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THE HONORARY SECRETARIES.

“ It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease.”

SIR WM. JONES.

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ERRATA.

Page 83, line 1 for <i>T. W. Tollort</i> , read <i>T. W. H. Tolbort</i> .
— 90, ,, 28 for <i>Pák Pallan</i> , read <i>Pák Patan</i> .
— 94, ,, 7 from below, for <i>Maland</i> , read <i>Malaud</i> .
— 100, ,, 5 from below, for <i>bhet chandas</i> , read <i>Chet Chaudas</i> .
— 103, ,, 6 for <i>north</i> , read <i>month</i> .
— 104, ,, 11 for <i>Farishta</i> , read <i>Firishtah</i> .

ERRATA IN PART I. 1868.

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- Page 8, l. 16, for 1428 to 1445, read 1457 to 1474.
 52, l. 12, for *dried*, read *dried, white*.
 — l. 13, for *dried*, read *dried, black*.
 120, last line, for *Batesvi*, read *Bateswar*.
 121, 3rd line, for *Gandhan* read *Gandharv*.
 121, 4th line, for *Kalysur* read *Kalyesur*.
 121, 5th line, for *nist* read *niot*.
 121, 8th line, for *Paninko* read *Raninko*.
 121, 18th line, for *Chanhán* read *Chauhán*.
 122, 9th line et passim for *Kharginpur* read *Khargjúrpur*.
 126, 14th line, for *Karuchandra* read *Karnchandra*.
 133, 3rd line, for *chhaná* read *chhona*.
 133, 5th line, for *Sandha* read *Saudha*.
 133, 6th line, for *chhanhani* read *chhauhani*.
 133, 7th line, for *Varamchi* read *Vararuchi*.
 133, 16th line, for *Rauran* read *Raura*.
 133, last line, for *Sangins* read *Sanguis*.

JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1869.

Further Notes on the Prithiráj-ráyasa.—By F. S. GROWSE, Esq., M. A.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVII. page 134.)

[Received 17th February, 1869.]

My former paper on the poems of Chand Barday was little more than a bare literal translation, which necessarily repeated the involved style of the original, and left the real points of interest anything but obvious to the casual reader. To remedy this defect, I now propose before proceeding any further in the MS., to indicate some of those features in the first Canto which appear to me most worthy of attention.

The shape into which the poem is thrown, is curious. The whole of it, with the exception of the first 120 introductory lines, is supposed to be a prophecy declared in the remote past by the great sage Vyása to King Anangpál, who solicits further information whenever there occurs a pause in the narrative. The clumsiness of this device, might be considered an indication of antiquity; but in my opinion it is rather due to an affected imitation of the style of the Puránas, which are invariably cast in the form of a dialogue.

The bard begins by announcing his intention to compose a work equal in extent to the Mahábhárat, and which he trusts will soon become equally renowned, and make the name of Chand as glorious

as that of Vyása, since Prithiráj, the hero to be celebrated, was no whit inferior to Duryodhan. He then relates how Anangpál, guided by a happy omen, founded the citadel of Dilli, and sunk an iron column so deeply in the ground, that its point entered into the forehead of Seshnág. Upon the stability of this pillar depended the permanence of the Tomar dynasty; yet the king, impressed by the pretended incredulity of Takshak, Seshnág's brother, who came to him in the disguise of a Bráhma, allows the pillar to be moved. Terrified at the portents of an impending catastrophe which follow upon his rash act, Anangpál seeks consolation from Vyása, who thereupon discloses to him the whole future course of events, saying :

The Tomar dynasty shall eventually be succeeded by the Chauháns, the latter by the Muhammadans. The last and greatest king of the Chauháns shall be Prithiráj. He shall wage many glorious wars; in particular, one with the Chandel king of Mahoba. Now the origin of the Chandels shall be on this wise: The Gaur line of kings at Kási is succeeded by the Gaharwárs, Karnchandra, Ransiñh, Jagannath, Ransiñh II., Surasiñh and Indrajít. In the court of this last monarch is a Bráhma, Hemráj. (In another passage this name is written Hansráj.) The moon-god becomes enamoured of his daughter Hemavati. The offspring of this guilty union, Chandra-brahma, becomes the special favourite of heaven, and to console the mother for her disgrace, Brahma promises that her sons from generation to generation shall sit upon the throne so long as they retain the word Brahma as an affix to their name. Chandra-brahma subdues the territory of Kási, founds Kalinjar and Mahoba, and is warned in a vision that his family shall reign at Mahoba for 20 generations. He is succeeded by Bár-brahma, and he again by Pár-brahma and so on for 19 generations, till Parmál the 20th in descent from the moon-god, being ashamed of his family origin, drops the name of Brahma. In consequence, he is deserted by the favour of heaven, and in the war with Prithiráj is worsted by that monarch. The particulars of this war form the subject of the Mahoba-Khand.

I have given the above argument of the poem in order to shew that, however abrupt in execution, it has been deliberately planned, and is built upon a wide and definite basis. I also observe that Bábú Rájendra Lal Mitra, the learned Philological Secretary, who

was kind enough to write a brief abstract of my translation when he laid it before the meeting in October, (see Proceedings for that month, page 246) has failed to catch the thread of the narrative. He evidently considers the legend of Hemavati and the moon as a subordinate incident; whereas it is in fact the real opening of the drama, to which the story of Anangpál and the iron column is only the prologue. I notice this in no spirit of hyper-criticism, but only as my excuse for now repeating in brief what my translation had already shewn in extenso.

The legend with regard to the origin of the Chandels is curious, as explaining the derivation of the word. *Chandel*, or *Chander*, the moon-born, is a patronymic precisely similar in form to *chachera*, the son of a *chacha*, *i. e.* a cousin. (This latter word is now almost banished from polite language, in order to make room for the vile mongrel, *chacha-zúl*.) It also explains a genealogical difficulty mentioned by Sir H. Elliot, in his Glossary, who says: "Though the Chandels are styled Sombansi, they are not considered to be of pure descent, and their sons are carefully excluded from marriages with the higher classes." The legend makes it clear, how that in one sense they are truly sombansi, that word being absolutely identical in meaning with chandel, while at the same time their descent is impure.

As Chandra-brahma, the great founder of the race, had a Brahmani for his mother, while his reputed father was the moon, a god more closely connected with Brahmans than Kshatriyas, it does not appear, on the face of the legend, how the Chandels can claim to be Thákurs at all. But a near though unexplained relationship, is always implied to exist between the Chandels and the Gaharwár Thákurs; and as Chandra-brahma's putative father is clearly mythical, while it is known that he was born in a Gaharwár court, it may be presumed that his real father was a Gaharwár. Thus too, his first act on acquiring power, was to avenge his mother's fall by expelling the Gaharwárs from Kási.

The particulars with regard to the succession of dynasties and individual kings at Kási are, I believe, novel, and may be of some historical value. Only one dynasty of Kási kings is specified in the Puránas.

In connection with Kalinjar, mention is made of a famous *tirtha*, called in the Benares MS. *Mrigadhára* (Vol. XXXVII. page 180). This I imagine must be a clerical error for *Mrigá-dáva*, the deer-forest, the legend regarding which place is given in an Appendix to Sher-
ring's Sacred City of the Hindus.

I have lately received two MS. fragments of the Prithiráj-ráyasa, which have been hunted up for me by Rájá Lakshman Siñh (a Rahtor Thákur) of this district. The one consists of 55 folio pages and is entitled "Srí Kabi Chand virachite Prathiráj-ráisai ke baři beři rájá grahano náma kaháo." The date is Sambat 1856. It refers to events in the Muhammadan war, and I have not yet discovered any corresponding section in the Benares text. The second MS. consists of 110 octavo pages, and is headed simply "Samao Mahobe ko." The title is given more fully at the end thus "Srí Mahobe juddh rájá Parmál Prithiráj Mahobe-Khand varnanam Alha-Khand Chand Kabi virachitam." The date of the copy is 1881, Sambat.

It omits the introductory legend of Anangpál and the Iron Pillar, with the genealogies of the Chandels and Banáphars, which constitute the two first cantos of the Benares MS., and relates instead how Prithiráj carried off Padmávati, the daughter of Prince Padma-sen, from Samud-Sikhari, a strong fort in the east.* On his way back to Dilli, he falls in with the Pathán forces under Sahab-ud-din and Momrez Khán of Khúrasán† and defeats them with great loss. He is obliged however to leave 50 of his own wounded on the field, who with a few other Rájputs under Gun-manjari, Kanak Siñh and Sardár lose their way and wander off to Mahoba, where they proceed to encamp in one of king Parmál's gardens. All this is omitted from the Benares MS., the third canto of which begins in a very confused way with the arrival of the 50 wounded men at Mahoba. The rape of Padmávati and the engagement with the Muhammadans receive only such casual mention as would be quite unintelligible, if the other MS. had not supplied the missing details.

From the 3rd to the 13th canto, the two narratives may be said to coincide, since with the exception of a very few occasional lines,

* The date is given as 1130 Saka—Gyára Sai das bis Sakhá Sambat parimánam—this must be an error, unless some local era is intended.

† In describing the Muhammadan army, occurs the following line. Panch sahas aswár, agenti golam, i. e. 5000 horse and artillery innumerable.

the Mainpuri MS. contains nothing which is not also to be found in the Benares MS. It omits, however, a great deal; yet the excision is generally so cleverly made, that the loss would not be noticed, were there no other copy at hand for collation. Take the following passage as a specimen (Mainpuri MS. page 29).

“The army of the Chauháns has come ready for battle; prepare ye to meet them. Leave untried neither charm nor spell, nor aught else that may avail.” Spoke Queen Malhan and said: “Delay the battle, O king, for two months; send Jaganak to summon Alhan, and collect the materials of war.” All accepted the Queen’s advice, saying, “Make proffers of friendship to Prithiráj, send Jalhan to present him with a *nazr*, and invite him to an interview.” So they sent 5000 leaves of betel, &c., &c.* These ten lines are coherent enough, but in the Benares MS., canto 8, they are widely scattered; 20 additional lines occur after the word ‘avail;’ 70 after ‘war,’ and 8 after ‘interview.’

The way in which these two MSS. mutually supply each other’s deficiencies, while at first sight they appear altogether dissimilar, is highly interesting; since it affords a complete refutation to a theory which has prevailed in some quarters, *viz.* that such fragmentary pieces form the genuine Chand ballads, and that the complete poem is a much later and comparatively worthless compilation. The comparison now made, shews in the clearest light that the two MSS. under consideration, and it may be presumed their fellows also, have been extracted from some one large and ancient original; and that the great epic, in some such form as we see it in the Agra copy, is not an accretion of ballads, but the genuine production of a single poet, which all later generations of bards have freely plundered.

Wherever the two MSS. coincide, the verbal differences of reading are found to be very numerous; as will appear from inspection of the following parallel passages, wherein is described the commencement of Parmál’s attack on the 50 wounded Chauháns, who had encamped in one of the royal gardens.

* In the list of offerings occur the words ‘badhúkhi, barakshi:’ the latter no doubt is for *barchhi*, a spear; the former perhaps a corruption of *badhaka*, destructive, and the origin of the modern *bandúk*, a gun, the derivation of which word has never before been ascertained. In the Benares MS. the corresponding word is *mahoksh*, an ox.

Extract from page 14 of Rājā Lakshman Siñh's MS

क्वंमोतीदाम किघोपरिमालज्जकुंमुजुसाजि
 चलेसवरावतजंगकौगाजि
 चलेजुवनाफरमुखजुशूर
 वधेले अरुगहलोतकरूर
 चलेभरजागरामरहनजोइ
 सजेभरजहममहमहोइ
 निवाजियवैसनरेसज्जकुंम
 सनंमुखसक्रसुवक्रउकुंम
 चलेहरिदासवधेलेवल्लि
 पमारवरसाथ उचारव इष्ट
 सुनीरजपूतनिवातकुठंग
 वधकसि आयुध आयुध अंग
 कसेरजपूतसुन्यातवधैर
 सुनौपरिमालकरौजिनिवैर
 सुनेचज्जवाननक्काडहिदाउ
 करौमति अब्बचदेल उपाउ
 करौचज्जवानसोंकाजविरुद्ध
 भजौतजिघेतसहैनहिजुद्ध
 ऐसीसुनिवानीकियेरतनैन
 कह्यौत्पमारज्जमारज्जवैन
 चलीसवसाजिचंदेलकीफौज
 मिलेरजपूतसनंमुखचोज
 मिलीजवट्टिसों ट्टिकरूर
 मिलेरजपूतजुमहमरूर
 मिलेमुष आइमुक्कालवज्वान
 उक्कारत आयुधकूटतमान
 लगेसरसोइकक्कित्तिय आइ
 किधोंविष आसीयकासीयपाइ
 लगउर आइसक्कत्तीयसेल
 करेदोउवीरयहेविधिषेल

कटकटघाइलखग्निकाटि
घटकतसेलनिघेलनिराट
गटकतिगिधिनिचेटियदैरि
घटकतघाइल दाइलमोरि

Here follows the corresponding passage from canto III. of the Benares MS.

कंदमोतीदाम कियौपरमालङ्ककुमसोरज्ज
चलेसबरावतजंगकौसज्जि
चदेखवनापरमुख्ययसूर
वधेलगुहलौतसुलाहगरूर
चलेभरजागरामरहनसोइ
सजेकरजद्वभेदवहोइ
निवाजीयवैसनरेसङ्ककुंम
सप्रेमुखसकसुषंकतकुंम
चलौहरिदासमहावलइष्ट
पचारिवमाथ उचारिवइष्ट
सुनीरजपुत्तनवातकुठड्ड
ठगं इकघाव उपाइसु अदृ
सजेरजपुत्तसुनोजवधैर
सुनौपरमालकरौजिनवैर
उंचे अतिसैधतहोन्टपराय
कह्यौरजपूतनवैनसुनाय
सुनौचङ्गवाननकंडहिदाव
करौमति अग्रचदेलउपाव
करौ प्रथिराजसांकाहेविखड्ड
सुनैन्टपवैनकरेरतनैन
कह्यौमुखमारङ्गमारङ्गसैन
कट्टिकिततडुिकतगोधनदैर
पट्टकतघाइलदावलदैर

The present disjointed state of these poems, affords a very striking parallel to the supposed condition of the Homeric ballads, before they were reduced to a definite canon by Pisistratus; and the Homer of

Rájputaná is a title most applicable to Chand, in a sense beyond that which was originally intended. On comparing the above extracts, it will be seen, that each is largely explanatory of the other. The short Mainpuri MS., in several places, presents the preferable reading, and besides supplying the missing half of one couplet, gives ten additional lines which obviate an awkward break in the narrative. There can be little doubt that every district in the North-West, if carefully searched, would yield some three or four similar fragments; and it is obviously desirable that as many of these as possible should be collated, before the Society commits itself to the adoption of a standard text. In all cases, the actual transcript will be of modern date, but it may often have been taken from an older original than that which is represented by the complete copies of the poem. The settlement officer of an adjoining district has been, I believe, engaged for some time past in collecting such fragments of the Alha-Khand, as are popularly current amongst the people in that neighbourhood, and proposes to give an English abstract of their contents. His main object is to illustrate the tone of local traditions; but there can be little doubt that the result of his enquiries will have large philological interest as well.

