed".²³

NOTES

1. The seventeenth letter of the Arabic-Persian alphabet, with a numerical value of 90, is the abbreviation for Şafar, the second month of the Hijra calendar, but more frequently for *şâdiq* (not *şahiḥ*, as it is generally believed), which would make it a sign for "true, genuine, authentic". It establishes the authenticity of the document on which it is placed.

2. The Mughal Emperors, according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, were "designated in life as Khalifa and the Shadow of God, and after death by a distinct title, which required interpretation for later ages" (*Mughal Administration*, 220). Jahangir was known as the *Jannat-Makānī*. For the others, see Appendix D, which we have reproduced here for a ready reference.

It was quite customary to place the title of the Emperor at the top of the document and to leave a blank space in the text, indicating where that title would have been ordinarily placed. This was done as a mark of honour.

3. Mukarram Khān uses the word *walī* for himself. The term was used in several senses: "a helper, guardian, defender; a prince, lord, president, governor, judge, a servant, slave, a saint, a holy man". Here it appears to be a variation upon the more usual *‘abd*.

4. The term *mutaṣaddī* is sometimes taken to mean "a clerk" (e.g., Wilson, *Glossary*, 359), but it appears to have been used in a more general sense, for "the official," in this document as in other documents of the time (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 287, n. 79).

5. As already pointed out, the grant was resumed in the fifteenth year of Aurangzeb's reign. It is evident from this document that the annual revenue was fixed at one hundred and seven rupees, seventy seven rupees for the *kharif* and thirty rupees for the *rabi'* crop.

6. The *Khālīṣa-Sharifah* or simply *Khālīṣah* comprised the lands and sources of revenue reserved for the imperial treasury. Wilson

equates it with "the royal exchequer" (*Glossary*, 275). Though various *maḥals* could be transferred from or included in the *Khāliṣah*, the most fertile and conveniently administered lands formed as a rule the *khāliṣah* and, consequently, certain *maḥals* remained attached to it more or less permanently. The extent of the *Khāliṣah* varied from time to time (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 259, 270-71; cf. Wilson, *Glossary*, 275). It hardly needs pointing out that the land reverted to the *khāliṣah* on its resumption and that Amānat Khān at that time was the *Diwān* of the *khāliṣah-Sharīfah*.

7. The original word used in the document is *bardāsht*; the *Bahān-i-'Ajm* (Nawal Kishore, 1894 A.D.) defines *bardāshtan* as *ikhṭiyār-o-qubūl kardan*, a meaning which justifies our interpretation of *bardāsht* in the context of this document.

8. "A deed of lease, a document given by the collector to the Zamindar, or by some other receiver of the revenue, to the cultivator or under tenant, specifying the condition on which the lands are held and the value or proportion of the produce to be paid to the authority or person from whom the lands are held; the term is laxly applied to a variety of deeds securing rights or property in land, also to a deed of gift in general" (Wilson, *Glossary*, 408). The *pattah* stated, among other things, the revenue demand upon an individual cultivator or a village (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 134). The *pattah-i-istimrār* of the document would refer to the permanently stipulated revenue-demand. In fact the document also contains the word *jama'-i-istimrār*.

9. The word used in the document is *b'tariq-i-istimrār*, which refers to the fixed basis of this demand (cf. n 8, above). The revenues even on this category of tenure could be remitted in part, depending upon the extent of non-preventable calamity to the crop sown (Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 182).

10. Succeeded his *guru*, Anand Nath, in or about A.D. 1673. His is a name well preserved in the tradition at Jakhbar, for his appears to have been one of the longest periods on the *gaddi*. Tradition also ascribes to him a life span of 101 years which receives considerable support from the documents several of which mention him. The last one to mention him by name is dateable to A.D.

1741, thus giving him a period on the *gaddi* of at least 65 years. One of the *samādhis* at Jakhbar is described as being his.

11. This would indicate that the Jogis did not actually undertake the cultivation of the land in their possession. The land, however, would remain under the category of *khud-kāshlah*.

12. "A grant, a diploma, a charter, a patent:" a document conveying to an individual, among other things, "rights to revenue from land"; there were different forms of *sanads* according to the nature of the grant (Wilson, *Glossary*, 460). In this document, the reference is to the *sanads* obtained by the Jogis from time to time in the past.

13. This would indicate that for over fifteen years the arrangements made with *mahant* Hira Nath suffered no alteration.

14. Both *fard-i-ḥaqqiat* and *fard-i-ḥaqqīqat* were in use; the former was used for the record of "right, claim, property" and the latter, for "a memorial, a statement of circumstances" or simply a report (Wilson, *Glossary*, 155, 194). But, since the document relates to some kind of rights, we have used that word, though the reading of the original term is more likely to be *fard-i-ḥaqqīqat*.

15. The *parwānah*, here, should refer to an ordinary order and not to the *parwānchah* as described by Abul-Fazl.

16. This *paṭṭah* appears to be the one which had been originally given to the Jogis in connection with the *jama'-i-istimrār*.

17. As already suggested, the revenue-demand for the *kharif* crop is nearly two and a half times more than the demand for the *rabi'*. This may be taken as a general indication of the relative importance of the two crops.

18. Sānwal Dās was probably the provincial *diwān* at this time, the 39th year of Aurangzeb's reign. The *diwān's* use of the words *luṭf-i-Qādir* on his seal is quite remarkable.

The provincial *diwān*, according to Wilson, was charged with the collection of the revenue, the remittance of it to the imperial

treasury and was invested with extensive judicial powers in all civil and financial causes (*Glossary*, 144-45). He was expected to prevent the oppression of the peasants by the *jāgirdārs* and he could report on the administration of a *jāgīr*; he could execute the imperial orders regarding the assignees and their agents; and the claims of the assignees against their own *‘āmil*s were settled in the court of the *dīwān*. His own *jāgīrs* were to be in the medium and *ra’iyatī mahāls* (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 283, n. 59, 294-95).

19. The letter *dāl*, eleventh in the Persian alphabet and with the numerical value four, occurs frequently in these documents below some of the endorsements. It occurs in many other documents also. We do not know its significance; we may venture, however, to suggest that it might be an abbreviation for *dādah shud* or "seen," i.e., "noted".

20. The letter *mīm* (numerical value, forty) too occurs very frequently in these and other documents. We have noticed that sometimes it is placed below the endorsement containing the words *muṭla’ shud*, which suggests that it might be an abbreviation for these words. In that case it would signify something like "orders received".

21. This should refer to the actual words of Bahadur Khan's order. The expression *qalamī numāiyand* is to be found at the top of the reverse of some documents.

22. The word *siyāhah* is much more clear in Jhaveri's Document No. XIV in the *Imperial Farmans* in which the reference is to the *daftar-i-tan*. B. R. Grover has noticed that in a copy of the *Akbar Namah* (British Museum, Add. 27247, f 332 a), there is a term *siyāhah-i- zabṭ* instead of the *nuskha-i- zabṭ* which may be equated with the *Khasra* or the record of the fields of a village under cultivation "Raqba-Bandi Documents". *IHRC*, Part II, 59 & n. 18).

Wilson defines *siyāhah* as "an account book, an inventory, a list; it is especially applied in Hindustan to the daily ledger or account book of the receipts and disbursements of a village or estate, specifying all sums received, whether regular or miscellaneous, and all items of disbursement, whether customary or inciden-

tal" (*Glossary*, 481). In the present document, the statement does refer to its conformity with some kind of record; the *siyāhah* might be some ledger in which the entry of the *maḥṣūl-i-istimrār* of this document had been made.

23. The words *qalamī shud* appear to be in answer to *qalamī numāiyand*, as if to say that the orders had been duly carried out in drawing up the document.

(Signatures)

(2)

عرض ازیں نوشتہ آنکہ مایا آنکہ ہیرا ناتھ جوگی ساکن جکھپڑ

(1)

ورامدیو وگوبند مقدمان موضع مراد پور عملہ پرگنہ پٹھان ایم

(3)

موازی بیس بیگہ زمین گندم خرخشہ جانبین بود بنا براں

شکر مقدم موضع بیرو بلاس مقدم موضع بھوہ منصف قبول

نمودہ ایم بدوردگار را حاضر دانستہ حدود

(4)

گفتہ بدہند جانبین را قبول است ہرکس کہ ازگفتہ

(Seal)

منصفان برگردد در شرع شریف دروغی و باطل گردد

(in the margin) بنا براں این چند کلمہ بطریق

مچلکہ نوشتہ دادہ شد

کہ ثانی الحال حجت باشد

(Signatures) 1 بتاریخ ۱۰ شہر ذوالحجہ ۱۲۷۸ھ

دستخط ہیرا ناتھ

(In Sanskrit) "Pramānamidaṃ Patraṃ."