A variety of causes combine to render it likely that many years will elapse before a satisfactory edition of the Prithiráj-ráyasa can be prepared. Meanwhile, I propose to forward from time to time for insertion in the Society's Journal, translations of such portions of the poem as seem to possess most intrinsic interest. That such a course will not be unacceptable to the small world of Oriental scholars, I infer from the remarks made by the learned and most observant censor of Indian literary progress, M. Garcin de Tassy, who in his interesting and exhaustive review for 1868, speaks of the Prithiráj-ráyasa, in connexion with my proposal for its publication, as '*ouvrage d'une inestimable valeur, non seulement pour l'histoire, mais pour la philologie,*' and concludes by expressing a hope '*que ce poème sera enfin edité, et qu'on songera aussi à en donner une traduction complète accompagnée d'éclaircissements satisfaisants.*' The completion of such a translation may be facilitated by my series of selections.

As Alha and Udāl are far the most famous characters in the Mahoba war, I proceed to translate the close of the second canto wherein they are first brought upon the stage.

Translation of the latter part of Canto II.

“ Thus has been told the full genealogy of the Chandels and Gaharwárs till the incarnation of Valla and Salla in the Kali Yug of creation.” Then the stout-hearted king listens while Vyása declares their pedigree. “ The two heroes Salla and Valla are manifested in the Banáphar line. Chintá-mani in the hope of a son became absorbed in divine contemplation, and having with his own hands clean severed his head from his body, laid it at Bhava’s feet.* For the space of 12 years Chintá-mani had served S’iva: Káli’s lord was gratified at his devotion and taking the head in his hands reunited it to the body. Chintá-mani sprung to life again; S’ambhu called him to his feet: “ I am well pleased with thee for ever, ask of me three boons.” Said Chintá-mani, “ The first boon, an army; the second, gallant leaders; and third, may the sovereignty remain for ever in the house of the Chandels.” “ In thy family, Chintá-mani, brave heroes are born, such as never have been, nor yet shall be. The boon that thou hast desired, I have granted;” and with a smile, the lord of the five elements† vanished.

In the palace of Chandra-brahma‡ flourished Chintá-mani, a second Agastya, and by the grace of Siva began the series of the incarnations of Valla. After Chandra-brahma arose other glorious kings, and gallant heroes of the Banaphar line ever commanded their armies.§ Chintá-mani and Sasipál served King Chandra-brahma: when Jagat-brahma reigned, Makarand was his trusty counsellor. In the time

* The original stands thus: Apno sir chhin app kar kal bhú ágá aí. Here *app* may be for *apne*, in which case *kar* will mean *hands*; or it may stand for *arp*, when *app kar* will be equivalent to *arpan karke*. The four words at the end of the line are at first sight very perplexing; but *kal* is little more than an expletive signifying *well* or *clean*, and *bhú* should be written *bhava*, the vowel having been substituted for the cognate consonant.

† *Bhútpati*, lord of the 5 elements. It might also also be rendered ‘lord of departed spirits;’ but the former sense appears to me preferable; compare the opening lines of the Sakuntala.

‡ In the original, Chandra-brahma is here called Sasi-brahma, and further on, Vidhu-brahma; Chandra, Sasi and Vidhu being synonymous terms. The text runs thus: Chintá-mani Sasi-brahma ghar bhaye pragati parwán: but this does not give a very satisfactory meaning, and therefore for *pragati* I have substituted *agati* (Prakrit for *Agastya* as shewn by the name of a village, *Agati-sarác* on the borders of this district). The difference between प्रगटि and अगटि is almost imperceptible. *Parwán* stands of course for *pramán*.

§ ‘Commanders of armies’ *baládhiksh*, for *baládhyaqsh*, rather an unusual word.

of Bár-brahma Ankur* was minister; the adviser of Satya-brahma was the bold Sadá-Chandra.† The generous knight Alha was ennobled by the son of Kírat. From Chandra-brahma to Parmál, there was always a Banáphar in the king's palace. Chintá-mani was famous on earth; his son was the bold Sasipál; then came Kripá-chand and Sabha-chand; Sabhá-chand's son was the fierce Makarand. After him, the world-renowned Akrúr. He begat the heroic Abhayráj, whose son was the valiant Makarand, spoiling the enemy in the crush of battle‡ faithful servant of the Chandel king. His son was Dípchand, perfect in mind and body, a fountain of joy. He begat Santhira, the best of sons, of incomparable prowess on earth. His son was Baghel, winner of many spoils, and his son the famous Jsrath.§ To him were born the twin heroes, Alha and Udal, who, terrible in their wrath, subdued the whole world. In Dasahar's house were manifested the heroic pair Alha and Udal; in their persons Salla and Valla became incarnate in the Banáphar line. Heaven was gracious to the land, gave them the arrow of Garur, and for a second boon an army too vast to be numbered. Finding them ever wakeful to serve him with body and soul, Gorakhnáth bestowed upon them weapons of offence and defence, and made them immortal upon earth. The sons of Suddh-Karan and Jam-Karan were Budhjan and Janpál, to whom were born in the world Mahipál and Bhuvapál.|| They had only to shew themselves to secure submission, and kings obedient to their orders loved them as the apple of their eye.

He who with attentive ears hears the origin of the family of Chandra-brahma, shall receive of Srí Padmávati fortune and success. He who thrice hears with attention the genealogy of Chandra-brahma, shall obtain whatever blessings are within the reach of humanity, shall have wife and children and all good things on earth, and no

* 'Ankur.' This no doubt should be *Akrúr*, a name which occurs lower down.

† 'Sadá chandrá.' This and *Sabhá-chand*, which occurs below, evidently denote the same individual: without reference to another MS. it is impossible to say which is the correct form.

‡ Here I have omitted one line which defies all interpretation: **जिनेकंठनं-इंतराजंदराज**. It is probably corrupt.

§ 'Jsrath.' Called below *Dasahar*.

|| This couplet is obscure, and the words given as proper names may be only epithets, but Mahipál and Bhuvapál are mentioned in a later canto as relations of Alha and Udal.

sickness shall ever approach his immaculate body. Knowing this to be the reward, repeat the legend of the moon-god; in no other way can such a result be obtained. Wealth shall abound, your house shall stand fast, and your's shall be the victory in the battle. Whoever shall thrice hear the legend of Chandra-brahma, though childless, he shall have a son with abundance of wealth in a strong house. What Vyása declared to Anangpál, that Chand repeats to the king's family.* Now the bard† relates in lengthened strain the war between the Chandels and Chauháns.

The subject of the third canto has been already indicated. Parmál assembles a force of Chandels, Solankhis, Jádavs, Gaharwárs, Gahlots, Bais Thákurs, Jhángrás and Baghels against the 50 wounded Chauháns, and at length succeeds in cutting them to pieces, but not until his army has sustained a loss of 4000 men! The canto concludes as follows :

Translation of the latter part of Canto III.

Alhan went home and there in the presence of Udal declared his secret thoughts to his mother: "The king is dull of soul; this land, nay, the whole world knows it; his judgment is gone, he listens only to Mahil." Divalde, on hearing the sound speech of her son Alhan, said "Regard not the errors of the king, but do your duty to your lord. Hanumán did his master faithful service; the whole world reverences Rámá's messenger. Though the king has lost his senses, do not you break his orders." Alhan having heard his mother's advice went to the Court. The king rose trembling, all the Chandel princes made obeisance. Alhan enters the council-chamber and addresses Parmál: "The wounded have been wantonly slain, and their goods plundered. Cursed, cursed be the slaughter of the wounded, and the death of men whose lives should have been held sacred. Hear my warning, the name of Kshatriya has been disgraced." All good men rejoiced as they heard Alhan's stern speech, but it fell as a thunder-bolt on the heart of the king. Says the king Mahil in a rage: "Hear, son of Dasarath, you have spoken bitter words to a king, in

* 'The king's family.' This I take to be meaning of the word *ráwal*, Prákrit for *rájakula*. Or it may be simply 'you,' as *vaurau*.

† 'The bard.' In the original *ráy*, a word which most *bhát*s at the present day take as an affix to their name.

whose power are all things." Alhan turned upon the king Mahil with an angry glare in his eyes; king Parmál smiled, while his nobles grasped their bows. Not without calculation did Alhan reprove the king: fate has had its course, who now can undo it?

The only two Persian words in this passage are *darbár* and *kamán*. They are rather frequent in the earlier part of the canto, which contains the following: *hukm*, *farmán*, *tegh*, *bágh*, *muáf*, *arz*, *tamáshá*.

I cannot conclude this paper without one remark on a subject which I have handled so often, that I fear it has become tedious. I mean the comparative claims of Hindi and Urdu to be considered the vernacular of modern India. When I wrote the above translations, I was in camp at a small town, or rather village, in the Mainpuri district. Finding my way through the text by no means clear, I enquired if there was any Pandit in the place. It appeared that there was none. But in the course of the morning, four shop-keepers from the bazar came in to see me, who said they had a taste for books. The passage was read aloud by one of the number, and I found that all were able to follow the general meaning and, when any difficulty occurred, could offer some suggestion, which, however defective in accuracy of scholarship, was often conducive to the true interpretation. I have thus been enabled to present the translation in a more complete form than would, I believe, have been possible for any single unaided European scholar. Not one of my four friends was a professional Pandit, nor claimed acquaintance with any language beyond his own mother-tongue; and it must further be remembered, that the Prithiráj-rayasa is a work of very considerable antiquity. This little incident shews in the very strongest light, that Hindi is still to the present day, and always has been, the real vernacular of modern India, that is to say, the language ordinarily used by the middle classes and best understood by them. Urdu, no doubt, is largely spoken in the North-West Provinces, and has enriched colloquial speech with many words which it would now be pedantry to condemn; but precisely in the same way, English is largely spoken in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and has had a deep influence in the formation of the modern Bengali idiom. Yet English still remains a foreign language and so does Urdu. I confidently challenge my

kindly critic M. Garcin de Tassy to produce a parallel instance on his side of the question, and shew how, on finding some obscure Persian or Urdu book more than he could manage, he called in two or three chance banyas from the bazar, and received from them a satisfactory solution of his difficulties. Till this has been done, I must hold to my old convictions, and base thereupon a practical theory, *viz.* that popular education should be imparted through the medium of the vernacular Hindi; and, if it is, as I believe it to be, desirable to teach a second language, this foreign language should be not Urdu, the memorial of an obsolete dynasty, but, in accordance with immemorial Indian usage, the language of the dominant power, that is to say at the present time, English.

*A Vocabulary of the Garo and Konch Dialects, by Lieutenant
W. J. WILLIAMSON, Assistant Commissioner, Garo Hills.*

<i>English.</i>	<i>Garò.</i>	<i>Konch.</i>
One.	Sá.	Gasak.
Two.	Ginni.	Dúi.
Three	Githam.	Tín.
Four.	Bri.	Chár.
Five.	Bañá.	Pánch.
Six.	Dok.	Choy.
Seven.	Chhínni.	Sát.
Eight.	Chet.	Aṭ.
Nine.	Síkú.	Nau.
Ten.	Chikiñ.	Das.
Twenty.	Khol.	Korí.
Fifty.	Kholcháñ ginnichhí.	Panchás.
Hundred,	Ríchesá.	Ek Sau.
I.	Añá.	An.
We.	Chiñá.	Nún,
Thou.	Ná.	Ní.
He.	Bí.	Uá.
They.	Bísáñ.	Ujaruñ.
Of me.	Añní.	Aní.
Of us.	Chiñní.	Núnñí.
Of thine.	Náñní.	Níni.
Of you.	Náshañní.	Níruñní.
Of him.	Bíní.	Uání.
Of them.	Bíshoñní.	Ujuruñní.
Mine.	Añní.	Aní.
Our.	Chiñní.	Núnñí.
Thine.	Náñní.	Níni.
Your.	Náoñní.	Níruñní.
His.	Bíní.	Uání.
Theirs.	Bíshoñní.	Uárúñní.
Hand.	Ják.	Chák.
Foot.	Jáchok.	Jáṭēñ.
Nose.	Giñ.	Nákúñ.
Eye.	Mukruñ.	Múkún.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Garo.</i>	<i>Konch.</i>
Mouth.	Kushik.	Kákham.
Tooth.	Wá.	Phá.
Ear.	Náchil.	Nákál.
Hair.	Khinní.	Khau.
Head.	S'khú.	Dhákam.
Tongue.	Srí.	Theláí.
Belly.	Búkmá.	Ok.
Back.	Jáñíl.	Káñjú.
Iron.	Síl.	Loá.
Gold.	Soná.	Soná.
Silver.	Rúpá.	Rúpá.
Go.	Riáñ.	Leí.
Eat.	Chhá.	Sá.
Sit.	Ásuñ.	Mosúñ.
Father.	Ájá.	Áwá.
Mother.	Ámá.	Áme.
Brother.	Ádá.	Bháí.
Sister.	Áno.	Jánau.
Man.	Mánde.	Marok.
Woman.	Mechiksa.	Mágjú.
Wife.	Jik.	Jugjú.
Child.	Písá.	Sásá.
Daughter.	Deníchikpísá.	Mágjú sásá.
Slave.	Nokhol.	Ǧhúlám.
Cultivator.	Gámnimánde.	Ǧrihastímurg.
Shepherd.	Mendá Rákwál.	Bherá Rákwál.
God.	Sáljoñ.	Ishwor.
Devil.	Muttí.	Why.
Come.	Ríbá.	Pháy.
Best.	Námbátṭá.	Sabse Penim.
Stand.	Chádeñ.	Kharaṭúñ.
Sun.	Sál.	Ráshán.
Moon.	Jájuñ.	Nárek.
Fire.	Wál.	Wár.
Water.	Chhí.	Tí.
House.	Nok.	Nok.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Garo.</i>	<i>Konch.</i>
Horse.	Ghorá.	Ghorá.
Cow.	Máchú.	Máchú.
Dog.	Ácháκ.	Kwai.
Cat.	Meñúñ.	Meyan.
Cock.	Dho.	Ṭhak.
Duck.	Dhorájá.	Hánsak.
Ass.	Unknown.	Same as Bengali.
Camel.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Bird.	Dho.	Ṭhak.
To die.	Síná.	Ṭhíná.
To give.	Roná.	Lákhau.
Run.	Ṭheñrí.	Thalak.
Up.	Sákhá.	Kára.
Near.	Shefáñ.	Dákán.
Who.	Sá.	Cháñ.
And.	Ara.	Ara.
Yes.	Hoe.	Hán.
Down.	Khámá.	Kámá.
Far.	Chela.	Jánau.
What.	Inhau.	Atáwá.
But.	—	—
No.	Dúñjá.	Erá.
Before.	Skuñ.	Áge.
Behind.	Jámán.	Páse.
Why.	Mauna.	Atání.
If.	Bá.	Jadí.
Alas.	Áchai.	Hai.
A father.	Áfásá.	Áwágusuk.
Two fathers.	Áfáginni.	Áwáduiṭá.
Of a father.	Áfání.	Áwání.
Fathers.	Áfádhṛáñ.	Áwábrenñ.
Of fathers.	Áfádhṛáñni.	Áwábrénñí.
To a father.	Áfákho.	Áwání.
To fathers.	Áfádhṛáñkho.	Áwábrénñí.
From a father.	Áfáníkho.	Áwájikiñ.
From fathers.	Áfádhṛáñkho.	Áwábrénñíjikiñ.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Garo.</i>	<i>Konch.</i>
One daughter.	Demíchikpísá.	Mágjú sásá.
Two daughters.	Demíchikákginni.	Mágjú sásá dúíjun.
Daughters.	Demíchikdráñ.	Mágjú sásá gátá.
Of a daughter.	Demíchikní.	Mágjú sásání.
Of daughters.	Demíchikdráñní.	Mágjú sásá gátání.
To a daughter.	Demíchikkho.	Mágjú sásání.
To daughters.	Demíchikdráñkho.	Mágjú sásá gátání.
From a daughter.	Demíchikníkho.	Mágjú sásání jikiñ.
From daughters.	Demíchikdráñníkho.	Mágjú sásá gátáníjikin.
A good man.	Mánde námá.	Murg penim.
Two good men.	Mánde ákguini námá.	Murg dúí jun penim.
Good men.	Mándenámá dhráñ.	Murg penim gátá.
Of a good man.	Námá mándeni.	Murg penim ní.
Of good men.	Námá mánde dhráñni.	Murg penim gátání.
To a good man.	Námá mándekho. [kho.	Murg penim ní.
To good men.	Námá mánde dhráñni-	Murg penim gátání.
From a good man.	Námá mándeníkho.	Murg penim níjikin.
From good men.	Námá mándedráñnikho.	Murg penim níjikin.
A good woman.	Námá míchiksá.	Mágjú penim.
Good women.	Námá míchikdráñ.	Mágjú penim gátá.
A bad boy.	Písá áksá námjá.	Sásá gusuk nágtá.
A bad girl.	Míchikpísá áksá námjá.	Mágjú sásá gusuk nágtá
Good.	Nama.	Penim.
Better.	”	”
Best.	”	”

Comparison formed thus,—

A good man.	Námá mánde.	Murg penim.
A better man.	Indí bá námá mánde.	Iyání chá y íá penim murg.
The best man.	Indí bá námá báttá mánde.	Sab se íá penim murg.
High.	Chúa.	Chúa.
Higher.	Indí bá chúa.	Iyání chá y íá chúa.
Highest.	Indí bá chú báttá.	Sab se íá chúa.
A horse.	Ghorá mañsá.	Ghorá gusuk.
One bull.	Máchúbíj á mañsá.	Dámrá gusuk.
A dog.	Achák mañsá.	Kwai gusuk.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Garo.</i>	<i>Konch.</i>
One male goat.	Dobok bijá máñsá.	Púrúñ pántá gusuk.
A male deer.	Máchuk bijá.	Máchuk pántá.
A mare.	Ghorá bímá.	Ghorá mágjú.
A cow.	Máchú bímá.	Máchú gái.
A bitch.	Áchák bímá.	Kwái mágjú, <i>or</i> kwai júburá.
A she-goat.	Dobok bímá.	Púrúñ pántí.
A female deer.	Máchuk bímá.	Máchuk pántí.
Horses.	Ghorá dhráñ.	Ghorá gátá.
Bulls.	Máchúbijá dhráñ.	Máchú bullud gátá.
Dogs.	Áchák dhráñ.	Kwái gátá.
Bitches.	Áchák bímá dhráñ.	Kwái mágjú gátá.
Goats.	Dobok dhráñ.	Púrúñ gátá.
Deer.	Máchuk dhráñ.	Máchuk gátá.
I am.	Añá hoñ.	Án doñná.
Thou art.	Ná hoñ.	Ní doñ.
He is.	Biyá hoñ.	Uá doñ.
We are.	Chiñá hoñ.	Nún doñná.
You are.	Náshoñ hoñ.	Níruñ doñ.
They are.	Bíshoñ hoñ.	Ujáruñ doñ.
I was.	Añá duñá muñ.	Án toñbá.
Thou wast.	Na duñá muñ.	Ní toñbá.
He was.	Biyá duñá muñ.	Uá toñbá.
We were.	Chiñá duñá muñ.	Nuñ toñbá.
You were.	Náshoñ duñá muñ.	Níruñ toñbá.
They were.	Bíshoñ duñá muñ.	Jiruñ toñbá.
Be.	Hoñá.	Doñá.
To be.	Hoñá.	Doñá.
Being.	Hoñe.	Doñe.
Having been.	Hoñímúñ.	Doñímoñ.
I may be.	Añá hoñá mánúá.	Án doñ máná.
I shall be.	Añá hoñua.	Áñ doñá.
Beat.	Ḑok.	Ṭok.
To beat.	Ḑokná.	Ṭokní.
Beating.	Ḑoke.	Ṭoke.
Having beaten.	Ḑoke muñ.	Ṭokemuñ.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Garo.</i>	<i>Konch.</i>
I am beating.	Aña dokúñá.	An toktú.
Thou beatest.	Ná dokúñá.	Ni toktú.
He beats.	Biyá dokúñá.	Uá toktú.
We are beating.	Chiñá dokúñá.	Nún toktú.
You are beating.	Náshoñ dokúñá.	Nirún toktú.
They are beating.	Bishoñ dokúñá.	Ujárún toktú.
I beat.	Añá dokná.	An tokná.
I was beating.	Añá dokúñamuñ.	An tokuñbá.
I had beaten.	Añá dokámuñ.	An tokbámuñ.
I may beat.	Añá doknábádúñá.	An toknibátoá.
I shall beat.	Añá doknúá.	An tokná.
I should beat.	Añá doknámuñ.	An toknámuñ.
I am beaten.	Añá doká mañchájok.	An tok másási.
I was beaten.	Añá dok máñchábájok.	An tok másápaisi.
I shall be beaten.	Añá dok máñchánúá.	An tok másáná.
I go.	Añá riáñna.	An lainá.
Thou goest.	Ná rúñá.	Ni laiťú.
He goes.	Biyá rúñá.	Uá laiťú.
I went.	Añá riáñjok.	An laisi.
Thou wentest.	Ná riáñjok.	Ni laisi.
He went.	Biyá riáñjok.	Uá laisi.
Go.	Riáñ.	Lai.
Going.	Riáñá.	Lainiyai.
Gone.	Riáñe.	Laimúñ.
What is your name ?	Náñi mai Bímúñ ?	Níni átá múñ ?
How old is the horse ?	Iá ghořá básik bilsí sání ?	I ghořa koy bossorñi.
How far is it from here to Cashmir ?	Káshmir básik shelá ?	Káshmir bisín jánú ?
How many sons are there in your father's house ?	Náñfáñi noko básik písá mánde áksá ?	Níni áwání nokai koy jon sásá murg ?
I have walked a long way to-day.	Dál áñá chelásání rúá-mí ribajok.	Tíni án pánai dúrní jí-kin lájum paisi.
The son of my uncle is married to her sister.	Añi áúññi písá úá mí-chíksíni ánákho jik doñjok.	Ani úáutíni sásáwá í mágjúni jánau joní biyá ráksí.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Garo.</i>	<i>Konch.</i>
In the house is the saddle of the white horse.	Nokniñá ghorá gupuk- ní júi dúná.	Nok bhítüre ghure boḅ- níyáni jín toá.
Put the saddle on his back.	Bíní jáñílá jín gátbo.	U'áni kúnjúai jín lákha.
I have beaten his son with many stripes.	Bíná písáko áná doḅetá.	bañe U'áni sásáwau añ pañai toká suksi.
He is grazing the cat on the top of the hill.	Hádeñ sákau mogá ṭuñá.	máchú Hákau káráwáy machu dáṭautú.
He is sitting on a horse under that tree.	U'á bol Jáfáñ ásáne dúná.	ghorau U'á pánehúñai ghorau wai másuñáy ṭantú.
His brother is taller than his sister.	Bíní ádá bíní ábí nábá dhálá.	U'áni bhái úáni jhánow- níbá mátá.
The price of that is two rupees and a half.	U'áni dám gonsá ádullí.	U'áni dám dúi ṭáká ek ádullí.
My father lives in that small house.	Hai U'á nok añní áfá duñá.	chonau U'á nok puláwe áni áwá toñá.
Give this rupee to him.	I' dáñá bíko ron.	I' ṭáká úáni lákha.
Take those rupees from him.	I' dáñá bichá rábhá.	I' ṭáká úáni lá.
Beat him well and bind him with ropes.	Biko náme dokbo bágáchá khá donbo.	ára I'yáni khúb ṭok ára khú- rúgátí khaitán.
Draw water from the well.	Khúá nikho chí khobo.	Khúáni tiká khoñ.
Walk before me.	Añnískuñ ři.	Áni áge le.
Whose boy comes behind you?	Sáni písá nánni ríbabá úñá?	Jámánú Cháni sásá níni páse paiṭú?
From whom did you buy that?	U'áko sáníkho břiřá?	U'au cháni gátai purlá- táné?
From a shop-keeper of the village.	Shoñni dúkándár sá ři- rá.	Gáñwni dúkándár niyai púrlátánai.

Text and Translation of Balandshahar Inscription. By

PRATA'PACHANDRA GHOSHIA, B. A.

[Received 13th March, 1869.]

The copper-plate inscription, a translation of which is hereto appended, was presented to the Society in February, 1867 by Mr. Webster, Collector of Balandshahar. He says, it was found in a ruined gurhee situated in mouzah Manpur, pergunna Agoutha. The inscription records the grant of a village named *Gandavá* made by one *Ananga* to a brahman of the *Vátsa Gotra*. The grant was made in the vernal equinox of Samvat 1233. The engravers were *káyasthas*.

The plate is in tolerable preservation, and measures 1 foot 9 inches by 1 foot 1 inch. It would have been a useful link in the chain of Indian history of the time of the first Mahomedan invasion, if some coins or other inscriptions were forthcoming as corroborations of the dates and the names of kings immortalized in this plate. But as it is, the plate is a solitary landmark in the history of *Kalinga*, a name that conveys to the mind of the reader a vague notion of the sea-coast on the south of Bengal. The most inexplicable fact connected with this plate is, that it was found so high up near Balandshahar.

Kalinga has no representative in the coin cabinet, unless under some other name; and the names of the kings Govinda, Chandraka, Bhojadeva, Vikramáditya and Ananga, though occurring in many dynasties, are never coupled with the Kalinga country or the Rodra family, a family quite unknown in the history of the Deccan. Kalinga extended over a large tract of country from Orissa to the Nilgiris. It was never owned by a single sovereign. Different parts of it were at the same time owned by several potentates, and the Rodra dynasty was one of those petty chiefs. The kings of Orissa, for a long time in the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, called themselves sovereigns of Kalinga and Karnáta (*Kalinga nava koti Karnatesvara*), though it is known, they had little to do with Karnáta, which had its own kings. Such assumptions of sovereignty over dominions which kings do not possess, are not rare. Rodras probably owning a small part of Kalinga, assumed the whole.

This race of kings is quite unknown, unless the reading of the name is found fault with; and I admit, it may be read otherwise.

The reading of the letters कनिष्ठे is very dubious, and it is painful to observe that the two principal names (of the place and of the family) which make the record important, are uncertain; so is also the date, the plate at that part being partly destroyed by time, and two letters are missing. The name of the family which was at first read as Rodra, on second thought appears to be something different. It is most like *Yodu*; but the final *t* (त्) of the previous verb आसीत् being combined with it, as it is in the inscription, would not appear so. It is spelt as if it were *djo* (द्), the final *t* (त्) being changed into *d* (द), and *j* (ज), as a matter of course, goes under it. The simple rules of Sandhi must, however, change the final *t* (त्) into *j* (ज), and not into *d* (द) as it appears. On the other hand again, the word *Yodu* does not begin with a (ज) *j*, but a (य) *y*. The reading then is evidently something else. Does the word डोद्र stand for the Rahtor dynasty, a family that ruled at Kanouj, and one of whose princes Govindachandra reigned at about the time of the inscription, and whose name appears in the Fyzabad inscription (J. A. S. B., vol X. p. 98) and also on coins?

The letters which were construed to be the name of the country Kalinga are very ambiguous and illegible. But considering the rude stage of the art of engraving, the much ruder instruments then in use, and the ignorance of the engravers, it may be safely assumed that the न there stands for ल and as the compound letters are not distinctly written, the ष्टे may be said to represent ष्टे. Thus we have the name of Kalinga. With the other reading of *Kanishtha* (कनिष्ठे) however the passage explains itself equally well. The passage translated reads thus with *Kalinga*.

‘Then from the sacrifices of the virtuous king of Kalinga, was born Ananga, the chief of kings, full of prowess, and splendour.’ With *Kanishtha*, however, it reads as follows:—

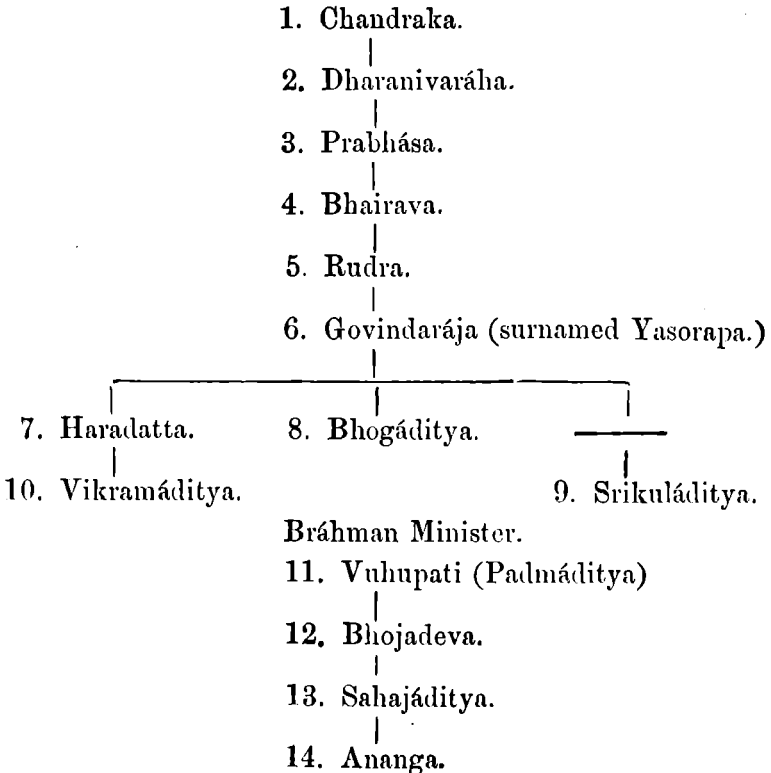
‘Then from him was born Ananga, the chief of kings, full of prowess and splendour, (as well becomes) the younger brother of (Yudishthira) Dharmarāja.’

In the former reading, we have to supply an अ ि to आदव, while for the second we have to assume a comparison. In either case, however, to give sense, the अ ि after जान must be changed to े ि.