2 دستخط رامدیو وگوبند (in Takari)

3 گورنمنش وکیل گواہ شد

4 شکر داس گواہ شد

شوشہائے

شکر داس

(Seal)

X

THE PURPOSE of this statement is this :

That we, the Jogi Hira Nath of Jakhbar, Ramdev and Gobind, the *muqaddams*¹ of the village Muradpur² in the (administrative) jurisdiction of the *parganah Pathān*, (who) had twenty *bigahs* of disputed land under wheat, agree to accept Shankar, the *muqaddam* of the village Bir³ and Bilas, the *muqaddam* of the village Bhoh, as arbitrators.⁴ Whatever demarcation they decide upon, knowing God to be present, would be acceptable to all the parties, and whoever deviates from the decision of (these) arbitrators, would be regarded as false in the eyes of the Law.⁵

On that account, this (*muchalkah*⁶) is being drawn up for reference in the future with these words as a warrant.⁷

Dated the 10th of *zulhāj*j of the (regnal) year 47

Signatures :

1. (in Sanskrit⁸) Hira Nath
2. (in Tākri⁹) Ramdev and Gobind
3. Gurbakhsh Vakīl (as a witness)
4. Shankar Das (as a witness)

(*Seal*¹⁰)

“May Shiva be the Protector”
Shankar Das

Note :

On the reverse there is the following brief statement in Devnāgari script :

“*Muchalkah* about the boundary dispute between Jakhbar and Muradpur.”

NOTES

1. The term *muqaddam*, according to Wilson, applied especially to the village head-man (*Glossary*, 351-52). He was the sole village official besides the *patwāri* and his office was practically hereditary, though in some cases the office could be purchased by even a townsman. In those *ra'iyatī* villages where the community was either weak or non-existent, the *muqaddam* held a position of crucial importance. He collected the revenue from individual peasants and two and a half per cent of the assessed or the collected revenue went to him; but he could also make unauthorized collections from the villages. The *taqāwī* loans were distributed through him and he took commission on these, besides the customary *muqaddamī* from the villagers individually. The duties were not merely fiscal, for he was answerable for any crimes committed in or near the village—especially robbery and murder. This duty could be used to cow down the poorer sections of the villagers. In the territories of the *zamīndārs*, the *muqaddam* was little more than a servant, but in the case of the *madad-i-ma'āsh* lands he was not under the grantee. In fact he acted as an informer over the grantee. (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134). Dr Irfan Habib has discovered, "in one case at least", the *muqaddam* acting as an arbitrator in a boundary dispute between two land holders. The present case, though only the second, might suggest that such arbitration by the *muqaddam* was a normal feature of his position.

2. The village that lies at a distance of about one and a half miles to the north east of Jakhbar and with which it shares a boundary. The inhabitants of Jakhbar and Muradpur live peacefully enough with each other now, but stories are often told of the boundary disputes between Jakhbar and Muradpur, and Muradpur and Sherpur, even today.

3. It has not been possible for us to identify or locate this village. It appears, however, to have been across the Beas from this side; for one of the other documents (XIV), in referring to several villages in that region, gives Bir as one of them.

4. As mentioned in the first note, the *muqaddams* were accepted as arbitrators in a boundary dispute probably as a matter of routine. The document drawn up in this connection became

legally binding, which would suggest that the *muqaddam's* arbitration was acceptable to the higher authorities also. The term used here is *munsif*, and it must bear its ordinary connotation of "one who does justice". In fact, Wilson defines it not only as "a judge" but also as "an arbitrator" (*Glossary*, 356).

5. The original term used is *Shara'-i-Sharif*, which would actually make it the Islamic Law. But in the context of this document, it may be inferred that the reference here is to the law of the land. The use of this term is very significant, for the document was not signed in the *qazi's* court and there is no Muslim associated with it.

6. A bond, a deed or a draft of any binding undertaking, *muchalikah* also covered "an engagement under a penalty to observe the conditions of any deed or grant," and it was applied to the documents "exactd from thieves or suspected persons engaging to desist or refrain from any illegal acts" (Wilson, *Glossary*, 348; cf. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 132 n. 15, 144). The legally binding nature of the present document may again be pointed out.

7. The word used in the document is *hujjat*, i.e. "argument, proof, reason, demonstration, plea, allegation, sentence, decision, pretence, excuse" (Steingass). We feel that, in the context of this document, the import of this word is conveyed through our rendering.

8. The words, apparently in the hand of Mahant Hira Nath himself, are : "*pramāṇam idaṃ patraṃ*", meaning, "This paper is proved". The *mahant's* name does not appear after this conventional formula, but this inscription appears on other documents at Jakhbar belonging to Mahant Hira Nath's period also.

9. *Tākari*, or *Tānkari* as it is sometimes called, was for several centuries the general script of the hills, with its local variations being popular in different areas. It is descended from the *Shārdā* but took on, later, an almost illegible aspect so that *Tākari* inscriptions are extremely difficult to read. (For several variations of *Tākari*, and a discussion of the script, see Grierson, G. A., *Linguistic Survey of India*, 11 vols., Calcutta 1898-1927, IX, i-iv.)

10. Shankar Das is the only witness in this document who has used his seal. It may be of some interest to note that a *muqaddam* is using his seal on an "official" document.

سلطان محمد ابراہیم

(Seal)

فیض خانہ زار

شاہ عالم بادشاہ

محمد غازی

۱۱۳۲

عالمان حال واستقبال پرگتہ پٹھان مضاف صوبہ پنجاب متعلق
 تیول و کلائے سرکار فیض آثار شاہزادہ والاگہر بداند کہ
 چون بموجب فرمان والا شان و پروا نجات دیوانی و اسناد جاگیر داران
 و حکام موازی دولت بیگہ زمین از موضع نزوٹ من اعمال
 محال مذکور در وجه مدد معاش تہان ناتھ و بہا و ناتھ و میرا ناتھ
 وغیرہ جوگیان از قدیم الایام مقرر است لہذا قلمی میگرد کہ
 اراضی مزبور را بدستور سابق مقرر و مسلم دانستہ بجلت ابواب
 ممنوعہ مزاجم و متعرض نشوند تا حاصلات آنرا صرف مایملخ خود ہانمودہ بدعائے
 بقائے دولت ابد مدت اشتغال مینمودہ باشند دریں باب تاکید نماید

بتاریخ نوزدہم شہر محرم الحرام ...

(Torn)

XI
HU
(He Is)

Sultan Muhammad Ibrahim¹

(Seal²)
Faiz,
the *Khānah-zād*
of Shah Alam Padshah
Muhammad Ghāzī
1122
(A D 1710)

BE IT KNOWN to the present and the future *'āmil*s of the *parganah* Pathān in the province of Punjab³ which (at present) forms the rich domain⁴ of the exalted and dignified prince (Sultan Muhammad Ibrahim), the embodiment of bounty, that :—

WHEREAS, in accordance with the exalted *farmān* (of the Emperor), the *parwānahs* of the *dīwanī* (officials) and the *sanads* of the *jāgīrdārs* and the *ḥākims*, two hundred *bigahs* of land in the village Narot (which is) in the (administrative) jurisdiction of the abovementioned *maḥals* have been in conferment by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh* from olden times upon the Jogis Than Nath, Bhāu Nath, Hira Nath and others.

It is therefore hereby ordered that, regarding the aforesaid land as verily in conferment according to the former practice (upon the abovementioned) Jogis, they should

refrain from molesting (the Jogis) on account of all the forbidden *abwāb*⁵, so that they remain occupied with praying for the permanence of the Everlasting Dominion, (while) meeting their daily needs of livelihood from the produce of that (land). This should be treated as a strict injunction in this matter.

Dated the 19th of Muḥarram-al-ḥirām... ..(*lorn*)

NOTES

1. As already pointed out, the name of the prince is being placed at the top and a blank space is left in the body of the document, as a mark of honour to Sultan Muhammad Ibrahim. It may be noted that he is not the reigning monarch. The title Sultan, which is being used for him, was quite commonly given to the Mughal princes during the life-time of the ruling Emperor. Prince Ibrahim was the grandson of the reigning monarch Bahadur Shah.

2. The word *Khūnah-zād*, which is being used in this seal, signifies that Faiz was the member of a family which had served the Mughal Empire for at least a few generations. Thus, Faiz would belong to the older nobility.

3. The word *Şūbah-i-Punjā* occurs here for the first time in these documents.

4. The *jāgīrs* of the princes of blood royal were next in size to the *Khalisah-Sharīfa*. Their *jāgīrs* were naturally large because they held the highest *manṣabs*. The administration of their *jāgīrs* was modelled on that of the *Khalisah* lands. The princes could grant *jāgīrs* to their own officials, probably without imperial sanction, but such *jāgīrs* were transferred with the transfer of the prince's *jāgīr*. At the time of this document, the *parganah* Pathān obviously formed a part of the *jāgīr* of Sultan Muhammad Ibrahim. The term used for his *jāgīr* here is *tuyūl* which was in use in Persia from the fourteenth century onwards synonymously with *jāgīr*. Sometimes a technical distinction is made, however, between *jāgīr* and *tuyūl*, the former being used for the assignments of the *umarā* and the latter being reserved for the *jāgīrs* of the princes. Dr Irfan Habib does not believe in the existence of any such refined distinction, for he finds several instances of *jāgīr* being used for the lands assigned to the princes. However, to make the point more convincing, instances of *tuyūl* being used for the assignments of the *umarā* have to be found. See, Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 257, 258 & n 2, 282, 283.