The grant records the names of princes of two distinct families,

though they are all grouped under the same family name. The record goes backwards to the fourteenth crowned head from the donor. It begins with Chandraka who, it appears, must have been either the founder of the family, or was distinguished for some meritorious act. If the family name be Rahtor, Chandraka must have transferred the seat of government from Kanouj, and established himself in the new city. The seventh linear descendant from Chandraka is Haradatta, whose brother Bhogáditya or Homáditya succeeded him. The name of this prince again is not clear, it may be read Bhogáditya or Homáditya. His nephew Sri-kuláditya followed him to the throne. After him, came Vikramáditya, the son of Haradatta. The last named prince was dethroned, it appears by his brahman minister, Vuhupati who, on ascending the throne assumed the more royal name of Padmáditya. Padmáditya is the founder of a line, and the fourth from him is Ananga, the donor of the village.

The names stand thus :



The inscription is in modern Sanscrit, and the characters belong to the period immediately succeeding that of the Kutila inscriptions

of the tenth century. The date assigned to the inscription is conjectural, as the plate at that part is defaced by rust. The words clearly recognizable are **त्रयचिंशदधिक.....शतानि**, the space intervening is just sufficient for three letters.

The faint impression of the first is something like **द्वा**, but the last traceable is a **स**. The intermediate has evidently a *repha* on it. The combination would evidently be **द्वाद्दश**, which may be interpreted as a misspelling of **द्वादश**. The interchange of **श** and **स** is not unprecedented with the scribes and engravers of this plate. The very first couplet of the inscription has a similar error, **सुरेशाय** is spelt with a dental *s* **स** at the end. There are many such errors; in some passages the final *á* has taken the place of a *visarga*, the two dots of which when joined, resemble the *á* **।** The inscription uses three different forms of the palatal *s*, and the distinction of the dental *n* **न** and dental *t* **त** is not at all preserved. The Kutila forms of *bha*, *ha*, *dha*, *ga*, and cerebral *na*, are perfectly preserved in the characters of the inscription, though the compound of the cerebral *n* **ण** with *y* **य** is like that of the modern Nágri **ण्य**. The form **न्य**, however, appears once for *nya*. At some places, the dental *s* **स** is of the modern form, and at others as old as that of the Vallabhi plate of Gujrát. *Bha* is of the Allahabad Gupta form. The initial *i* and *e* are of a very old type, and it is curious to observe how characters of very different antiquity are promiscuously used.

The language of the inscription is not at all pure and chaste. Grammatical errors, especially misapplications of case-terminations, are common. It is interesting to note that the inscription begins with a descriptive character, the personages are described in the third person; but as it comes to the close, the method of reported speech is discontinued. The writer confounds the sayings of the kings with his own, and it is very difficult to render the passages. This is mainly due to the want of the signs of quotation in Sanscrit Grammar. The language is very like that of many other grants by similar petty chiefs. The last five lines are identical with those of Válavarmá Deva, Virasingha Deva and Pratápadhavata Deva. (Compare A. R. vol. IX. p. 402, J. Am. O. Soc., vol. VI. pp. 538-548.)

TRANSLATION.

1. Om. Salutation to Kásivisvesvara. Salutation be to the God of gods (Siva), to the donor of all that is desirable, to him, by whose eight forms the three worlds are enveloped.

2. Praise be to moon-like Sarasvati, the fountain of nectar and the destroyer of darkness of previous (life), beautifier (as a lotus) of the ocean of eloquence.

3. Those brahmans bless, from whom, even earth (land) given with devotion waits on the donor in the forms of gold and jewels.

4. Donations destroy sin and afford victory in this world. The donor is sufficiently blessed by gifts and donations to them (brahmans). Vipras purify the sin of their donor and the good solely engaged in their (brahmans') worship are blessed.

5. There was a king named *Chandraka*, renowned chief of the Rodra family. His son was *Dharanivaráha* and his (son) was named *Prabhása*.

6. From him was a king named *Bhairava*, and from him again, was *king Rudra*, fierce as the *Rudra*. Next, his son *Govindaraj* (surnamed) the Yatorapa of irresistible will, became king.

7. His son named *Haradatta* became king. Then was born *Tribhuvanáditya* by whose own mountain-like body the immersed earth was recovered.

8. His younger brother *Srimán Bhogáditya* succeeded him a king, seeing whom men believed the day was two sighted. *Srikuládityadeva* powerful as night, son of his younger brother came on next.

9. *Haradatta's* son on coming to age assumed the name of *Vikramaditya*. He was unequally virtuous. His brahman minister *Sriman Vuhupati* more wonderful than he, ascended the throne, under the name of *Padmaditya*, the celebrated lord of the world and *kalpatree* of all riches. The irregular and formidable will of time was gained, and before illness (death) came on, his unblemished glory, more illustrious than the autumnal moon, the jasmine and the lily, was published.

10. From him was born the ruler of the earth named *Bhojadeva*, profound in war and the most valorous of heroes in the field of battle. After him reigned *Sahajáditya* the king of kings, whose governor of the liquor of riches was *Ranavir* as wise as *Kesava*; by whom (*Sahajaditya*) the sunken earth was rescued from the ocean and

cherished, as it was raised by the tortoise (incarnation) and scorched by whose power (his) enemies could not prosper.

11. From him was *Ananga*, the chief of kings, full of prowess and splendour, (as well becomes) the younger brother of (Yudishtira Dharmarāja.) He learnt from great rishis (that) the presentation of land is the best of all gifts. Having been convinced that this gift is the best of all, he searched for a proper donee.

12. There is *Palhala*, a brahmana of the *Gouda* family, son of Vishnu and grandson of *Sadhala*, of Vatsa gotra and of five pravaras, kulin, the foremost of the meritorious. Being acquainted with this donee, the lotus-eyed monarch granted the village of Gandva to him at the time of the equinox and at a fortunate moment seated with his face towards the east. This village, properly hedged by long prescription, is to be enjoyed by him as long as the moon, the stars and the sun shine.

13. To the future kings of this family, having made my palms folded under my forehead, and having placed the two hands together, I say, do not reverse this *Sāsana*.

14. Many lands were given by Sagara and other kings, but his is the plough who owns the lands. He who encroaches the land given by himself or others, becomes a beast so long as unnatural events do not happen.

15. He who receives lands and he who gives them away, both performers of pious deeds, always go to paradise.

Written by *Gadejaka*, grandson of *Bijana*, a káyastha of the Máthura family, and *Videsvara*, son of *Sridhara* of the Jágara family. Inscribed by our graver in Samvat 1233, Vaisákha.

Transcription of the Inscription in Devanágri.

ॐ काशीविश्वेश्वराय नमः । नमस्तस्मै सुरेशाय सर्वकामप्रदायिने ।
येनेदं त्रिजगद्भाषमष्टाभिर्निजमूर्तिभिः ॥ पौर्वान्यकारश्मनी वाम-
याब्धेर्विकाशिनी । जयत्यमृतसंभूतिश्चन्द्रमूर्तिः सरस्वती ॥ जयन्ति ते
द्विजायेभ्यो दत्ता मृदपि भक्तितः । स्वर्णरत्नादिरूपेण दातारमुपतिष्ठ-
ते ॥ दानानि कल्मषहराणि जयेति लोके । तेभ्योपि दानप्रदानैर्जयति
प्रकामं ॥ तत्यात्रपस्य तमसश्च जयन्ति विप्रास्तत्पूजनैकनिरताश्च जय-
न्ति सन्तः ॥ आसीद्भोद्रकुलप्रकाशतिष्णकचन्द्रकनामा वृषस्तत्पुतो ध-

रणीवराह उदभूत्तस्य प्रभासाभिधः ॥ तस्माद्भैरव इत्यभून्नरपतिस्त-
 स्माच्च रुद्रोपमे। रुद्रो नाम नराधिपोस्य च सुतो गोविन्दराजोऽभव-
 न्तस्य यशोपर नामा दुर्द्धरकामाभवन्नराधिपतिः । हरदत्तनामधेय
 तस्य च तनयो वभूवन्नृपः ॥ ततस्त्रिभुवनादित्यो भवन्निह महोदधौ ।
 मग्नाभू उद्धृता येन वराहवपुषा स्वयं ॥ तदनु तदनुजः श्रीमान्हेमा
 दित्योभवन्नराधिपतिः । यं दृष्ट्वा द्विनयनमेव वासरं मेनिरे लोकाः ॥
 तदनु दनुतनुजः रात्रितुल्यप्रावभः समभवदवतीर्णः श्रीकुलादित्य-
 देवः ॥ अथ भुवि हरदत्तस्यात्मजो प्यायकोभून्नृपतिरतुलधर्म्मा वि-
 क्रमादित्यनामा ॥ तस्माद्विस्मयतोव विप्रसचिवः श्रीमान् भुज्जपतिः ।
 पद्मादित्य इति क्षितीशतिलकः सर्व्वर्द्धिकल्पद्रुमः ॥ कालाकालकराल-
 कान्तिकलिताद्यभवद्गदशाग्रतो जातं शारदचन्द्रकुन्दकुमुदैर्द्यौताव-
 दातयशः ॥ तस्माद्भूव भूपालो भोजदेवेति विश्रुतः । संग्रामाङ्गणवीर-
 स्य निगूढं सौर्यमुत्तमं ॥ ततः श्रीसहजादित्यराजराजेति शब्दितः ।
 रंवीरो यस्य नेताभूत्याश्वस्येव केशवः ॥ खरात् समुद्धृता येन ममं स-
 न्तुमहोदधौ । जुज्जमाना पुरा पृथ्वी कूर्मेणैवीद्धृता यथा । यस्य प्रताप-
 निर्दग्धा न प्ररोहन्ति शत्रवः ॥ ततस्तस्याहवाज्जातो अनङ्गो नृपनाय-
 कः । सौर्यवीर्येण सम्पन्न कलिङ्गो धर्मभूपतेः ॥ स सुश्राव महर्षिगण्य-
 सर्वदानोत्तमभुवः । दानं श्रेष्ठमिति ज्ञात्वा ततः पात्रमचिन्तयत् ॥
 अस्ति गौड़ान्वये विप्रो विष्णु पुत्रोहि पल्लवः । पौत्रो साढलविप्रस्य
 वत्सगोत्रस्य सम्भवः ॥ पञ्च प्रवरसंयुक्तो कुलीनोहि गुणाग्रणीः ॥ एनं
 पात्रमिति ज्ञात्वा राजा राजीवलोचनः । अमुष्मै प्रदद्ग्रामं गण्डवा नाम
 सञ्चिकं ॥ संक्रान्तौ विघुवे काले शुभक्षणे प्राक्दिकस्थितः । ग्रामोयं प्रा-
 चीनक्रमेण संजातसीमयोपेतः ॥ आचन्द्रतारकार्कसाहिजनेन त्वया भो-
 ग्यः ॥ किञ्च येस्मिन्वशे भाविना भूमिपालाः । कृत्वा मौलाधञ्जलि प्रक्षित्ये
 ताह ॥ तस्याहङ्गरक्षणेपि शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ वज्रभिर्वसुधा दत्ता
 राजन्यैः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमी तस्य तस्य तदाहलं ॥ स्व-
 दत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां । स तिर्य्यक्त्वमवाप्नोति यावदाहृत-
 संज्ञव ॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यः स भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पूण्य-
 कर्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ लिखित कायस्य माथुरान्वयवीजनपौत्र
 गदेजकेन तथा जागरान्वय श्रीधरात्मजेन विद्येश्वरेण ॥ आवयोः सवि-
 ण्या वरिचितमिदम् ॥ संवत्त्रयत्रिंशदधिकद्वादश शतानि ॥ वैशाखे च ॥

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On the History of the Burma race. By Colonel SIR ARTHUR PHAYRE,
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In a former paper on the history of the Burma race, it has been stated that the Mahá-Rá-dzá-weng relates that king Kyau-tswá, youngest son of Na-ra-thí-ha-pa-té who reigned at Pu-gán, was dethroned and eventually murdered by three brothers of Shán race in the year 660, being 1268 A. D.*

The story of these three brothers is thus related: In the reign of Na-ra-thí-ha-pa-té, surnamed Ta-ruk-pyé-meng, the Tsau-bwá or Chief of Bhein-na-khá, a small Shan state, died, leaving two sons. They quarrelled regarding their inheritance, and the younger, named Theing-kha-bo fled into Burma, where he settled at Myin-tsaing, some thirty miles south of the present city of Ava. For many years an immigration of the Shán or Thai race had been going on into the valley of the Iráwati. They had established an independent kingdom in the upper portion of the country, and about the beginning of the thirteenth century of the Christian era, had poured into

* There is, as has before been mentioned, a discrepancy of seven years between this date, and that obtained by the total number of years of the reigns of the kings of Pu-gán, ending with that of Kyau-tswá. I have, however, considered it better to accept the year given in the text of the Mahá-Rá-dzá-weng, namely 660 of the Burmese era (= 1298 A. D.) as the year when the three Shan brothers commenced to reign.

Assam. During that period also, they had, by their numbers and their superior energy, gradually acquired considerable influence within the kingdom of Burma. The young Shán Prince, therefore, in coming to Burma, probably settled where a colony of his own race already existed. He married, and had three sons and a daughter. The sons were named A-theng-kha-yá, Rá-dzá-theng-gyan, and Thí-ha-thú. His daughter's name is not mentioned. Theing-kha-bo so managed that his three sons were taken into the royal service, and they became great favourites with the king. After the death of Ta-ruk-pyé-meng, his son and successor Kyau-tswá also favoured the Shán youths. The eldest A-theng-kha-yá received the district of Myin-tsaing as governor thereof; Rá-dzá-theng-gyan received Mek-kha-rá; and Thí-ha-thú received Peng-lay. The three brothers became rich and powerful. Their sister, whose name is not given, was married to Prince Thi-ha-thú, the second son of Ta-ruk-pyé-meng, who was accidentally killed in Pegu.

The three Shán brothers after having deposed and murdered king Kyau-tswá, lived at Myin-tsaing in royal state, and governed each his own province. The elder alone had a royal palace denoting his superior position. Queen Tsau, the widow of Na-ra-thí-ha-pa-té, who had suggested the conspiracy against Kyau-tswá, her step-son, retired to Pu-gán. The eldest son of Kyau-tswá, named Tsau-nhit was allowed to live in the ancient palace at Pu-gán, with the title of king. A younger son, Meng-Sheng-tsau, was made governor of the district of Tha-ret.*

At this time the whole of the Shán states, east of the Iráwati, were independent, as also were Mogoung, Mo-nhyin, Ka-lé, and other states, west of the river. The three brothers who now represented the ancient Burmese monarchy, had authority along the course of the river Iráwati as far south as Tha-ret. It is doubtful whether they held authority in Toungú. The descendant of the ancient kings, Tsau-nhit, was allowed to live quietly at Pugán, where he died in the year 687. And it may be mentioned here, that his son Tsau-mwonnit was also allowed to live quietly at Pugán. He died in the year 730 (A. D. 1368) being the last of the Pugán dynasty.

In the meantime the three Shán brothers with their capital at

* This statement will be noticed subsequently.

Myin-tsaing ruled over what territory remained of the Burmese kingdom. The youngest brother *Thí-ha-thú*, surnamed *Ta-tsí-sheng*, who was destined to transmit the throne to his posterity, at least during half a century, married a queen of the deceased *Kyau-tswa*, named *Meng-tsau-ú*, and called in history *Bwá-Tsau*. Five years after the brothers had established their power, the second brother *Rá-dzá-theng-gyan* died. Some years later or in 672, *Thí-ha-thú* poisoned his elder brother *A-theng-kha-yá*, and then succeeded to the sole power.

In the year 671, *Thí-ha-thú* had searched for a suitable position on which to build a new city. He selected that upon which the city of *A-wa* or *Ava*, was afterwards built. But supernatural obstacles prevented the work from being accomplished. Being then guided towards the south, in digging for the foundation of a pagoda, a golden plant in flower was discovered. The king was then convinced that this was a fortunate spot whereon to build a city. The city was therefore built in the year 674 (A. D. 1312), and called *Pán-ya* from the golden flower having been there obtained. The name was gradually changed into *Peng-ya*. The city was also called *Wi-za-ya-pú-ra*.

King *Thí-ha-thú* *Ta-tsí-sheng* was now publicly married to Queen *Bwá-tsau*, widow of king *Kyau-tswá*. She was a daughter of *Ta-ruk-pyé-meng* by one of the inferior Queens, and consequently half sister to *Kyau-tswá*. She resided at *Pugán*. On her arrival at *Pán-ya*, she performed with the king the usual royal ceremonies of formal entrance into the palace, enthronement beneath the umbrella, and solemn pouring out of water. The palace life was now ordered in every thing according to the ancient customs of the kings of *Pugán*. The son of the Queen by the late king *Kyau-tswa*, named *U-za-ná*, was adopted by *Thí-ha-thú*, and declared *Ein-shé-meng* or *Crown-Prince*. The sons born to *Thí-ha-thú* by Queen *Bwá Tsau* were *Kyau-tswá* and *Nau-ra-htá*. To complete the king's happiness and confirm his royal title, if that were necessary, a white elephant was captured in the forests and brought to the city. From this event the king assumed the title of *Ta-tsí-sheng*. He married a second Queen, or now gave high rank to his previous wife. She was of *Shán* race. She had given birth to a son, *A-theng-kha-yá* (39

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called after his paternal uncle) and named also Nga-ywom-ngai and Tsau-ywon; also to a daughter Tsau-pú-lai. This daughter was married to Pweng-hlá-ú, who was made governor of Toung-dweng, and who probably belonged to the ancient royal race.

The king notwithstanding the precautions he had taken, became alarmed at the supposed designs of his sons by his two chief Queens. The two elder princes, the Crown Prince and A-theng-kha-yá, kept large bodies of armed men in the provinces they governed. A-theng-kha-yá at length received, either apparently or really, against the wish of his father, the province of Tsa-gaing. Immediately after taking possession, he declared himself independent, with a large tract of country under him to the northward. This is said to have been accomplished about the year 677 (A. D. 1315). King Thí-ha-thú Ta-tsi-sheng reigned altogether fourteen years, ten of which were passed at his own city Pán-ya. The historian thus sums up the character of this king: "He was very sagacious. He loved his sons, and behaved so as not to offend any of them. Towards other countries he behaved as one would, if placed over a hot fire. To his own subjects as to a cool jar of water placed in one's embrace." He died in the year 684.

Thí-ha-thú Ta-tsi-sheng was succeeded by his adopted son U-za-ná, son, as has already been stated, to the deposed king Kyau-tswá. U-za-ná's half brother Kyau-tswá, offspring of the marriage of his mother Bwá-Tsau with king Thí-ha-thú, after a time began to intrigue against him, and acquired great influence. He is said to have possessed five white elephants, which is considered a sure sign of rightful kingly power. U-za-ná, however, reigned for twenty years and then announced his wish to devote himself to religion. He abdicated the throne by going out from the palace by the western gate, while his half brother Kyau-tswá entered by the eastern gate. U-za-ná retired to a monastery, and afterwards became a hermit in a forest of the province of Mek-kha-ra.

Kyau-tswá who took the name of Ngá-tsi-sheng, from the five white elephants he owned, ascended the throne in the year 704. Jealous of the independent kingdom established by his half brother A-theng-kha-yá Tsau-ywon at Tsa-gaing, he, before coming to the throne, had tried to have him assassinated. The plan, however, failed,

and during his reign, he does not appear to have been strong enough to interfere with the dynasty of his relations at Tsa-gaing. This king reigned only eight years.

He was succeeded by his son, also named Kyau-tswá, who ascended the throne in the year 712. This king married a daughter of the governor of Tha-ret, called Tha-ret-meng-sheng-tsau, who was said to be a son of the deposed king of Pu-gán, Kyau-tswá. This king desired to be on terms of friendship with his cousin the king who reigned at Tsa-gaing. He married a daughter of that king. He reigned nine years. His brother Na-ra-thú then ascended the throne. After he had reigned five years, Pán-ya was attacked by the Man Shans, and the king was taken prisoner. By this name is meant the Shans of the kingdom of Pong, of which the city of Mo-goung, in the valley of the upper Iráwati, was the capital. This city was called by the Shans Mong-mao-rong. King Na-ra-thú, from having been captured, is called Mau-pá Na-ra-thú. The Shans appear at once to have retreated with their prisoner, and with three white elephants, which probably formed the great object of their expedition. After his capture, an elder brother, probably a half brother by a concubine, was placed on the throne with the title of Uzaná Byoung. But after three months the city of Pán-ya was taken by a Prince called Tha-do-meng-bya, who became supreme and founded the city of Ava.

These events have brought the history of the kings of Myint-saing and Pán-ya down to the year 726 of the Burmese era. The Ma-há-Rá-dzá-weng then relates the history of the line of Princes who reigned at Tsa-gaing, and who were contemporary with those who reigned at the other two cities. It was this branch which brought about a new revolution.

It has already been seen that a son of king Thí-ha-thú Ta-tsí-sheng by a Shan mother, made himself independent, and reigned at Tsa-gaing under the title A-theng-kha-yá Tsau-ywon. This was in the year 677 = A. D. 1315. He died after a reign of seven years, and though he left three sons and a daughter, he was succeeded by his half brother Ta-ra-bya-gyí. After Ta-ra-bya-gyí had been fourteen years on the throne, his son Shivé-doung-tet rebelled, and in the year 698, dethroned his father. On this, the widow of king A-theng-kha-yá Tsau-ywon fled with her children. The family con-

sisted of three sons, and a daughter named Tso-meng, who was married to a young man of uncertain lineage, called Tha-do-tsheng-htien. The family concealed themselves for some time in the hills of Meng-dun. They were, however, captured and brought to the city. But a party was raised against the usurper, and he was killed by a Shan attendant, after a reign of three years. The nobles were unwilling to restore Ta-ra-bya-gyí, and he was put to death. This opened the way to the family of A-theng-kha-ya Tsau-ywon. The eldest son named Kya-tswá was raised to the throne in the year 701. He reigned ten years, and was succeeded by his brother Nau-ra-hta Meng-rai. This king reigned only seven months. The youngest brother Ta-ra-bya-ngai then became king, but died after a reign of three years.

The sister of these three brothers, now entitled Tso-meng-ko-dau-gyí, still remained. She had formerly, as already mentioned, been married to Tha-do tsheng-htien, now for the first time declared to be of the race of the ancient kings of Ta-goung. He had died, but by that marriage Tso-meng-ko-dau-gyí had a son named Ká-hú-lá, and two daughters, Sheng-tsau-gyí, and Tsau-úm-má. The mother now married Meng-byouk. He was not of royal race, but in right of his wife he was raised to the throne, and took the title of Thí-ha-pa-té. As the young Prince Rá-hú-lá was, (believed to be) through his father, descended from the ancient Burmese royal race of Ta-goung, he was sent to govern that province, which was subject to Tsa-gaing. He was then sixteen years of age, and assumed the name of Tha-do-meng-bya. After some years, he was attacked in his government by a Shan force from Mogoung under a chief, called Tho-khyin-bwá. This attack was made at the instigation of Na-ra-thú, the king of Pán-ya. Tagoung was taken, and Tha-do-meng-bya with difficulty escaped, and fled to Tsa-gaing. There his step-father Meng-byouk Thí-ha-pa-té, enraged at the loss of Tagoung, put him in irons. The Mogoung Shans advanced in great force and attacked Tsa-gaing. The king was obliged to abandon the city, and retired by boat to Kya-khát-wa-rá on the Iráwati. The Shan general saying that king Na-ra-thú had given him no assistance in the war, now attacked and took the city of Pán-ya, which he plundered. He also took Na-ra-thú prisoner. The Shans then retreated.

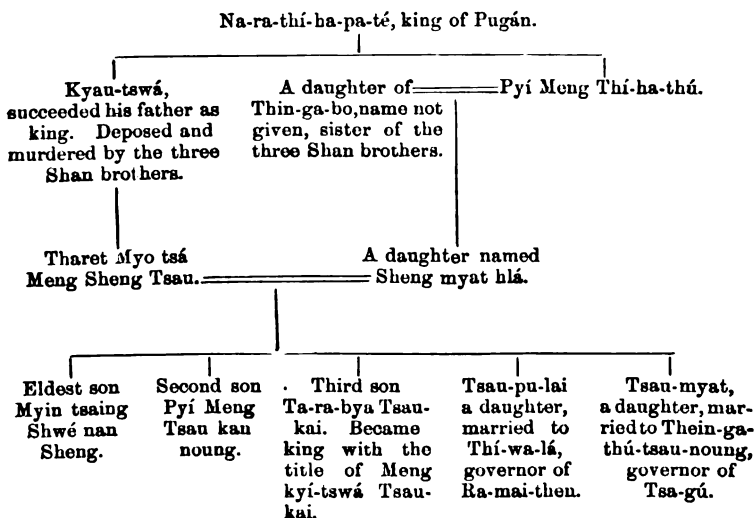
When Meng-byouk, king of Tsa-gaing, abandoned that city, and

fled to Kya-khát-wa-rá, the people who accompanied him, were much discontented. Tha-do-meng-bya found many adherents, and put his step-father to death. He then determined to take possession of the cities, which had been plundered and abandoned by the Mogoung Shans. He first advanced to Pán-ya. There he found U-za-ná Byoung raised to the vacant throne; but he put him to death, and declared himself king of Pán-ya and Tsa-gaing. He, following the custom of the ancient race, married his sister Tsau-úm-ma, who had been Queen to Kyan-tswá, Na-ra-thú, and U-za-na Byoung, the three last kings of Pán-ya. This event occurred in the year 726 = A. D. 1364.

Tha-do-meng-bya had now no rival to oppose him. He determined to build a new city, and in the same year, that Pán-ya and Tsagaing were destroyed, the city of Awa, Eng-wa, or A-va, was built. The Pali, or sacred name, of it was Ra-ta-na-pú-ra (city of gems). The position on the left bank of the I-rá-wa-ti, a little below the mouth of the stream, called Myit-ngé, had long before been predicted by Gau-da-ma as destined to be the site of a great city. Dreams and omens now confirmed the ancient prediction. The work of founding the city was carried on with a degree of energy, prompted by the conviction of the great destinies which were thereby to be accomplished. Lakes and swamps were dammed and drained. Pagodas were built, and the city wall marked out. The king's palace was raised in the centre, and was the citadel of the whole work. Tha-do-meng-bya now ruled over the country all round Ava, Tsa-gaing, and Pán-ya. Toung-ú also is said to have been subject to him. The cities of Nga-nway-gún, Toung-dweng-gyí, and Tsa-gú, were independent. The king first proceeded to reduce Tsa-gú. On the way, he stopped at Pu-gán, and there received the homage of Tsau-mwon-nit, the last nominal king of the Pu-gán dynasty. He was unable to reduce Tsa-gú, which held out under the governor Thein-ga-thú. In the following year, he took Toung-dweng-gyí; and in the year 729, he again marched against Tsa-gú. The chief made an obstinate resistance, and during the siege, Tha-do-meng-bya caught the small-pox. He set out to return to Ava, but feeling that he must die, sent on a confidential servant or minister, named Nga-nú, with orders to put his queen Tsau-úm-ma to death, so that she

might not fall to his successor in the throne. He died soon after, having reigned seven months in Pán-ya and three years in Ava. The history denounces him as a man of savage and cruel disposition, who altogether disregarded religion. He left no children.

The servant of Tha-do-meng-bya having reached the palace, told queen Tsau-úm-ma the order he had received. She turned him from his purpose, and offered him the government of Tsa-gaing. This he accepted, and after a time crossed the river to take possession. There being no direct heir to the throne, the nobles offered it to Thí-la-wá, the governor of Ra-mai-then. But he refused, and at length they chose his brother-in-law, Ta-ra-bya Tsau-kai, governor of the district of A-myin. He was chosen king near the close of the year 729; but by the advice of the astrologers, he did not ascend the palace until the beginning of the year 730. He took the title of Meng-kyí-tswá-tsau-kai. This king was already married to a granddaughter of A-theng-kha-yá Tsau-ywon, the first king of Tsa-gaing. Her name was also Tsau-úm-ma, with the prefix Tsa-gaing, to distinguish her. The descent of Meng-kyí-tswá, both from the old race of the Pugán kings, and from the family of the three Shan brothers, is then carefully traced in the Ma-há-Rá-dzá-weng. It is shown in the following table.



By this pedigree Meng-kyí-tswá was only on his mother's side descended from the family of the famous three Shan brothers. His father Meng Sheng Tsau, was the son of the deposed king of Pugań, the last of the ancient race who held sovereign authority. From the internal evidence of the history, this appears very doubtful, as the chief influence in the government is evidently among those of Shan race. It is probable that this pedigree has been arranged in later times.

Of the early history of Meng-kyí-tswá and his father, it is stated, that during the disturbances after the second invasion by the Chinese, and the murder of king Kyau-tswá by the three Shan brothers, the king of Arakan invaded the province of Tharet-myo, where Meng-Sheng-Tsau, a son of king Kyau-tswá, was governor. He and his family were all taken prisoners and carried to Arakan. After a time they were released, and Meng-Sheng-Tsau brought his family to Pán-ya. His youngest son was sent to Tsa-gaing, where Ta-ra-byangai was then king. The son became a favourite with that king, and his former name was then changed to Ta-ra-bya. He received an appointment, and gradually acquiring much influence, was at length made governor of the province of Amyin. The year after Meng-kyí-tswá obtained the throne, he went out with a large retinue to repair the great tank of Meit-hti-la, which had burst its banks. While digging there, they found several golden images with inscriptions, which showed, they represented the sons and daughters of the race of the Leng-dzeng kings of Siam. The king on inquiring from an old man of the place, was told there was a tradition that these had been buried by king Aloung-tsí-thú (who died A. D. 1160), who originally dug or embanked the tank; and it was said the images were those of the rulers who should come hereafter. In the year 732, Tsheng-phyú-Sheng-Bingyaú, king of Hantháwa-tí, sent ambassadors with a letter and presents to Meng-kyí-tswá. The two kings agreed to have a friendly meeting on the border of the two countries. This was done. They gave mutual pledges of friendship, exchanged presents, feasted together, and then separated. The same year the chiefs of Ka-lé and Mo-nhyin fought together. Each applied to the king of Ava for aid, and tendered his allegiance. But

the king, by the advice of his wily minister Tsín-ta-pyít-gyí, let them fight until they were exhausted and then dominated both.