5. Wilson defines *abwāb* as "the taxes" imposed in addition to the regular assessment on the land (*Glossary*, 2). For Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the term connotes "illegal cesses" which are discussed by him at some length in the *Mughal Administration* (77-90) where

sixty-three cesses abolished by Aurangzeb are listed. The exactions made on various pretexts "in addition to the regular land-revenue or custom duty" were again and again declared to be illegal and forbidden "but they soon reappeared with some changes in their items" (*ibid.*, 77). Of the six broad classes of *abwāb* made by Sarkar, the third appears to apply to the present case: "Perquisites exacted by the officials for their own benefit, and fees or commissions levied on behalf of the state, on almost every conceivable occasion" (*ibid.*, 78). Dr Irfan Habib equates *abwāb* with *faru'āt*, *ikhrajāt* or *hubūbāt* (*The Agrarian System*, 243). We have seen already that the *sāir-jihāt* cesses of a few of these documents appear to be the *ikhrajāt* of some other. That would at time equate *abwāb* even with *sāir-jihāt*. The empirical content of all these terms is not always clear and it certainly appears to have changed with the passage of time. However, it may perhaps be safely stated that all items not included in the approved list of taxes at any given time would be regarded as illegal cesses or *abwāb*. For the interesting variety of such cesses, see Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 247; Wilson, *Glossary*, 339. "The exact rates set for these cesses cannot be known and in any case they could hardly have been uniform. But together they could have sometimes amounted to pretty large sums" (Irfan Habib, *ibid.*, 248).

ہو

(Seal)

عرش آشیانی

ہم قاضی حیات خادم شریف محمد ۱۱۲۲

(1)

(Below) بیان واقعہ است

(4)

Signatures

ذکریت دریں بیان آنکہ چون موازی دو صد بیگہ زمین از موضع نزوت عملہ پرگنہ پٹھان (2)

بموجب فرمان عالی شان حضرت در وجه مدد معاش کچن ناتھ و غیرہ

جو گیان مقرر شدہ بود چنانچہ لغایت سنہ پانزدہم عہد حضرت خلد مکان (3)

متصرف و قبضہ موئی الیہ و خادمانش ماندہ در سنہ شانزدہم میرا ناتھ و غیرہ خادمانش (5)

بطرف ملکیت ہندوستان برائے.....

(Signatures)

(1) گواہ شد محمد چودھری۔ صورتحال بیان واقعہ است بیض

(2) گواہ شد محمد نعفی چودھری۔ صورتحال بیان واقعہ است بیض

(3) گواہ شد قنوجی چودھری۔ صورتحال بیان واقعہ است بیض

(4) گواہ شد بلاس چودھری۔ صورتحال بیان واقعہ است بیض

(5) گواہ شد مہاسنگہ چودھری۔ صورتحال بیان واقعہ است بیض

XII
HU
(He Is)

'Arsh-Āshiyānī

(*Scal*¹)
Qāzi Ḥayāt,
ministering to the
Sacred Law of Muhammad
1122
(A.D. 1710)
(below) "*The statement is
verily true*"

The purpose of this statement is as follows:

WHEREAS in accordance with the exalted *farmān* of the *'arsh-āshiyānī* Emperor (Akbar), two hundred *bigahs* of land in the village Narot within the (administrative) jurisdiction of the *parganah* Pathān had been in conferment by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh* upon the Jogis Kanchan Nath² and others. Accordingly, till the end of the fifteenth year of the reign of the *khuld-makānī* Emperor (Aurangzeb), that land remained in the possession and usage of the aforesaid (Jogi) and his followers.

In the sixteenth year, Hira Nath and his followers...
towards Hindustan for³...(torn).

Attestations :

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Witnessed by the Chaudhari,
Muhammad : | “The statement is
verily true to the
facts.” ⁵ <i>Baiḻ</i> |
| 2. Witnessed by the Chaudhari,
Muhammad Naqi : | “The statement is
verily true to the
facts.” <i>Baiḻ</i> |
| 3. Witnessed by the Chaudhari,
Qanauji : | “The statement is
verily true to the
facts.” <i>Baiḻ</i> |
| 4. Witnessed by the Chaudhari,
Bilas : | “The statement is
verily true to the
facts.” <i>Baiḻ</i> |
| 5. Witnessed by the Chaudhari,
Maha Singh : | “The statement is
verily true to the
facts.” <i>Baiḻ</i> |

(Two more in Tākri, partially torn.)

NOTES

1. The qazi's seal on this document and the attestations at the end would make it a mahzar. Wilson defines qazi as simply "the chief judge of a town or district in civil causes and questions regarding the Mohammedan religion" (*Glossary*, 8). The "civil causes" formed indeed an important aspect of his office. He was associated with the decisions regarding the disputes about the possession of a *zamindāri*. A *madad-i-ma'āsh* grant always went with the qazi's office. He was sometimes overawed by the *jāgirdārs* (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 179 & n. 47, 297, 301 & n. 17, 311).

2. It is not possible to ascertain whether Kanchan Nath ever sat on the *gaddi* of Jakhbar. The mention of his name indicates that he did; so also does the figuring of his name in the 1865 *shijā-nash*: but if the succession after Udant Nath went in the order that we believe followed, i.e., Udant Nath, Surat Nath, Than Nath, Anand Nath and Hira Nath, then it is not clear as to where the name of Kanchan Nath fits in. We have, however, conceded, in the first section of the Introduction, the possibility of other *mahants* with short reigns having sat on the *gaddi*; and Kanchan Nath might have been one of them.

3. As already suggested, Mahant Hira Nath might have gone towards the court in connection with the resumption of the Jakhbar grant.

4. Nearly all the witnesses in this document are *chaudharis*. According to Dr Irfan Habib the *chaudhari* was usually a *zamindār* himself and occupied a crucial position in the machinery of revenue collection. In Mughal documents *chaudhari* is sometimes coupled with *zamindari*. His treatment of the cultivators was to be watched by the *diwān* and he was not to be permitted to take any village on farm. Complaints against the *chaudhari* were not uncommon and it is quite certain that he resorted to occasional oppression. His position was usually hereditary, though an imperial *sanad* was necessary to legalize the position of a new *chaudhari*; and he could be removed from his position for various reasons. The most important of his functions were related to the collection of the revenue. He was generally helpless before the *jāgirdārs* (*The Agrarian System*, 126-27, 131 n. 10; 174, 231, 232, 235, 242, 246 n. 23; 252, 254, 255.

259 n. 8; 289-90, 291, 292, 293, 294, 297). The jurisdiction of the *chaudhari* ran to anything between a village and a *tappah*.

5. This appears to be the set formula for attestations in a *mahzar*. It is interesting to note that every signature is followed by "*batz*".

(Seal)

ادینہ بیگ خان

قدوسی بادشاہ غازی

محمد شاہ

۱۱۴۱

(Seal)

۷

معین الدین

سید قاضی

یادداشت

وجه فصلانہ دہرم کارج باسم گوسائیں ہیراناٹھ
جوگی جگہیٹر کہ ہمہ پنچایت بازار قصبہ محی الدین مقدر نموده
کہ سری دوکان یک تنکے عالمگیری ہرکدام میدادہ باشد پچکس غدر
وسختی نکند برضائے ورغبت خود با قبول نموده ایم بنا بران این کلمہ
بطریق یادداشت نوشتہ دادہ شد کہ ثانی الحال سند باشد
بتاریخ بیست و پنجم شہر رمضان المبارک ۱۴۱۰ قلمی شد

بیض

XIII

(Seal¹)
Adina Beg Khan,
Servant of Padshah Ghāzī
Muhammad Shah
1141
(A D 1728-29)

(Seal²)
7
Mu'īn-ud-dīn
Sayyid
Qāzī

YAD-DASHT³ on account of the *salānah*,⁴ devoted to religious purposes by the entire *panchāyat*⁵ of the *bāzār* of the *qasbah*⁶ Muḥiuddin Pur,⁷ in the name of Gosain⁸ Hira Nath, the Jogi of Jakhbar (to the effect) that :

Each one having a shop shall continue to pay one *tunkah-i-Ālamgīrī*,⁹ and no one should object or resist. We have agreed (to make this contribution) of our own accord and inclination. On that account, these few words are being recorded in the form of a memorandum so that it may subsequently serve as a *sanad*¹⁰.

Written on the 25th of Ramzān-ul-Mubārak of the (regnal) year 14.

Baiḻ

Note :

In the margin there are attestations in *Ṭākri* by four witnesses.

NOTES

1. This seal of Adina Beg Khan bears the date A.D. 1728, though the document was drawn up four years later. The public career of Adina Beg Khan is generally believed to have started in the 1730's. Therefore, this seal has an importance of its own. Dr H. R. Gupta, basing himself mainly on the *Ahwāl-i-Adina Beg Khan* places the early career of Adina Beg Khan in the Jalandhar Doab and it is only on the eve of Nadir Shah's invasion (A.D. 1739) that Adina Beg Khan appears to have become an official of any consideration (*Studies in Later Mughal History of Punjab*, 58, 59). In the *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District*, however, Adina Beg Khan is stated to have founded Dina Nagar (District Gurdaspur) in A.D. 1730, which implies an earlier association of Adina Beg Khan with this part of the Punjab. It is evident from this seal that he was occupying a reasonably important position already in A.D. 1728, if not still earlier. For a detailed account of his career, see Gupta, H. R., *Studies in Later Mughal History*, 56-108.

2. Mu'in-ud-din's seal here is on quite a few documents, in the Jakhbar collection. He appears to have held the qazi's office in this area for a considerable number of years (See, document XIV, below).

3. *Yād-dāsh*t is defined by Wilson as "a memorandum, a memorial, a position, a certificate" (*Glossary*, 558). This document is professedly a *yād-dāsh*t and it relates to an undertaking which, though voluntary in its origins, becomes legally binding through this document (See, note 10, below).

4. *Faṣlānah* was one of the *abwāb* according to Dr Irfan Habib (*The Agrarian System*, 247 n. 32). It is believed to be an allowance for the *paṭwārī* given at the time of very harvest (*ibid.*, 135 n. 33). Indeed the association of *faṣlānah* with harvest (*faṣl*) is understandable and perhaps also significant. In the present document, *faṣlānah* obviously is neither the *paṭwārī*'s allowance nor any of the *abwāb*. It occurs with the words "*dharmkārāj*", which definitely suggests that the contribution raised was regarded as a gesture if not an act of piety. Now it was quite customary for the local people to take the "first fruits" to the *mahants* at Jakhbar. Therefore, it may be suggested that the term *faṣlānah* in this document implies among other things the bi-annual nature of this subscription.

5. This reference to *panchāyat* is quite interesting. In the first place it exists in a town; and then, it does not cover the town as a whole but only its *bāzār*. This restricted signification of the institution would make it very much different from the *panchāyats* of the village communities which are believed to have been very effective in ancient and "medieval" India.

6. *Qaṣbah* is generally equated with "a town". It is not clear however what distinguished a *qaṣbah* from a village. In this document, one distinguishing feature of the *qaṣbah* is the existence of a *bāzār* in it. According to B. R. Grover, *qaṣbah* was also treated as a territorial unit, generally named after the largest village contained in it ("Raḡba-Bandi Documents", *IHRC*, XXXVI, Part II, 59). It is possible that the *qaṣbah* also had in it the headquarters of some official.

7. A small town near Dinanagar in the Gurdaspur district, lying at a distance of nearly eight miles from Jakhar in the south-western direction. The place appears to have been named after Muḡī-ud-dīn Aurangzeb, but the name has now lost its significance and is often vulgarly given as "Madhīnpur".

8. This is an epithet used loosely to describe almost any religious personage, regardless of his sectarian affiliation. The Vaishnavas of Pandori are almost always referred to as "Gosains," and a tribe so described used to engage in wholesale trade with the hills, mostly in opium, making Jwalamukhi as their business headquarters.

9. The Mughal coins were in gold, silver or copper—the *adhelā* (*dām*), *paisa* and *tankah* being in copper.

With the disappearance of the *tankah* during the seventeenth century, the *dām* came to be called *tankah*, while the old *adhelā* was now called *paisa*. With the increasing price of silver, the actual value of the *tankah* became much less than the fortieth of a rupee. Aurangzeb was obliged to issue a new *dām* (because of the scarcity of copper) which was a third lighter than the old *dām*. The new coin started issuing in the 1660's and gradually replaced the old *dām* (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 281, 282). It is most likely that the *tankah-i-'Ālamgīrī* of this document refers to the coin introduced by Aurangzeb.

10. *Sanad* here is not used in its ordinary connotation, but in the sense of *hujjat* or a warrant in document X, above (see note 7 to that document).

ہواغنی

طلل سجانہ

(Seal A)

(Seal B)

(Signatures)

(1)

چکٹ نامہ

اراضی مدد معاش موازی بیست و پنج بیگہ زمین بخر افتادہ لائق زراعت خراج مع

بموجب فرمان

عالیشان فرخندہ عنوان باسم او ڈنٹ ناتھ و سرت ناتھ حسب الضمن درپرگنہ دو مال

تابع دوآبہ بست جانہ صر مضاف موہیہ پنجاب مقرر است بتصدق فرق مبارک بیلکان

سکندر جاہ خلافت پناہ جمشید (۶) حشمت کیواں منزلت ناب بمیل داد از مظہر

اعظم افسریدگار

محرر شفقت کرد باتفاق چودہریان و قانگولیان و ہارضائے مالکان در موضع جنگلیال و غرو

عملہ پرگنہ

مذکورہ پیوودہ و چک بستہ بار بہ حدود زمین و مشخص ساختہ سوا لہ گوردہ ہرانا تھ نمونہ شد کہ

حاصلات آنز فصل بفصل سال بسال صرف معیشت خود ہا نمودہ بدعائے بقائے

دوام دولت قاہرہ اشتغال می نمودہ باشند۔ (۶)

۲۵ بیگہ

مذکورہ
۳ بیگہ عرض
طول
...کان

شرقی
عربی
جنوبی
شمالی
سرحد بلاس
سرحد بلاس
سرحد بلاس
سرحد بلاس

(2)

XIV

HU-AL-GHANI
(He is Independent)

(Seal¹)
With the Grace
of God, Qāzī Muhammad
Ṣiddīq, ministering to the
Sacred Law
1145
(A.D. 1732-33)

Zill-i-Subhānī
(The Shadow of God)

(Seal²)
14
Qāzī Mu'īn-ud-din
Sayyid, ministering
to the Holy Law
1144
(A.D. 1731-32)
*CHAKNĀMAH*³

IN ACCORDANCE with the exalted *farmān* of the auspicious inscription, twenty-five *bigahs* of revenue-free culturable waste have been in conferment by way of *madad-i-ma'āsh* upon Udant Nath and Surat Nath in the *parganah* Domāl⁴, within the jurisdiction of the *doāb* Bist-Jalandhar⁵, in the province of Punjab, as given in the appended detail.

This land was given through the benign grace of the holy Qurān⁶ and the mandate of the peer of Alexander, the asylum of vicegerency, a Jamshid in splendour, the generous prince of the status of Saturn, (who had) graciously issued the order in (the light of) the manifestation of the Great Creator

With the concurrence of the *chaudharīs*, and the *qānūngos* and the willingness of the *proprietors*⁷, (this land) duly measured and demarcated with its limits and location determined and defined,⁸ in the village Jangiāl,⁹ and elsewhere, within the jurisdiction of the above mentioned *parganah*, has been handed over to Guru Hira Nath, so that he may remain occupied with praying for the permanence of the Conquering Dynasty (while) sustaining himself, harvest after harvest and year after year, with the produce of that (land)

25 *bigahs*

A : The above mentioned (village, Jangiāl):

East : The boundary of Bilas¹⁰

West : The boundary of Bilas

South : The boundary of the village Sukhowal¹¹

North : The boundary of the village Sansarpur¹²

4 *bigahs*

breadth	length
---------	--------

... <i>kān</i>	... <i>kān</i>
----------------	----------------

B : The village Sukhowal :

East : The stream-bed

West : The boundary of Bilas

South : The boundary of Banswanni¹³

North : The boundary of Sansarpur

10 *bigahs*

breadth	length
---------	--------

... <i>kān</i>	.. <i>kān</i>
----------------	---------------

سکھو وال
۱۰ بیگہ ... عرض
... کان ... طول

شرقی
حدود جوئے .. حدو د بلاس
غربی
حدو د بلاس
جنوبی
حدو د بلاس
شمالی
حدو د بلاس

(Seal C) سنسار پور
۱۰ بیگہ
طول
عرض
شرقی
غربی
جنوبی
شمالی
سرحد ...
سرحد سکھو وال
سرحد جوئے ...
سکھو وال

تحریر فی التاریخ ربیع الاول سنہ ...

Seals

A ۱۴ قاضی معین الدین خادم شرع معین ۱۱۴۴

B با عنایت الدق قاضی محمد صدیق خادم شرع شریف ۱۱۴۵

(Below) با قرار مقرین مہر منودہ شد۔ (۶)

C بھگوان سہائے ۱۴

سپانند

(Below) بموجب پروا مٹی رائی صاحب و قبلہ گوردت مل زمین پیودہ دادہ شد

Signatures

1 گواہ چوہدری ہر جس قصبہ دو مال

2 گواہ شد سدا نندت انونگوا

C : The village Sansarpur :

East : The boundary of Bir¹⁴
 West : The boundary of Sukhowal
 South : The stream-bed
 North : Sukhowal

10 *bigahs*
 breadth length
 ... *kān* ... *kān*

(Seal¹⁵)

14

May God be the
 Protector.

Suchchā Nand

In accordance with the *parwānah* of the eminent Rai Sahib Gurdit Mal, the land was measured and handed over

Attestations :

1 Witnessed by the *Chaudharī*, Harjas, of the *qasbah* Domāl.

2 Witnessed by the *Qānūngo*¹⁶, Sadānand.

Note : There are several others, mostly *chaudharīs* witnessing in Ṭākārī to the effect that the boundaries have been correctly defined.

NOTES

1. Mu'in-ud dīn's seal appeared on the preceding document also. That was made in the seventh regnal year of Muhammad Shah. This seal was made in the fourteenth year (A D. 1731-32), but placed on this document probably later (*cf* note 2 below)

2. This appears to be the principal seal, though it bears the date A D 1732 33. The endorsement beside the seal would suggest that it was put on the document at the time of its preparation

3. *Chaknāmah*, according to Wilson, is "a register of the extent and boundaries of a detached or separate piece of land, or of a separate village. A grant authorising individuals to hold alienated lands, and specifying their limits" (*Glossary*, 97). The present document lays down the area and boundaries of the *madad i-ma'āsh* land in conferment upon Mahant Hira Nath in three villages which were in close proximity to one another.