In the year 735, Meng-Bhí-lú the king of Arakan died. There being no direct heir, the nobles of the country offered the throne to Meng-kyí-tswá. By the advice of Tsín-ta-pyít, he would not keep that country as a part of his dominion, on account of the difficulty of controlling it; but he appointed his uncle Tsau-mwun-gyí as a tributary king. That prince proceeded with a force, and established himself in that country. In the following year, messengers with presents arrived from the chief of Zimmay. At this time, the king's elder brother Tsau-ran-noung was governor of the province of Prome. In the year 738, he with much apparent cordiality invited the chief of Toungú, Pyan-khyí-gyí, to a friendly interview and then murdered him. The king derived great satisfaction from this event, and in his joy sent his brother a royal robe and regalia. In the year 742, the king of Arakan Tsau-mwun-gyí died. By the advice of Tsín-ta-pyít, the governor of the province of Ta-lúp, named Tsau-mí, was selected to succeed him. But he grievously oppressed the people, so that they rebelled. He was obliged to fly, and crossed the mountains to Tsa-gú. The Arakanese then placed on the throne Kyau-tswá, the grandson of Nan-kyá-gyí, and remained independent.

In the year 745, Tsheng-phyú-Sheng-Bingyaú, king of Pegu, died. He was succeeded by his son Bingya-nwé, styled Rá-dzá-di-rít. At that time, Louk-byá was chief, or king, of Myoung-mya in the province of Pu-thein or Bassein. Mut-ta-ma (Martaban) was subject to king Byat-ta-ba. In 748, the chief of Myoung-mya proposed to the king of Ava a combined attack on Han-thá-wa-ti (Pegu), begging him as superior to take the kernel of what was acquired, and leave to Myoung-mya the husk only. The king consulted with his great men, and it was determined to invade Pegu. The king's eldest son, the crown prince, led a force down towards Pegu by the Toungú route, through the valley of the Poung-loung river. A second column under the king's second son, Meng-Tshwé, marched by the Iráwati route, through the province of Tha-rá-wa-ti. The left column advanced, and took the city of Pan-gyan. The right column took the city of Hlaing. But the two princes were not able to combine their forces, and though in some actions they were successful, yet the

younger prince suffered a severe defeat from the king of Pegu. The two princes then consulted, and as the rains were near at hand, when military operations by land in Pegu are impracticable, and as Louk-bya did not appear to render assistance, they retreated. The king of Pegu, fearing another attack, sent presents and a letter to Meng-kyí-tswá. These were well received. But the Myoung-mya chief also sent to make excuses for his failure to co-operate, and urged another invasion of Pegu. In the following year, therefore, the king sent another army. The advance was made only by the line of the Iráwati. The force consisted of a large army, and a considerable flotilla, which the king accompanied in person. The king's son Pyín-tsin-meng with a force was left to guard the capital. In passing down the Iráwati, the Mgyoung-mya chief joined the king at the entrance to the Pu-thein river. The Burmese force again marched to Hlaing and the town of Mau-bí. The Talaings there had strong stockades, which the king of Ava could not take. His army suffered much from sickness, and he was obliged to retreat without effecting anything.

In the year 751, the king married his son Meng-Tshwé to the daughter of Tho-ngan-bwá, the Shan chief of Mau. The same year the king's ally, Louk-bya, the chief of Myoung-mya, was attacked by Rá-dzá-di-rit, king of Pegu. Louk-bya was taken prisoner. His son Phya-kwan, and his son-in-law Phya-kyín fled, and took refuge with Meng-kyí-tswá. The former received the district of Tsá-leng, and the latter that of Prome, each for his support. In the same year the king of Pegu, suspecting the loyalty of his son Pau-lau-kyan-dau, determined to put him to death. The prince went to the great pagoda at the city of Pegu, with those who had been sent to kill him, made offerings, and thus prayed: "If I have imagined the least evil against my royal father, may this body when it dies, suffer in the eight great hells, and in the hundred and eighty-eight small hells; and may I never meet the future Phra. But if I have not imagined any evil against my royal father, then when this body dies, may it be conceived in the womb of a royal Mran-má, and be born; and when of age, may I conquer and oppress the Talaing country." Having uttered this imprecation, the prince drank the water of truth, and was forthwith killed by the executioners. All this was

told to the king his father. Prince Pau-lau-kyan-dau transmigrating, was conceived in the womb of Sheng-mi-nouk, the consort of Meng-Tshwé, son of king Meng-kyí Tswá. When she became pregnant, the princess desired to eat a mango from a tree at the city of Da-la, in the Talaing country, and to have other dainties therefrom. Her husband, the Pyin-tsing Prince Meng Tshwé sent a messenger with a letter and presents to the king of Pegu, asking for his request to be complied with. The king of Pegu returned presents of fruit, which the princess ate of, and in due time, in the year 752, gave birth to a son who was named Meng-rai-kyau-tswá.

No event of great consequence occurred during the rest of the reign of Meng-kyí-tswá-Tsaukai. He reigned thirty-three years.

His son Tsheng-phyú-Sheng succeeded him, but reigned only seven months, when he was murdered by Nga-nouk-tsan, the governor of Tagoung. The next brother, Pyin-tsing-Meng-Tshwé, was then placed on the throne in the year 763 (A. D. 1401). He is also called Meng Khoung. In the year 765, the king of Arakan, named Htau-ra-gyí made an incursion into the provinces of Yau and Loung-Shé. The king determined to send an army into Arakan, in order to punish the perpetrator of this insult. His son Meng-rai-kyau-tswá, though only thirteen years of age, was sent with the force. The army of the king of Arakan was defeated, and he himself was slain. The Burmese then occupied Arakan, and the governor of Ka-lé, a son-in-law to king Meng Khoung, was made king of that country with the title of A-nau-ra-htá. Prince Meng-rai-kyau-tswá then returned home.

In the year 766, the king of Han-thá-wa-tí, Rá-ma-ngya or Pegu, styled Rá-dzá-di-rit, collected a great fleet of boats and a large army, and advanced up the river Irá-wa-tí. King Meng Khoung collected a force to oppose him. But the Talaing king was all powerful on the river. He reached Prome, but did not dare to land and attack it, as it was defended with cannons and muskets.* His fleet then went on to Myé-dai, which also could not be taken. But he captured all boats upon the river, and steadily proceeded up the stream. He reached Ava, but not entering that city, remained at Tsagaing on the opposite

* As the year 766 of the Burmese Era would correspond to A. D. 1404, the allusion to guns and *muskets* in Burmah, is rather remarkable. The earliest, though doubtful, allusion in Indian History to guns and gun-carriages refers to the year 1368. *Vide* Elliott's *Historians*, p. 353. THE EDITOR.

bank. King Meng Khoung was much alarmed, but a religious man of Pán-ya, a man of great learning, styled Tsa-gyo-thú-myat, undertook to make the king of Pegu, by the mere force of knowledge and eloquence, abandon his enterprize and return to his own country. The king of Ava wrote a letter to the king of Pegu, and Tsa-gyo-thú-myat was admitted to an interview with the latter on board the royal state boat. A long conversation on religion and the duties of kings ensued. The result was, that king Rá-dzá-di-rit, persuaded by the eloquence of the religious man, that peace was good for all people, and the only consistent course for a pious king, determined to return to his own country. Before leaving, he took to pieces his own golden boat, to build a monastery at Shwé-kyet-yet, near Tsa-gaing. But notwithstanding this abandonment of his expedition, he again invaded Burma in the following year. He, as before, advanced up to Prome with a vast flotilla. The king of Ava came with an army to defend that city. The king of Pegu divided his forces to blockade the city, and placed a strong body of men on the northern side of it. But before this could be accomplished, a quantity of rice laden on horses was thrown into the city, which thereby was saved from famine. The king of Pegu now established himself on the west bank of the river. His flotilla kept the stream in his power, but three of his regiments, left isolated on the land to the north of the city, were attacked and cut to pieces. Though not able to take Prome, the king of Pegu was still master on the river. He sent three hundred boats up the stream, which burnt Mye-dai, Tha-ret and other cities to the north, and ravaged the country, from whence the Burmese army drew their supplies. This forced king Meng-Khoung to sue for peace. At first, Rá-dzá-di-rit sent an unfavourable reply. He referred to the reception given by the king of Burma to his rebellious subject, the chief of Myoung-mya, and returned the presents offered him. The king of Burma had taken prisoner a Talaing nobleman, styled Tha-mein-dzeip-byai, who had two daughters in the palace of the king of Pegu, and both of whom had accompanied him in his expedition. The king of Burma now offered this nobleman his liberty, if he influenced his daughters to persuade Rá-dzá-di-rit to make peace. The king of Pegu, through their entreaties, and against the advice of his nobles, again entered into negotiations.



The two kings exchanged presents and, on an appointed day, proceeded together on foot, and hand in hand, to the great pagoda which crowns a hill overlooking the Iráwati. There they solemnly promised to observe their engagements to each other. The boundaries of their kingdoms were marked out, the city of Prome being allowed to belong to Burma, and the kings then separated. Afterwards the king of Pegu married the sister of king Meng Khoung, the princess being sent by land from Ava by the Poug-loung route. The marriage was celebrated on the frontier in a pavilion or temporary palace, "whereby," says the history, "the two kings were united as one piece of gold, and their friendship was warm as living fire, and clean as pure water."

But this good understanding was of short duration. In 768, king Meng-Khoung made Meng-rai-kyau-tswá, his son, Ein-Shé-meng or crown prince, and married him to the daughter of Ta-ra-phyá-gyí, the governor of Pu-khan. The king's brother Thí-ri-dze-ya-thú-ra, governor of Tsaging, was offended at the young prince being raised to this distinction. He raised a rebellion, but was defeated and made prisoner. The king pardoned and released him; but he fled and took refuge with the king of Pegu, whose sister he had married. He was received with distinction, and from that time the king of Pegu no longer sent presents or tribute which, since the last arrangement, he had been accustomed to do.

In Arakan, after A-nau-ra-htá had been placed on the throne, the son of the deposed king Htau-ra-gyí, named Na-ra-meit-hla, fled and took refuge with king Rá-dzá-di-rít. When the brother of the king of Ava arrived in Pegu, at his suggestion, an army was sent by the king of Pegu to Arakan to support the cause of Na-ra-meit-hla. This army, under the command of Tha-mein-phyat-sa was successful. The king of Ava's son-in-law, Anau-ra-htá, and his wife, the king's daughter, were taken prisoners, and sent to Pegu; while Na-ra-meit-hla was placed on the throne of Arakan. The king of Pegu put A-nau-rahta to death, and his wife he made one of his principal queens. At this cruel and treacherous conduct king Meng-Khoung was much enraged. But as he and his enemy were nearly matched, he determined, before going to war, to form alliances, so as to be able to crush his foe at once. He addressed the king of Zimmay, informing him

of the bad faith of the king of Pegu after he had sworn friendship at the pagoda of Prome, and invited him to join in an invasion of Pegu. The letter was intercepted, and the messengers were seized. But Meng Khoung in his anger determined at once to go to war. In vain his faithful ministers represented to him the great difficulty of penetrating into a country like Pegu at the season of the year when the rains were nigh at hand. The king would brook no delay. A large force under his own command, marched from Ava by the Tounghú route, in the month of Katshun 769. A force was left at the capital to preserve order, and several regiments were posted at Prome to guard that frontier, and collect and forward provisions for the army by the Iráwati river. The king of Pegu made great preparations, to meet this attack. His army marched from the city of Han-thá-wa-ti, and took post at the city of Tha-kyín. His advanced guard under La-gwun-ein met with a repulse, and the Talaing army retreated to Pan-gyan, to await reinforcements soon expected from Pu-thein and Mut-ta-ma. The Burmese now burnt all the towns and villages of the country they occupied. But the rainy season having set in, it was found difficult to supply provisions, and the Peguan army being reinforced, was enabled seriously to interrupt the communications of the Burmese. The latter now began to suffer from hunger, and king Meng Khoung was advised by his ministers to negociate. But the wily king of Pegu wished to take him prisoner, and invited him to a meeting at the Kyaik-go Pagoda. This was agreed to; but, at the last moment, the king of Ava, suspicious of treachery, would not keep his engagement. The Talaing officer La-gwun-ein then undertook to seize king Meng Khoung by a sudden night attack. In this he was accompanied by the refugee prince, the former governor of Tsagaing, who was to recognize his brother king Meng Khoung. La-gwun-ein penetrated into the Burmese entrenched camp, and even into the king's *tai*, or booth, but failed to capture him. Rá-dzá-di-rít suspecting that the prince had not given hearty assistance, put him to death. This desperate night attack, which had well nigh succeeded, deeply alarmed king Meng Khoung. He now determined to retreat, himself leading, while the rear guard was commanded by an officer, styled Ra-may-then-tsí. The king of Pegu despatched La-gwun-ein in pursuit. He, marching

rapidly by jungle paths, fell on the Burmese and killed many. The retreating army became utterly scattered, and the king mounted on a swift female elephant to escape. The army now flying helter-skelter, became like a bale of cotton unloosed to the wind. The queen Sheng-mi-nouk was taken prisoner, and being carried to king Rá-dzá-di-rít was taken into his harem. The chief queen, the howdah of whose elephant became loose and swung round, with difficulty escaped on another elephant. The rear guard alone preserved discipline, and the Talaings seeing them stand like a stockade of iron dared not attack them. The king on reaching his capital was in deep distress. His minister consoled him by relating many instances, where weak and insignificant creatures had been successful over those far their superiors, because those superiors could not overcome the obstacles of nature. Hearing these words, "the burning distress of king Meng Khoung was assuaged, as fire is quenched by water."

But the king could not forget the insults and injuries he had received from the king of Pegu. In the year 771, he again invaded that country. The expedition was unsuccessful, but from the cautious manner of proceeding, was not so disastrous as before. The Burmese, the history states, had guns and muskets at this time.

As all the direct attacks on Pegu had failed, another plan and another point of attack were now adopted. The king's eldest son Meng-rai-kyan-tswá, the strange story of whose birth in the year 752 has been related, now besought his father to appoint him to lead an army, to rescue his mother and sister from captivity. A large army was collected, and marched in the year 772 (A. D. 1410), by the Iráwati route. A large fleet was in company. The force proceeded down and entered into the province of Pu-thein (Bassein). The prince first attacked the town of Myoung-mya, but failing to take it, proceeded to Pu-thein. Finding that there were many guns mounted there, he blockaded the city, but could effect nothing. It was now suggested by one of the generals, that they should proceed into Arakan, the king of which country had been supported by their enemy, the king of Pegu. This advice was adopted. The Prince returned to Prome and from thence crossed the mountains into Arakan. The king Na-ra-meit-hla was defeated, and fled into the

Ku-lá country. The Prince appointed Let-ya-gyí governor. The southern part of Arakan, the province of Than-dwai (Sandoway), was placed under Tsuk-ka-té. The prince then returned to Ava where he was received by his father with great distinction.