4. Despite best efforts, we have not been able to succeed in locating any place or area with this name but considering that it is referred to as falling within the *doāb* of Bist Jalandhar, it should have been in the present day districts of Jullundur, Hoshiarpur or Kapurthala. The nearest that we came to is the village of Domeli in *tahsil* Phagwara of the Kapurthala district, but that appears to us to be a somewhat unlikely identification

5. The *doāb* between the Beas and the Sutlej was then, as now, known as the Bist-Jalandhar. It has been noted already that in the province of Lahore (or Punjab) the reference was made generally to the *doābs* and not to any *sarkārs*, except during the reign of Shah Jahan when some *chaklahs* are mentioned.

6. We have been a little unorthodox in interpreting this well known expression which certainly is of common occurrence in the documents of Mughal times: "*batasadduq-i-furq-i-mubārak*," in our view, refers to the source of pious inspiration for the grantor; and if we read *furq* instead of the generally read *farq* (the head or forehead), the reference then would be to the *Qurān*.

7. The existence of "private property" in Mughal India was doubted by the majority of modern scholars as much as by the contemporary European travellers to Mughal India. With a better understanding of the terms used for the different categories of land, it has become possible to show now that *māliks* or proprietors of land and private property were not unknown in Mughal India (See, Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 114-15, 139-40). The term *mālikān* is quite clear in the present document and it should certainly refer to the proprietors of land. The grantees sometimes had to pay the claims based on proprietary rights (*ḥaqq-i-milkiyat*) on the lands of their grants to the *māliks*. The peasant-held land (*zamīn-i-ra'iyatī*) could not be legally converted into a self-cultivated land (*zamīn-i-khud-kūshṭah*), neither by the grantees nor by the officials (Irfan Habib, *ibid.*, 114-15, 145).

8. Besides the usual *patmūdah-o-chak-bastah*, there occurs here the phrase *mu'aiyan-o-mushakkkhas sakhtah*, which might simply reinforce the former expression in this document. However, Wilson defines *mushakkkhas* as a farm or lands held at "a stipulated rent:" and the term, in his view, was also applied to "subordinate tenures for which the holders engage to pay a fixed rent annually upon the whole lot" (*Glossary*, 357-58). That would equate the above-mentioned tenure with the *istimrārī* tenure of document IX above. According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the term used for the revenue "fixed at an unalterable rate for a specified quantity of the land" was *kharaj-i-muazzaf* (*Mughal Administration*, 177). The present document gives no indication of the tenure. Indeed a *madad-i-ma'āsh* land would not be given on the basis of a revenue of any kind. The word *mushakkkhas* here should bear its ordinary connotation of "individuated, distinguished, defined, specified" (Steingass).

9. There are several villages in the Pathankot region as also in the Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts bearing names like "Jugial" or "Jogial". Possibly one of these was meant by the name used here, but it becomes naturally difficult in these circumstances to identify this place with any certainty.

10. Unidentified.

11. Unidentified.

12. Unidentified.

13. Unidentified.

14. Unidentified. Several villages bear names beginning with "Bir" which refers to a local godling or *deotā*, but it is difficult to ascertain which of these is meant here.

15. Suchchā Nand of this seal might be a *muqaddam*. We noticed (in document X above) a seal of the *muqaddam* Shankar Das being used on a document relating to boundaries. It is not impossible that the *muqaddam* was associated with the demarcation of boundaries as with the settlement of a boundary-dispute.

16. Another witness to attest this *chaknāmah* is Sada Nand, the *qānūngo*; and his association with the document is even more easily understandable than that of the *muqaddam* (cf. note 15 below), for his primary functions were related to land and its revenue (Wilson, *Glossary*, 260; Nagar, R. N. "The Kanungo in the North-Western Province (1801-1833)", *IHRC*, Mysore 1942, 166-20).

The *qānūngos* belonged generally to one of the "accountant castes" (*Kāyasthas*, *Khatris* etc.) and the office usually ran in the family. Though an imperial *sanad* was necessary for the first appointment, the office was for life. However, the *qānūngo* could be removed from office for a number of reasons. In the reigns of Sher Shah and Akbar, there used to be one *qānūngo* in each *parganah*, but from Aurangzeb's order that there should not be more than two *qānūngos* in a *parganah*, it would appear that the numbers had considerably increased. The number of Muslim *qānūngos* also increased because of Aurangzeb's policy of supplementing the Hindu with Muslim *qānūngos*.

The *qānūngo* was the permanent repository of information concerning the revenue receipts, area statistics, local revenue rates, and practices and customs of the *parganah*. He was required primarily to place his records and knowledge at the disposal of the *amin* and put his signature on the *amin's* assessment. A "friend of the peasants," he was required to see that imperial regulations were carried out by the assignees, to report on the 'āmil's illegal exactions and, at the same time, to facilitate the preparation of the maximum revenue assessments. The assignees's agents depended heavily on his information; this position he could, and sometimes did, employ to his own advantage. Helpless against the *jāgirdār*, he could enter into collusion with the 'āmils, the *zamindārs* or even the *faujdārs*. (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 203, 262, 288, 289, 290, 291). For *qānūngoi*, see note 15 to document IV above.

(Seal)

شہ

اعزالدولہ زکریا خان بہادر

ہزیر جنگ ندوی بادشاہ

قازی محمد شاہ

۱۱۳۸ھ

مقامہ داران حال واستقبال یرگنہ پٹان وغیرہ تعلقہ چکھ جموں
مضاف صوبہ پنجاب بدانند بظہور پوسٹ کہ ہیہ انا تھ جوگی
فقیر گوشہ نشین است و اراضی مدد معاش وغیرہ
بموجب فرامین مطاعہ و اسناد عمال پیشیں در موضع
زوت خاص وغیرہ عملہ پرگنہ مذکور وغیرہ دیگر محالات
حسب الفمن مقرر دارد و لہذا تلمی میگردد کہ
بر طبق اسناد مذکورہ اراضی و اماکن فقیر مذکور را
بنام زده متعلقہ دانستہ بوجہی من الوجوہ
مزاحم و مستعرض نشوند کہ او حاصلات آنرا صرفت مایحتاج خود
ساختہ بدعائے دولت اہد مدت اشتغال و رزق
تاکید دانند

بتاریخ نوزدہم ماہ رمضان سنہ ۱۱۳۸ھ قلمی شد

بیض

XV

(Seal¹)

Iʿzz-ud-daulah

Zakariya Khan Bahadur

Haẓīẓī jang, Servant of

Padshah Ghāẓī, Muhammad

Shah

1138

(A D 1725-26)

BE IT KWOWN to the present and the future *thānādārs*² and others of the *parganah* Pathān, attached³ to the *chaklah*⁴ of Jammu⁵ in the province of Punjab, that :

It is manifest that the Jogi Hira Nath is a holy recluse. In accordance with mandatory *farmāns*, and the *sanads* of former *ʿāmil*s, he has in conferment upon him *madad-i-maʿāsh* land and other (possessions) in the village of Narot proper and elsewhere within the (administrative) jurisdiction of the abovementioned *parganah*, and other *parganahs* and *mahals*, as given in the appended detail.

It is accordingly being ordered that, recognizing the (said) land and tenements of the abovementioned holy man as being rightfully his on the basis of the abovementioned *sanads*, they should on all accounts refrain from molesting (the Jogi), so that he may remain occupied with praying for the Everlasting Dominion (while) meeting his daily needs of livelihood from the proceeds (of those possession). This is the injunction.

Written on the 19th of Ramzān of the (regnal) year 17
Baiẓ.

ضمن نویسند

ضمن بموجب اسناد بموہر فوجداران آنجا کہ آنها بدست آرند
بسم ہیرا نامہ جوگی کہ جماعتہ جوگیان ہر راہ نامہ حاصل آسزا
صرف میشتت دارد

متصدیان شاہ نہر

بموجب اسناد سابق و ممول قدیم
برائے آبادی موضع چک جوگیان
و باغیچہ و مزرعہ آنجا آب نہر میدادہ باشند
و مزاحم نشوند ... ۵۰۰

گورکھ ڈبی وغیرہ مکانہا کہ تابع
جوالا سکھی اند

گورکھ ڈبی وغیرہ

گورکھ ڈبی ناگاارجن
کپال بھیرو و چند کپوپ سری مکان پیر
گنگ بھیرو ناگاارجن
....
....

پرگتہ پیمان معمولہ چکلہ جوں
بموجب فرامین عالی شان
و اسناد حکامی کہ ہمیشہ در
قبض و تصرف جوگیان اند

بموجب فرامین والا شان
۲۶۵ بیگہ پنختہ
از موضع نزدٹ خاص وغیرہ

بموجب اسناد حکامی از موضع مرادپور
۱۶ بیگہ
۶۳ گھماد

سری جوالا سکھی وغیرہ

مکان مذکور تندی بیشتر
پہیار ... جھل
درود تیارہ

XV A

The detail in accordance with the *sanads*, under the seals of the *faujḍārs*⁶ of those places, which (the Jogis) possess in the name of the Jogi Hira Nath who in association with the *jamā'at*⁷ of Jogis expends the proceeds on (their) sustenance:—

1 The *mutasaddīs* of the Shāh Nahr⁸ should continue releasing the water of the canal for the inhabitants of the village Chak Jogīān (Jakhbar) and its orchard⁹ and cultivated land in accordance with the former *sanads* and the practice of old. There should be no obstruction

500 . (?)