The Arakanese nobles now applied for assistance to king Rá-dzá-di-rít. He sent an army in the following year, 773, which took possession of Sandoway. Prince Meng-rai-kyau-tswá was again sent to take it. He failed in an attack, but blockaded the town, and reduced the garrison to great distress. The soldiers were obliged to eat their very shields. The Talaing commander now had recourse to a cunning artifice. He caused a false despatch to be sent addressed to himself, announcing the advance of a large force coming to relieve him, and managed to have this intercepted by the Burmese. The Prince called a council of war, and they considered it best to retreat. He returned with his army to Ava. The Talaing army then marched on to the capital, Arakan city. As the Arakanese and the king of Pegu were closely allied, the governor Let-ya-gyí who had been put in by the Burmese, retired.

In the year 774, the Tsau-bwá of the large Shan state of Thein-ní was preparing to attack Ava. Information of his preparations was given by the Tsau-bwá of Un-boung, and Prince Meng-rai-kyau-tswá was sent against him. The Tsau-bwá of Thein-ní engaged the prince's army, but was defeated and slain. The sons and son-in-law of the Tsau-bwá shut themselves up in their fortified city, and called in the Chinese to help them. The prince, hearing of the advance of the Chinese army, proceeded by night with a part of his army, and lay in wait in a thick wood. Suddenly attacked they were utterly defeated. The prince then returned, and re-invested Thein-ní. In the mean time Rá-dzá-di-rít, king of Pegu, hearing that the Burmese were occupied with Thein-ní, determined to attack Prome. On account of the guns, he was forced to keep at a distance, but hoped to starve out the garrison. While thus employed, hearing that a Siamese army was attacking Mut-ta-ma, he left his son Bi-ngya-Pu-thein in command, and returned himself to Pegu. The prince Meng-rai-kyau-tswá having settled affairs at Thein-ní, arrived at Prome. The king of Pegu also returned there from the lower country. After many skirmishes, the Talaing force was finally defeated, and compelled to



retire down the river. The Burmese pursued as far as the entrance to the Bassein river. The Prince determined to follow up the fugitives. He took possession of Da-la, of Da-gun and Than-lyeng (Syriam). Pu-thein and the whole of the western portion of the Delta of the Irawatí submitted to him. Seeing such great success, king Meng Khoung himself arrived. Numerous partial actions took place in the difficult country of the Irawatí delta, but nothing decisive was accomplished. The king of Pegu stirred up the Shan chief of Nga-thai-wí to attack the towns and villages in the Ava territory. This he did, and prince Thí-ha-thú, who remained at home at the head of affairs, reporting the threatening state of affairs, the Burmese army was withdrawn.

But the prince, considering that he had almost been able to take the capital of Pegu, and was only prevented by accident, determined to try his fortune once more. In 776, the army went down the river, and advanced towards Pu-thein. After some difficulty, the stockade of Khai-boung was taken. The prince, however, could not take Pu-thein, and determined to return himself to Ava apparently to obtain reinforcements. He took with him several prisoners of high rank, but remained there only seven days, and then returned to Pegu, bringing his wife with him. He established himself in the province of Da-la, but the city of that name appears to have been held by a son of the king of Pegu, styled Bi-nyga-Da-la. Meng-rai-kyau-tswa built several large boats, and having made himself liked by the men in command under the king of Pegu, the cities of Pu-thein and Myoung-mya submitted to him.

At this time a serious difficulty threatened the king of Ava. Two Shan chiefs of the states of Mau-dun and Mau-kay had attacked Myé-dú which was subject to Ava. The king had therefore punished them, and they took refuge in the Chinese territory. They petitioned the Emperor of China that their wives and children were held in captivity by the Burmese, and asked for justice. A Chinese army therefore marched into the Burmese territory, and came down to Ava. After about a month, they became straitened for provisions, and sent a message to this effect: "You neither give up the wives and children of the chiefs of Mau-dun and Mau-kay, nor do you come out to fight. We will remain thus for three years. Or, if you will not

“negociate let a horse soldier from each army engage in single combat ; “if our horse soldier loses, we will retire ; but if yours is defeated give “us up the wives and children of the chiefs.” On hearing this, king Meng Khoung was much disturbed, as his best soldiers were all in Pegu. But one of the prisoners, brought to the capital by the prince, named Tha-mein-pa-rán, an officer of high rank and son-in-law to the king of Pegu, agreed to fight the Chinese champion. The duel was fought on horseback, and though the Chinese, or Tartar, was clad in armour, the Pegu chief came off victorious. The Chinese, true to their word, then withdrew to their own country.

In Pegu, the Burmese Prince Meng-rai-kyau-tswá was closely besieging the city of Da-la, which was held by By-nyga-Da-la, one of the sons of the king of Pegu. Rá-dzá-di-rít was anxious to communicate with his son, but was unable to do so. One of his nobles, Ai-mwun-ta-rá planned to enter the place himself by pretending to desert to the Burmese. This was approved by the king. He was received with great joy by the Burmese prince, was entrusted with a command, and during a skirmish managed to enter the city of Da-la. The Burmese now considered they had him safe. But after a few days, he let himself be launched on a raft bound up as a corpse upon the tidal stream, and so passed unmolested, floated by the tide, through the Burmese camp and war-boats. When passed danger, he rose up and proceeded at once to his master at the city of Pegu. Having reported all he had seen, king Rá-dzá-di-rít determined to relieve Da-la. He therefore marched with a considerable force, and Prince Meng-rai-kyau-tswá was obliged to retire. He entrenched himself at a distance. The city of Da-la was thus relieved. Rá-dzá-di-rít now, after much manœuvring provoked the Burmese Prince to leave his stockade and come out to fight. The prince was confident and boastful. He had dosed his elephant with spirits, and had drank some himself. He pushed forward with a small force in front of the main body of his army. With a few horsemen he made great slaughter among the Talaing army, but his elephant became blown, and the Talaing chiefs seeing he had no support at hand, surrounded him with thirty elephants. His elephant was wounded by a hundred darts and disabled. The Prince dismounted and received a severe wound in the thigh, either from a spear or an elephant's tusk. He

was borne to the bank of a tank and laid down. Here he was taken prisoner and carried before the king. Rá-dzá-di-rít addressed him kindly, but he replied that he desired only to die, as he was unable to fulfil his oath to reach the city of Han-thá-wá-ti. He died the next morning, being the fourth of the waxing moon Ta-gú in the year 778 (April 1416). His funeral obsequies were honorably performed by the king. The morning of his death a palm leaf with the news written thereon was tied round the neck of a tame vulture belonging to the chief Theng-ga-rá-dzá. The bird was let loose, and the same afternoon at the striking of the third watch reached Ava, and flew to the chief Phun-gyí, who presented the writing to king Meng Khoung.

After the death of the prince, the Burmese commanders in Pegu, though successfully resisting attack, were forced to retire. The princess lamenting the death of her husband retired also, and on reaching Ava, was married to Thí-ha-thú, her first husband's brother. But before the whole army had left the Pegu territory, king Meng-Khoung appeared, as he determined to visit the grave of his son. The bones as buried by king Rá-dzá-di-rít were dug up, and placed in a golden vase, which under cover of a white umbrella, was borne in a state boat to Ava.

In the year 779, another expedition was sent against Pegu under the command of prince Thí-ha-thú, who now had been made Crown-Prince. He captured the stockade at Da-gun, and took prisoner Bi-ngya-tsek, one of the sons of the king of Pegu. The Prince could not take Than-lyeng (Syriam), but captured Mau-bí, and remained there entrenched for the rainy season. King Rá-dzá-di-rít who much feared an attack upon his capital, went for safety to Mut-ta-ma (Martaban). After this, the Burmese Prince returned to Ava taking his prisoner with him.

King Meng Khoung undertook no more wars. He sought only to treasure up merit by the performance of good works. The internal affairs of the country were wisely administered. The king dreaded lest he should be ill-spoken of. In the year 784, his destiny was fulfilled, and he died after a reign of twenty-one years.

King Rá-dzá-di-rít also heard with grief the death of his former enemy, and now only thought of religious duties. After one year,

while hunting a wild elephant to capture it with a noose, he received a wound of which he died.

Prince *Thí-ha-thú* succeeded his father. He also took the title of *Tsheng-phyú-sheng*. In Pegu, *Bi-ngya-Dham-má-Rá-dzá* succeeded his father *Rá-dzá-di-rit*. This king's two younger brothers *Bi-ngya-ran* and *Bi-ngya-kyan* rebelled, and occupied the cities of *Da-gun* and *Than-lyeng*. But the first soon submitted; the other brother sent messengers to king *Thí-ha-thú* for assistance. That king at once sent a force which joining the rebel prince took possession of *Dala*. The Burmese commander made the *Talaing* inhabitants prisoners of war, which provoked the resentment of the prince, and a quarrel arose. The result was, that the Burmese force retired. But the two brothers of the king of Pegu were now once more in rebellion. *Bi-ngya-kyan* retired to *Mut-ta-ma*, while *Bi-ngya-ran* occupied *Da-gun*. King *Thí-ha-thú* now sent a larger force to Pegu, which marched in the month *Nat-dau* 784. They proceeded by the *Pu-thein* (*Bassein*) route, which the Burmese had always found the easiest, and took *Dala* once more. Prince *Bi-ngya-ran* entered into negotiations with them, and a marriage between his sister and king *Thí-ha-thú* was arranged. But this was the immediate cause of his destruction. For his chief queen *Tsau-pho-may*, who had been one of his father's queens, offended at his neglect of her, called in a Shan chief *Un-boung-lay*, who came with an army to attack the city. The king met him, but was wounded, and fled to *Mo-nhyin*, where he died soon after, having reigned four years.

The nobles now joined and attacked the Shan army, which retired. An infant son of *Thí-ha-thú*, named *Meng-hla-ngay*, was raised to the throne. But the queen *Tsau-pho-may*, who had long been too intimate with the chief of *Ka-lé*, *Kyé-toung-nyo*, called him in. He came with an army, killed the infant king, and seized the palace.

This usurper's reign was short. The governor of *Mo-nhyin*, named *Meng-nan-tsí*, was a man of much influence. He was of Shan descent, but claimed also to be descended from the ancient kings of *Pu-gán*; his paternal grandmother was a daughter of *Ngá-tsí-sheng Kyau-tswa*, one of the kings of Shan race who reigned at *Pan-ya*, and who died in 712. In the present state of affairs, he determined to assert his claims. He came with a large force and invested *Ava*.

Ka-lé-kyé-toung-nyo being deserted by most of his supporters, fled, together with the queen Sheng-pho-may. Meng-nan-tsi therefore now took possession of the palace in the year 788 (A. D. 1426). The usurper who had fled, died in the jungles on the way to Arakan. Queen Tsau-pho-may who had been consecrated queen in the time of Meng Khoung returned, and was received back into the palace with her former rank.

The king assumed the title of Mo-nhyin-meng-ta-rá. He was forty-seven years of age, when he came to the throne. Many of the provinces gave him trouble by rising in rebellion, but he gradually reduced them. The ruler of Toun-gú was Tsau-lú-theng-kha-yá. Being invited by the king, he came to Ava with a large escort. The king received him with great distinction, and they sat on one couch. From this time the ruler of Toungú acted as if he were independent. His younger brother was the governor of Pongday. He became subordinate to the king of Pegu, and by that means was made governor of the province of Tha-rá-wa-ti.

In the year 792, the ruler of Toungú and his brother of Pongday, induced the king of Pegu to undertake an expedition against Prome. An army and fleet were sent under the command of Thamein-pa-rán, who formerly, when a prisoner at Ava, fought and killed the Chinese champion. King Mo-nhyin-meng-ta-rá desired to temporize, and by the advice of his ministers sent a friendly message to the king of Pegu with presents, and went down to Prome to meet him. The two kings remained at some distance from Prome carrying on negotiations. In the mean time, the commander-in-chief, Thamein-pa-rán, who had formerly known one of the Burmese chiefs, Rá-dzá-theng-gyan, used to go and see him. On one of these occasions, Mo-nhyin-meng-ta-rá ordered him to be detained as a prisoner, until the traitor governor of Pongday was delivered up. This was at length agreed to, and the two kings concluded their negotiation by an agreement of friendship. A niece of the king of Ava also was married to the king of Pegu. These events occupied several years. King Mo-nhyin-meng, on his return to Ava in 799, attended to the internal affairs of his kingdom. The reckoning of time was found to be much deranged, and great affliction for the people of the country was anticipated, unless the calender was reformed. The king knew

that his royal predecessors who had altered the style in their days, never survived long; but for the benefit of his people, he did not hesitate to do what was required for their welfare. He felt confident also, from predictive signs, that his posterity for seven generations would fill the throne. To adjust the era, the year 800 was counted as 798, two years being struck out. The king died in the following year after a reign of thirteen years.

He was succeeded by his son Meng-rai-kyau-tswa in in the year 801 (A. D. 1439). This king turned his attention to the affairs of Toungú. The king of that country had died in the year 798, and was succeeded by his son-in-law U-za-ná. The following year, the king of Pegu, Bi-nyya-ran deposed U-za-ná, and placed on the throne Meng-tsau-ú, son of Tsau-lú-theng-kha-rá. After that ruler had reigned five years, the king of Ava sent a force which dethroned him, and Ta-ra-byá, a Shan chief, was made governor or tributary king. The chief of Mo-goung was at this time independent, but the king coerced him through the Tsau-bwas of Mo-nhyin and Ka-lé. Meng-rai-kyau-tswá died after a reign of three years. He left a daughter; and his youngest brother, Thí-ha-thú, governed at Prome. At first, the nobles thought it better to offer the throne to Thí-ha-paté, the son-in-law of the late king. But he refused to be king, so the nobles went down to Prome, and brought up the prince in great state to Ava. He assumed the title of Bhu-reng Na-ra-pa-ti.

The northern Tsau-bwas submitted to this king, and he reduced to obedience the governor of Ra-may-then, who had rebelled. But suddenly a great danger threatened the king. His son, the crown-prince had been sent with a force to reduce the Shan chief of Peng-lay. While the army was there, a large Chinese army under four generals appeared. The king hastily recalled his son to Ava; left him there in command, and himself proceeded out with his army and took post at the Mandalé hill, a few miles to the north of the city. The Chinese commander remaining at Maing-mau on the Shwé-lé river, sent a message by a party of three hundred horsemen saying, "Will you, as in the time of the Pugán kings, present vessels of gold and silver, or will you make war?" King Na-ra-pa-ti replied, that since the city of Ava had been built, no such demand had been made, and that he would give nothing. On receipt of this message, the

Chinese generals marched to Ba-mau, and began to construct a bridge of boats to cross the river Iráwati. This was in the year 806, and the king now advanced up the river with a large number of armed boats besides his land force, as far as Ta-goung, having his army partly on some islands on the river in that neighbourhood. The Chinese commanders now demanded that the Mau chief, Tho-ngan-bwa, Tsau-bwa of Mo-goung, should be delivered up to them. The king refused to do so, and the Chinese brought their army to Koung-dun. There a great battle was fought. The Chinese were defeated, two of their generals were killed, and besides as they suffered from want of food, they retreated towards their own country, and took post at Mo-wun on a tributary of the Shwé-lé river. The chiefs of Mo-goung and Mo-nhyin watched them with an army at Ba-mau, and the king returned to Ava.