2 In the parganah Pathān, within the (administrative) jurisdiction of the *chaklah* of Jammu, in accordance with the exalted *farmāns* and the *sanads* of the *hākims*, (the following lands) which have been always in the use and occupation of the Jogis:

(a) 265 *pakkā bigahs*,¹⁰ according to the exalted *farmāns*, in the village Narot proper and elsewhere;

(b) 17 *bigahs*

63 *ghumāos*, according to the *sanads* of the *hākims*, in the village Muradpur, and elsewhere

3 Tenements of Gorakh Dibbī¹¹ and elsewhere, in the jurisdiction of Jwālāmukhī: ¹²:—

(a) Gorakh Dibbī and elsewhere:

(i) Gorakh Dibbī

(ii) Nāgā Arjun¹³

(iii) Kapāl Bhairō¹⁴ and Chander kūp¹⁵

(iv) Shri ... Makān-i-pīr

(v) ...

(vi) Gang Bhairo¹⁶ and Nāgā Arjun

(vii) ...

(in the left hand margin
inverted)

تنوے چک
مہادیو بالکر و پی
پرگنہ گو مثال
عملہ نور پور .
پرگنہ شاہپور بموجب اسناد ہندوی و فارسی
... بیگم ... بیگم

۸ بیگم
رانی پور
قدیم
۲۵ گھاؤ
۸ بیگم
۳۴ گھاؤ
۱۰ گھاؤ

(in the right hand margin)

بتاریخ ۲۱ رمضان المبارک ۱۰۸۰
نقل بدفترو یوان رسیدہ

بیض

- (b) Sri Jwālāmukhī and elsewhere:
- (i) The said dwelling (at Jwālāmukhī proper)
 - (ii) Nandī Kesar ¹⁷
 - (iii) Pathiār, .. forest ¹⁸
 - (iv) ...
 - (v) Droh ¹⁹
 - (vi) Tiārā ²⁰
 - (vii) Tanaulī Chak ²¹
 - (viii) ...
 - (ix) Mahādev Bālakrupī ²²

4. In the *pargana* Gumtāl, ²³ within the (administrative) jurisdiction of Nurpur ²⁴:

8 <i>bigahs</i>	}	<i>qadim</i>
8 <i>bigahs</i>		
63 <i>ghumāos</i>		
100 <i>ghumāos</i>		

5 In the *pargana* of Shahpur, ²⁵ according to *sanads* in Persian and Indian (Ṭākārī-¹) characters

- i) ... *bigahs*
- ii) ... *bigahs*
- iii) 45 *ghumāos* (in) Rānipur ²⁷

Endorsement :

Dated, the 21st of Ramzān-ul-mubāarak of the (regnal) year 17.

(below) Copy received in the office of the *dīwān*

Baiḷ

Note :

On the top right hand corner are the words : "The detail should be drawn up" ²⁸

NOTES

1. Zakariya Khan had succeeded his father 'Abd-uṣ-Ṣamad Khan to the Governorship of Lahore in A.D. 1726 and he died in A.D. 1745 after a successful career of nearly twenty years. For some more details of his career see, Gupta, H. R., *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Punjab*.

2. "An officer in charge of a Thana, formerly an officer under the Faujdar, employed, with a small irregular force, in protecting the country and enforcing payment of the revenue : a petty police officer subordinate to a darogha" (Wilson, *Glossary*, 518).

3. The word *ta'ālluqah* occurs for the first time in these documents; it is derived from *ta'ālluq* which simply means 'connection'. It had come into currency in the latter half of the seventeenth century when it was used in the sense of land or area over which some kind of right was claimed by a *jāgirdār*, a *zamīndār* or a chief. Thus the term was used rather indifferently. Its equation with a small *zamīndāri* was probably a later development. (See, Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 139, 141, 142, 171, & n. 12, 172).

4. *Chaklah* is defined by Wilson as a large division of a country, comprehending a number of *parganahs* (*Glossary*, 98). As a territorial division it is first mentioned in the reign of Shah Jahan and was established probably by saadullah Khan. The *chaklahs* were often identical with *sarkārs*, as the *chaklahs* of Hissar and Sirhind; but in general, a *chaklah* was considered as a smaller unit than a *sarkār*, though in Bengal, where the *sarkārs* were rather small, a *chaklah* consisted usually of a small number of *sarkārs* (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 277, n. 18).

5. Jammu as a *chaklah* is mentioned here for the first time in these documents. It is, however, quite likely that Jammu was made a *chaklah* during the reign of Shah Jahan.

6. The military or police power of the imperial government was represented by the *faujdār*, one of his chief duties being to aid any *jāgīdār* or 'āmil of the *Khāliṣah* against any local malcontents. It was not uncommon to give *faujdārī* jurisdiction to the bigger assig-

nees within their *jāgirs*, though such powers seriously affected the power and prestige of the imperial *faujdār* (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 295-96).

7. The reference here is to the entire body of Jogis at this establishment, the Persian word "*jamā'at*" being often applied to bodies of Indian *sādhus* also. The mention of this *jamā'at* lends substance to the point made earlier that the entire body of the Jogis was, in theory, supposed to be collectively in enjoyment of the grant. The word *jamā'at* is not applied to the Jogi community exclusively; one hears of the *jamā'at* of Bairāgi *sādhus* quite often.

8. In the reign of Shah Jahan a small system of canals was brought into existence in the Upper Bari Doab of the Punjab. Of these canals the best known was the Shāh Nahr, which was successfully excavated in the sixteenth year of the reign. It took off from the Ravi at Shahpur, close to the hills. Another canal from the same point ran to Pathankot and yet another to Batala. Sujan Rai Bhandari, a native of Batala, enthusiastically comments on the benefit of these canals (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 33, 34 & n. 35). Evidently one of these canals irrigated the fields of the Jogis of Jakhbar, the Chak Jogiān of this document.

9. From the *Ain-i-Akbari* and other contemporary records, horticulture appears to have been popular with the holders of *madad-i-ma'āsh* lands. The Jogis had their own orchard in Jakhbar. There is an orchard in Jakhbar even today.

10. This might be a reference to the *Bigah-i-Ilāhi*.

11. A small temple, with an endowment of its own within the precincts of the famous shrine of Jwālāmukhī (See n. 12 below). The name of the shrine is explained with reference to a small geyser of boiling hot water in which, it is narrated here, Gorakhnath left his pot, dibbi, with rice and *dāl* in it to cook. The water, it is solemnly pointed out to the visitors, is still boiling from the time of Guru Gorakhnath. A Kanphata Jogi looks after the shrine.

The Jakhbar Jogis do not now own any structures in Gorakh Dibbī or indeed in any, perhaps, of the several places mentioned in this document, but they do refer to an earlier association with many of these places. Baba Brahm Nath narrated an incident

of several years ago when the Nāths of Gorakh Dibbī were financially helped by the Jakhbar *gaddi* in redeeming a mortgage on their possessions. In return for this, a part of the offerings received at the Gorakh Dibbī temple was sent for several years as a token of gratitude to Jakhbar.

12. Literally, "The Goddess of the Flaming Mouth," so named because of the subterranean gas that keeps on constantly escaping from the rock inside the temple of the Devi in the Kangra district. Jwālāmukhī is a temple of great celebrity in the north of India and profuse references to it have come across from a very early period. Around the temple a fairly large town has grown up and in the neighbourhood of the town are the ruins of a large number of houses and establishments once belonging to the "Gosains" who had made this place as a headquarters for trading. The temple of Jwālāmukhī lay once in the territory of the hill principality of Guler.

13. A temple near Jwālāmukhī, situated on a considerable height. Its name associates it with one of the most famous and earliest of Jogi ascetics. Nāgā Arjun is associated with the Mānāth sect of the Kanphatas; and Briggs (*Gorakhnath and the Kānphata Yogis*, 71) has the following note on him: "To this line (the Mānāthas) belongs Arjan Naga .. who is now in Kailas as siddha. There is an establishment belonging to this sub-sect at Jwālāmukhī".

14. One of the principal Shaiva temples in the Kangra district situated in the heart of the Kangra town. The temple is named after the *kapāl* or skull of Sati, Shiva's consort, which fell here when Shiva was roaming around wildly with her corpse on his shoulder after her immolation. The temple is looked after by a Jogi of the Alakh order. (See Rose, H. A. *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 3 vols., Calcutta, 1911-19, I, 266).

15. It has not been possible for us to locate or identify this place but it is possibly associated with the Nāgā Arjun establishment near Jwālāmukhī.

16. A temple in the Kangra district, close to Ichhi. A fair is held at the place on the Shivratri day, and there is an interesting story

telling how the place came to be named like this. The temple contains a carving of Gang Bhairo Mahādeo on a black stone 1 span high and 4 in circumference (Rose, *Glossary*, I, 269).

17. One of the Shaiva temples of great celebrity in the Kangra district. The temple is properly called Nandikeshwara Mahādeo and is situated in Jadragal on the bank of the Bān Gangā river. It is said to have been founded by a princess from Suket, and the *pujāri* at the temple is a Giri Gosain (Rose, *Glossary*, I, 271).

18. This refers possibly to the well known temple at Pathiār near Palampur in the Kangra district. The place is of considerable sanctity in the area. There is a thick forest very close to Pathiār which lends support to our reading of this entry, since a forest is clearly mentioned in the document.

19. A village in the Hamirpur *taḥṣīl* of the Kangra district. A big fair is held here in the month of *Chaitra* (March-April).

20. A large village in the Kangra district that lies two miles off the main road connecting Pathankot with Kangra from where a path branches off in its direction near Gaggal. Several *sādhus* still live at Tiārā.

21. It has not been possible for us unfortunately to identify this place.

22. One of the most famous of all the shrines in the Kangra district, named after the form of a young cowherd that Shiva is said to have taken in this region. The temple is near Sujanpur and there is a long and somewhat complicated story connected with the temple, involving a Raja of Kangra and several miracles performed by Baba Bālakrupī (see, Rose, *Glossary*, I, 261-64). Prominently mentioned in the story is a *sādhu*, Kanthar Nath by name. This must be a reference, in fact, to a Jogi of the Kanthar Nath sub-sect (See, Dwivedi, *Nātha Sampradāya*, 184).

There are several fairs held in a year at the temple and all offerings go to the Jogi on duty.

23. This, in all probability, is the place now called Damthāl, (see Introduction, n. 22, above). The origin of the name Damthāl is not entirely clear and it is possible that in an earlier period it was called Gumṭāl. There is at least one other reference to this place as Gumṭāl that occurs in a mid-nineteenth century account of a journey to Kashmir (Ganeshi Lal, *Siyāhat-i-Kashmīr*, tr. by V. S. Suri, Simla 1955, 6), and a detailed description of the place together with the name of the *mahant* in that work leaves no doubt that the place meant was modern Damthāl. In this document, again, Gumṭāl is shown as being in the *parganah* Nurpur which lends further support to the identification suggested here because of the closeness and association of Damthāl with Nurpur.

24. The important state of that name in the Punjab Hills. The town, Nurpur, is at a distance of only about fifteen miles from Pathankot but falls in the Kangra district of today. Both the state and the town are closely associated with the Mughals, (see Hutchison, J. & Vogel, J. Ph. *History of the Punjab Hill States*, 2 vols., Lahore 1933, I, 213-264).

25. This, in all probability, is Shahpur of the Shahpur-Kandi tract in the Gurdaspur district and not the tiny hill state of that name beyond Nurpur. Shahpur appears to have been an important Mughal town and lay on the bank of the Ravi. Lands in the Shahpur *parganah* are mentioned at more than one place held by the Jakhbar Jogis. Some land in the Shahpur-Kandi region is still held by the Jakhbar *gaddi*.

26. The use of the imperfect Ṭākari script in this part of the Gurdaspur district and the Punjab hills appears to have been quite common even for official documents. Several of the paṭṭahs of the Punjab hill rulers are in this unhelpful script and have been seen by us with the families of the rulers and their pandits.

27. A large village at a distance of about five miles to the north of Pathankot. Some land is still held here as *jāgīr* by the Jakhbar *mahants* who receive a small but fixed amount from the persons to whom they have left its cultivation.

28. The original words are 'zimm-nawisand'. Wilson has the

following note on this expression : "A form of word, 'let them write the abstract,' formerly inscribed upon a sanad granting an assignment of revenue or *Zamindari*, which served as authority for the subordinate officers to make out the particulars of the assignment or grant" (*Glossary*, 567). The expression occurs quite frequently in official documents and in the present document it occurs at the top.

(Seal) متصدیان حال و استقبال محالات طلبه برگشته شاه پور بنائت و التقات مشال بوده بدانند
چون سبده ناته جوگی مردستی است بنا بران موازی بیست گها و اراضی از انتقال هیرا ناته
در سواد موضع محقر در وجه مدد معاش بدستور قدیم مرحمت فرموده ایم می باید که
اراضی مذکور را از محل قدیم و حواشی آن پیونده و چک بسته بتصرف مومی الیه
و گذارند که حاصلات آنرا فصل بفصل صرف معیشت خود نموده بدعاگوی
اشتغال می نموده باشد و احدی من الوجوه مزاحم احوال راجع نگردد و هر سال سند
مجدد طلب ندارند درین باب تاکید اکید دانسته حسب المسطور عمل نمایند
بتاریخ بیست و پنجم ۲۵ محرم الحرام ۱۱۵۴ هـ

(Seal) ۱۷ اسعیدخان خانہ زاد مجید بادشاہ قازی محمد شاہ ۱۱۴۷

XVI

(Seal¹)

17

Sa'id Khan, the
honourable Khānah-zād
of Padshah Ghāzī
Muhammad Shah

1147

(A.D. 1734-35)

BE IT KNOWN to the present and the future *mutasaddīs* of the *maḥals* and *tappah* of the *parganah* Shahpur, (who may expect) to be covered with favour and kindness, that:

WHEREAS, the Jogi Subodh Nath² is a truly deserving person. On that account, we have bestowed upon him, according to the practice of old, twenty *ghumāos*³ of land by way of *madad-i-ma'ūsh*, on the death of Hira Nath, in the environs of the village Thār⁴. It is ordered that the abovementioned land in the old *maḥals* and their neighbourhood, duly measured and demarcated, should be handed over to the aforesaid (Jogi), so that he may remain occupied with praying (for the Emperor) while sustaining himself harvest after harvest with the produce of that (land). On no account should anyone interfere in this matter, now settled. A new *sanad* should not be demanded every year. In this matter, recognizing this to be an urgent injunction, the above order should be executed.

Dated the 25th of Muḥarram-al-ḥirām of the year 1154 (April 1, A.D. 1741).

Note :

In Ṭakarī, at the top, there are the following words in the hand probably of some *mahant* : "Twenty *ghumāos* of land ... in the name of Subudha Nath".

NOTES

1. These are numerous instances in these documents of seals being used much later than the dates they bear. This seal of Sa'id Khan, for instance, was made in A.D. 1734-35 but it is being used here on this document of 1741.

2. The succession of Mahant Subodh (Subuddha) Nath to the Jakhbar *gaddi* appears to have taken place in or about A.D. 1741, after the death of Hira Nath. The name of Subuddha Nath is well remembered at the *gaddi*, being connected with his having granted an important boon to the Gurdaspur *mahants*. From Subuddha Nath onwards the genealogical table of the Jakhbar *gaddi* assumes a definitive form. The date of his death is not known.

3. The area units under the denomination *ghumāo* varied considerably from one region to another in northern India and even from place to place in one region. According to Elliot, in Jalandhar it was only a fifty of a *bigah* (*Memoirs etc.* II, 166). This perhaps was an extremely small value, for on the other extreme a *ghumāo* at places is reckoned to be larger than two *bigahs*. Generally speaking a *ghumāo* is supposed to be equal to eight *kanāls*.

4. This, in all likelihood, is the village Dhar, at a distance of nearly fifteen miles from Pathankot in the north-eastern direction, on the road to Dalhousie. We are led to this identification by the fact that no other village by this name or the name "Thar" is known in this region; and that the present village of Dhar fell formerly in the *parganah* Shahpur which fact is clearly mentioned in this document.

(Seal)

اکال سہائے

بھاگ سنگہ

عزیز القدر دیوان ... رائے سلامت باشد

درینولا جوگیان جکھڑ بھنور آمدہ ظاہر کردند کہ

دوکانداران سو جاپنور برائے محصول اشیا کہ از سو جاپنور خرید می شوند

مزا حمت می رسانند و سابق کا ہے نشدہ لہذا انکارش می رود

کہ آنچه جوگیان مذکور خرید کرده بہ برند موافق معمول قدیم

مزا حمت نرسد غیر معمول خوب نیست و نیز فیران

جائے دھرم اند زیادہ چہ رقم شود

(in the margin.) سو بدھ نا تھ جوگی مہنت

جکھڑ است بر گوشہ نا تھان مزا حمت نباشد

XVII

(Seal¹)
May the Immortal
(God) be the Protector.
Bhag Singh

The honoured *dīwān* ... Rāi !

May (you) remain safe and in peace.

Now, the Jogis of Jakhbar, having come to (our) presence, have revealed that the shopkeepers of Sujapur² harass them by levying (octroi) duty³ on goods purchased from Sujapur. This never happened in former times.

It is, therefore, being ordered that, in whatever purchases they might make to take away (from Sujapur), the abovementioned Jogis should meet no hindrance in conformity with the practice of old. Deviation from an old practice is not to be commended. Moreover, (the Jogis) belong to a religious establishment.

What more need be said ?

(*In the margin*) :

The Jogi Subodh Nath is the *mahant* of Jakhbar. On the monastery of the Nāthās, there should be no imposition.

NOTES

1. This seal of Bhag Singh is undated and it is difficult to identify him with an absolute certainty. However, as already suggested, this seal should belong to the period between A.D. 1765, when the Sikhs were beginning effectively to occupy territories in the Punjab and A.D. 1809, when Ranjit Singh conquered Sujapur. There are at least three Sikh chiefs, belonging to this period and bearing this name, who are known to history : Bhag Singh Hallowalia who belonged to the Bhangi *miṣl*, Kanwar Bhag Singh who was the grandson of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Bhag Singh Bagga. Only the last named person is known to have had any connection with Sujapur.

According to an account of the Shahpur Kandi tract by one "Mr. Roe," the Bagga family belonged to the Kanhaiya *miṣl* and the founder of this family, Amar Das, obtained Sujapur towards the late 1760's. Amar Das died in A.D. 1805 to be succeeded by his son Bhag Singh. The new chief lived only for three years more and was succeeded by his younger brother Budh Singh who was defeated by Ranjit Singh in 1809 when Sujapur became a part of the Lahore Kingdom. (*Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District*, 1891-92, 38). The seal which appears on this document could easily be of the Sikh chief Bhag Singh. It does not follow, however, that the seal was prepared or used only in or after A.D. 1805. There is every possibility that Bhag Singh was effectively managing the affairs of his aged father's principality before his death in 1805. Instances of such usage of a seal by the son of a ruling Sikh chief are not unknown.

2. The flourishing town of Sujapur in the Shahpur-Kandi tract rose to some importance after the break-up of the Mughal empire, when 'Ajāib Rāi, the *Qānūngo*, set himself up here and at Pathankot as an independent chieftain. The town fell later into the hands of the Bagga family which was ousted from its possessions by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, as seen in n. 1, above, in A.D. 1809 (*Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District*, 1891-92, 38).

3. The word used here is *maḥṣūl*. According to Dr Irfan Habib this term was used in the Mughal documents and by the writers of those times in two senses : in the sense of revenue and in the sense

of produce from land (*The Agrarian System*, 141, 203, 204 & n. 36, 206, 231). In this document the term surely refers to revenue which in the context of this document could easily be a kind of octroi duty.

APPENDICES

A. PERSIAN AND HIJRA MONTHS

Persian		Hijra	
1. Farwardīn	فروردین	1. Muḥarram	محرم
2. Irdībihisht	اردیبهشت	2. Şafar	صفر
3. <u>K</u> hurdad	خرداد	3. Rabi'-ul-awwal	ربیع الاول
4. Tīr	تیر	4. Rabi-uş-şānī	ربیع الثانی
5. Amurdād	امرداد	5. Jamādi-ul-awwal	جمادی الاول
6. Shahriwar	شهریور	6. Jamādi-uş-şānī	جمادی الثانی
7. Mihr	مهر	7. Rajab	رجب
8. Ābān	آبان	8. Sha' bān	شعبان
9. Āzar	آذر	9. Ramzān	رمضان
10. Dai	دس	10. Shawwāl	شوال
11. Bahman	بهمن	11. Zul'qa'dah	ذوالقعدة
12. Isfandārmuz	اسفندارمذ	12. Zul'ḥijja	ذوالحججه

Note : There is no necessary chronological correspondence between the months of persian and Hijra calendars.

B. THE TURKISH DUODENARY CYCLE

1. Sīchqān-īl	(The mouse year)	سپچقان ایل
2. Ūd-īl	(The cow year)	اود ایل
3. Pārs-īl	(The leopard year)	پارس ایل
4. Tawishqān-īl	(The hare year)	توشقان ایل
5. Lūī-īl	(The crocodile year)	لوی ایل
6. Īlān-īl	(The snake year)	ایلان ایل
7. Yūnt-īl	(The horse year)	یونت ایل
8. Qūīl-īl	(The Sheep year)	قوی ایل
9. Bīchī-īl	(The monkey year)	بیچی ایل
10. Takhāqūī-īl	(The fowl year)	تخاقوی ایل
11. It-īl	(The dog year)	ایت ایل
12. Tangūz-īl	(The hog year)	تنگوز ایل

Note : There are slight variations in the names of the years given by various scholars. The small discretion that we have used may perhaps be allowed. The Turkish cycle is called *Muchal* in Uighur (a dialect of Turki) and *dawazdah sal-i-Turki* in Persian. The year begins and ends in spring and when a cycle of twelve years is completed, it begins again.

C. DAYS OF THE PERSIAN MONTH

1. Urmizd	اورمزد	16. Mihr	مهر
2. Bahman	بهمن	17. Surūsh	سروش
3. Irdībihisht	اردیبهشت	18. Rashn	رشن
4. Shahri-war	شهریور	19. Farwardīn	فروردین
5. Isfandarmuz	اسفندارمز	20. Bahrām	بهرام
6. <u>Khurdād</u>	خورداد	21. Rām	رام
7. Amurdād	احرداد	22. Bād	باد
8. Dai	دے	23. Dai	دے
9. Adar or Āzar	آذر	24. Dīn	دین
10. Ābān	آبان	25. Ird	ارد
11. <u>Khīr</u> or <u>Khurshīd</u>	خیر	26. Ashtād	اشتاد
12. Māh	ماه	27. Āsmān	آسمان
13. Tīr or Tishtar	تیر	28. Zāmyād	ذامیاد
14. Gūsh	گوش	29. Māntarasfand	مانتراسفند
15. Dai	دے	30. Anārām	انارام

D. TITLES, POSTHUMOUSLY USED, FOR THE MUGHAL EMPERORS

<p>Firdaus-Makānī or Gīṭī-Satānī</p>	}	For Babur
<p>Jannat-Āshiyānī or Hazrat-i-jahānbānī</p>	}	for Humayun
<p>'Arsh-Āshiyānī</p>		for Akbar
<p>Jannat-Makānī</p>		for Jahangir
<p>Firdaus-Āshiyānī</p>		for Shah Jahan
<p>Khuld-Makānī</p>		for Aurangzeb
<p>Khuld-Manzil</p>		for Bahadur Shah

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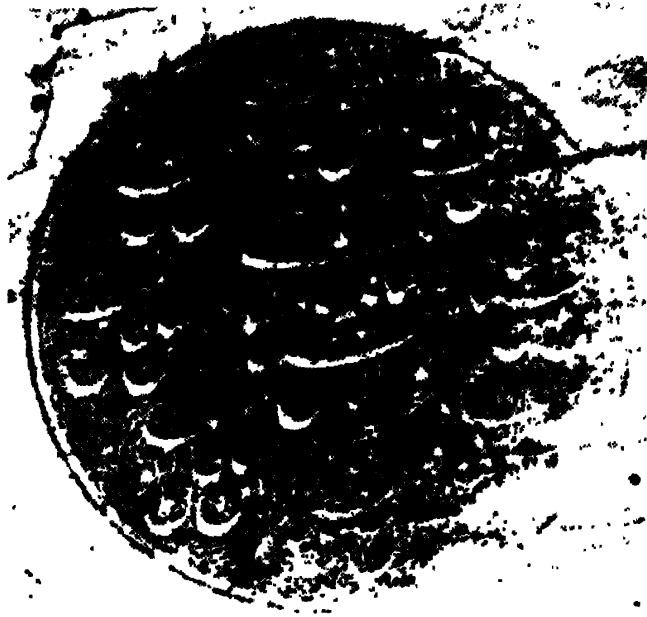
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Document II



Document III

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Document IV

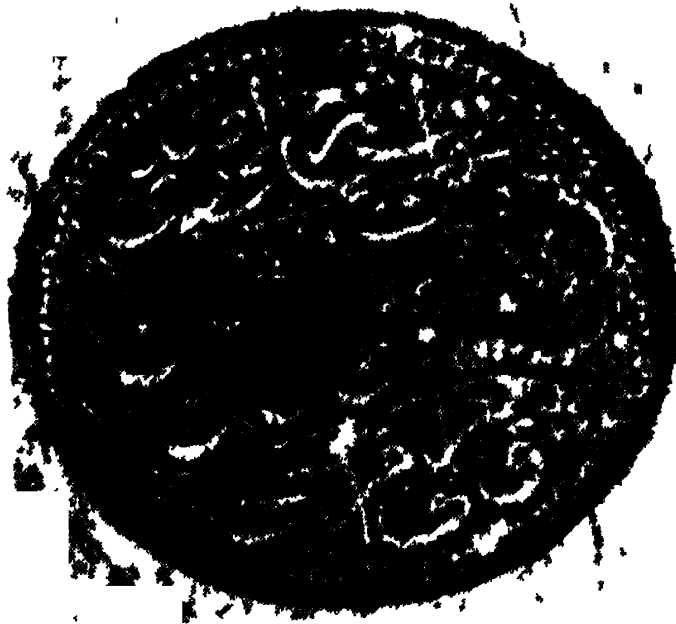


Document V

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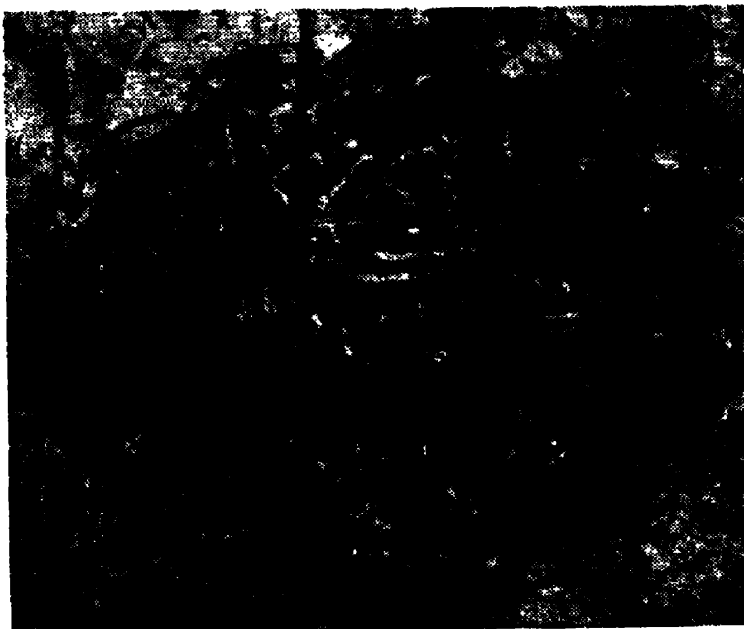


Document VI



Document VII

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Document VIII



Document IX

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Document XI



Document XIII

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Document XIV



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