In the year 807, the ruler of Toungú, Ta-ra-byá died, and the king now appointed his younger brother Meng Khoung-ngai, who was Ta-ra-byá's son, according to some authorities, to succeed him. The same year, the Chinese returned with a still larger army than before. The king was recommended by his ministers to comply with their demand. He remained in camp near Ava, and awaited their arrival. The Chinese generals on their arrival demanded the chief Tho-ngan-bwa as their subject. The king replied, he was his subject, but still if they would do him a service, he would comply with their demand. The service was to attack the chief of Ra-may-then, named Meng-ngay-kyau-hteng, who was in rebellion. The Chinese generals agreed, and performed the service required. They then returned to Ava. But the chief Tho-ngan-bwá took poison, and died. The king delivered the dead body to the Chinese. They took out the bowels; run a spit through it and dried it with fire, and then carried it away. The reason why the Chinese demanded Tho-ngan-bwá was, that his grandfather Tho-khyí-bwa had formerly been in rebellion against the Emperor of China, and had fought against him. This quarrel had never been satisfied, and so the grandson was demanded.

In the year 808, the son of Bi-ngya-Dham-má-Rá-dzá, late king of Pegu, named Bi-ngya-kyan, having quarrelled with his uncle Bi-ngya-ran-Khaik then on the throne fled, and came to Pu-gan

where king Na-ra-pa-tí then was. The same year the king of Pegu died, and was succeeded by Bi-nyya-pa-rú, nephew to Bi-nyya-ran.

In 811, a Chinese army again invaded Burma, marched down to Bamau, and crossed the Iráwati by a bridge of boats. Their object was to attack the Tsau-bwás of Mo-nhyin and Mo-goung. Mo-goung was now under two Tsau-bwás who were brothers, named Tho-kyin-bwá and Tho-thut-bwá. They, with the Tsau-bwá of Mo-nhyin, bravely met and defeated the Chinese, who then retreated. King Na-ra-pa-tí was very glad of this, and made them a large present in silver.

In the following year, the king of Pegu being killed, the Talaing nobles begged that Bi-nyya-kyan should be made king. Na-ra-pa-tí therefore sent an army which placed him on the throne. But he died in the year 814, and then Leit-mwut htau, son of Bi-nyya-khaik by his queen, the niece of king Mo-nhyin-meng-ta-ra, was placed on the throne. He at once sent presents to the king of Burma, calling him royal uncle. But he died the following year. Then Sheng-tsau-pú was raised to the throne with the title of Bi-nyya-kyan. She was the daughter of king Rá-dzá-di-rít, first married to her consin Tha-mein-tsí, and after his death to king Thí-ha-thú of Ava. But after his death, she left Ava, and returned to her own country. Now at the age of fifty-nine years, she was placed on the throne of Pegu.

In 816, King Na-ra-pa-tí had a friendly meeting on the border of the two countries with Ali kheng, king of Arakan.

In 820, the king invaded Toungú, but could not retain his authority there. He also had much trouble with several of the Shan states. His death was caused from a wound received in a struggle with his son, who had raised a rebellion. The king fled with a few followers from the city, and went down to Prome, where his second son was the governor. There he died from the effects of his wound in the year 830, after a reign of twenty-six years. His eldest son succeeded him, and took the title of Bhu-reng Ma-há-thí-ha-thú-ra. In this king's reign, the principal events recorded are his endeavours to retain Toungú under his immediate government. He was troubled with wars between the different Shan states; and his brother in the province of Prome was disobedient. He died after a reign of twelve years. His son, styled Du-ti-ya Meng Khoung, next came to the throne,

and assumed the title of *Thí-ri-thu-dham-má Rá-dzá*. In his reign the troubles of the Burmese monarchy increased. His younger brother, who governed *Ra-may-then*, rebelled, as did another brother in the province of *Tsa-leng*. To the north, the *Tsau-bwá* of *Myé-dú* declared himself independent; and the king's uncle, *Tha-do-meng-tsau*, who held the province of *Tha-rá-wa-ti*, succeeded to *Prome*, and proclaimed himself king. He then advanced up the river *Iráwati* as far as *Ma-gwé*. King *Du-ti-ya Meng Khoung* went down with a force to meet him. After a negociation for about a month, they exchanged presents and separated, without any distinct arrangement having been made. Soon after, the prince at *Tsa-leng* died, and that province then returned to its allegiance. In the year 847, the king, with the view apparently of preserving the loyalty of his eldest son, gave him authority equal to his own. He received the title of *Ma-há Thi-ha-thú-ra*. He lived in the same palace with his father, and each had a white umbrella as the symbol of sovereignty. This measure probably had the effect of preserving the king from being dethroned, but the prince died before his father, after having been associated with him in the kingdom for fifteen years.

The events in *Toungú* at this time were destined to have overwhelming effect on the *Ava* monarchy more than half a century later. They will now be glanced at as being connected with the history of *Du-ti-ya Meng Khoung*. The ruler of *Toungú*, when this king came to the throne, was *Tsí-thú-kyau-hteng* who, like the royal family, was probably of *Shan* descent. He maintained a position almost equal to an independent prince. He died in the year 843, and was succeeded by his son *Tsí-thú-ngai*, who as the history states, was appointed by the king. In the year 847, this prince was put to death by his nephew *Meng-kyí-nygyo*, who assumed the title of *Ma-há-thí-rí-dze-ya-thú-ra*. The history states that he sent presents to the king of *Ava*, who replied, that he did not wish to interfere with *Toungú*, and sent the chief a white umbrella, thereby acknowledging his independence.

In *Pegu*, *Dham-ma Dzé-di* had become king in succession to *Sheng-tsau-pú*. He died in 854, and his son *Bi-nya-rán* succeeded him. He and the chief of *Toungú* were suspicious of each other, and a border warfare was maintained. The *Toungú* chief had built a new

fort, called Dwá-ra-wa-tí, which the king of Pegu came and attacked with a large army. The chief of Toungú applied to the chief of Tha-rá-wa-ti and also to Du-ti-ya Meng Khoung for assistance. But before the aid could arrive, the Pegu army had been attacked and defeated. The king of Ava now sent the Toungú chief all the regalia in addition to the white umbrella before conferred upon him. The king having bent to the circumstances of the time, preserved his authority in a comparatively small extent of country round Ava, and died after a reign of twenty-one years in 863.

His second son now ascended the throne with the title of Ma-há-Rá-dzá-dhí-pa-ti and also Shwé-nan-sheng Na-ra-pa-ti. The state of the kingdom is now admitted in the Ma-há-Rá-dzá-weng to have been desperate. The Tsau-bwá of Mo-nhyin attacked and took possession of Myé-dú. The king's brother-in-law, the governor of Tsa-leng, having died, his widow married the son of the ruler of Prome, who had taken the title of king, and they declared themselves independent. The king, however, was able to re-establish his authority there for a time. But he was now at open enmity with the chiefs or kings of Prome and Toungú, and in the year 867, invited by two inferior chiefs who were in rebellion, they sent forces to attack the city of Tsa-lé. The king quite helpless called in the Tsau-bwá of Ün-boung to his assistance. The king also marched with the army, and the rebel force with their allies was defeated. In the north, the Tsau-bwá of Mo-nhyin took possession of the province of Ta-ba-yín, but the king was able to recover it. In 869, three of the king's brothers raised a rebellion at Pa-khan-gyí; but they were defeated and put to death. The Tsau-bwá of Mon-hyin, named Tsa-lun, had now become very powerful. In the year 873, he attacked the Tsau-bwá of Ün-boung, because he was friendly to the king. The place he attacked was Ba-mau, which belonged to Ün-boung. The Tsau-bwá requested the king to attack Myé-dú, which had a garrison of soldiers in the service of the Mo-nhyin chief. But the fort was well defended with muskets and jinjals, and the king could only blockade it at a distance. While doing so, his troops were attacked by the chiefs of Ka-lé, Toung-dweng-kyoung and Meng-kheng, who had become tributary to Mo-nhyin. The king's troops were entirely driven away. For several years, king Na-ra-pa-ti was compelled to endure

rebellions ; and in the year 885, the chief of Mo-nhyin, marched with an army of Shans down to Tsa-gaing, clearing the country of such troops as remained under the king of Ava. From thence the chief marched along the right bank of the river Iráwati, and went as far south as the city of Tha-ret, all the cities, towns, and districts submitting to him. While he was at that place, the king of Prome, Tha-do-meng-tsau, a near relation to king Na-ra-pa-ti, now sent presents to Tsa-lun, the Mo-nhyin chief, offering if he would place him on the throne of Ava, to be friendly and subservient. This was agreed to. The Shan army then crossed to the east side of the Iráwati at Mye-dai. The army of the king of Prome advanced up the river in boats. The Shan army marched by land. King Na-ra-pa-ti had no army of his own left to oppose this force, but the Un-boung Tsau-bwá, Khun Mhaing, marched to Ava to assist his friend. Some fighting occurred near the city, in which the Burmese force was defeated, and king Na-ra-pa-ti fled together with Khun Mhaing towards the north-east. When the king of Prome came up, the Mo-nhyin Tsau-bwá, according to his promise, put him on the throne. But after three days that chief retired, and crossing the Iráwati, returned to his own country. The king of Prome could not retain his position, and retired also, taking with him a little daughter of king Na-ra-pa-ti's of eight years old. The king then returned to Ava, together with the Un-boung Tsau-bwá, and once more entered the palace. Khun Mhaing then returned to his own country. The king gratefully offered him valuable presents, which he would not accept. For two more years the king endured his fortune, which was now near its end. In the year 888, the Tsau-bwá of Mo-nhyin again put his troops in motion, and now was accompanied by his son Tho-han-bwá. They marched to Tsagaing, and after defeating such Burmese troops as opposed them, crossed the river, and besieged Ava. After eight days the city was taken by storm. King Na-ra-pa-ti attempting to escape on an elephant, was killed by the hand of Tho-han-bwá. Most of his relations and nobles fled, some to Prome, and some to Toungú. Thus died king Na-ra-pa-ti, after a reign of twenty-five years.

The Mo-nhyin chief was now master of what remained of the kingdom of Ava. He stated that he did not wish to reign himself,

and retired to his own state. His son Tho-han-bwá now assumed the title of king of Ava. His father persuaded Ran-noung, a nephew of the late king's, and a Burmese noble of much experience and ability, to become chief minister. The various provinces which still remained, were placed under Burmese and Shan governors. Tho-han-bwá, against the advice of his minister, desired to attack both Toungú and Prome. The king of Prome, Tha-do-meng-tsau, had died, and was succeeded by his son Bhu-reng Htwé. In the same year also died Bi-nyga-ran, king of Pegu, and was succeeded by his son, Thu-sheng-ta-gá-rwut-pi.

In the year 892 died Meng-kyi-nygyo, king of Toung-ú, who had reigned there for forty-five years. He was succeeded by his son Meng-ta-rá Shwé-htí, whose fortunes will hereafter be connected with the Ava kingdom.

In 894, Tsa-lun of Mo-nhyin, father to the king of Ava, marched down with an army, and he and his son proceeded to Prome. Bhu-reng Htwé, the king of that city, sent his family away towards Arakan, and shut himself up in the city. He was unable to resist the large force brought against him, and was taken prisoner and carried to Ava. Tsa'un carried him away towards Mo-nhyin; but on the road, he himself fell a victim to a conspiracy of the chiefs under him, and Bhureng Htwé escaped. He returned to Prome. But there his son had become king with the title of Na-ra-pa-ti; and shut the gates against him. He died in the adjoining forests of Na-weng. This Na-ra-pa-ti of Prome had married a daughter of Shwé-nan-sheng Na-ra-pa-ti of Ava. From this time until the year 900 (A. D. 1538), Tho-han-bwá appears to have maintained himself without any material alteration.

In that year, the king of Toung-ú, Meng-ta-rá Shwé-htí, attacked the king of Pegu, who fled and took refuge with his brother-in-law, the king of Prome. From this time the fortunes of the kings of Ava, of Prome, and Pegu were inseparably connected; until they were entirely overborne by the power of the king of Toung-ú.

The Ma-há-Rá-dzá-weng now proceeds to trace the history of that hitherto obscure state. Toung-ú is the name given to a district lying about the middle of the course of the Poug-loung, a small river, the basin of which lies between the Iráwati and the Sal-wín.

The extent of this district was originally not greater than from seventy to eighty miles from north to south, with a breadth of about half that distance. On the east of the valley are high mountains, where the wild Karen tribes are still numerous, and probably from a very remote period held independent sway. The mountains on the west barely exceed one thousand feet elevation, and the Karen tribes are now scarcely to be found there. Gradually Talaing colonists from the south, and Burmese from the north, appear to have occupied the valley of the middle Poug-loung, leaving the hills to the Karens. But for safety, these colonists appear to have had strongholds in the lower hills on the western side of the valley. One of these, which was occupied on the Ka-boung stream, a tributary of the Poug-loung, was called in the Burmese language, Toung-ngá, from its position on a projecting mountain point, and this name has been transferred to the city, afterwards built in the plain, and to the whole district. As long as the seat of the Burmese monarchy was at Pu-gán, Toungú was not much interfered with, but when the capital had been transferred to Pan-yá, the Shan dynasty appear to have been more attracted to it. In the year 679, Thi-ha-thú Ta-tsí-sheng sent his son U-za-ná Kyau-tswá to this district; he occupied the then existing city, and probably brought Burmese or Shan settlers with him. Later a chief from Pegu, but probably of Shan descent, Pyan-kyi-gyi became king. But after this, a Burmese adventurer Moung-phau-ká was raised to power, and from this time the kings of Ava looked upon the country as part of their dominion. But the governors were frequently independent, and by allying themselves alternately with the Burmese or the Talaings, managed to maintain a position, which the natural strength or wealth of the country could not otherwise have sustained.

It has already been mentioned that when Du-ti-ya Meng Khoung, king of Ava, came to the throne, in the year 842 (A. D. 1480), the ruler of Toung-ú was Tsí-thá-kyau-liteng. He had a brother, the governor of Ra-mai-then, who had married a grand niece of Mo-nhyin Meng-ta-rá, the Shan chief, who had seized the throne of Ava in the year 788. The family also claimed to be descended from U-za-ná, the son of Kyau-tswá, the deposed king of Pugán, who had reigned at Pan-yá after the death of his

adopted father *Thí-ha-thú Ta-tsí-sheng*; and also from the half brother of that king, *Nga-tsí-sheng*. The family may be considered as originally Shan, which now had almost become Burman. The governor of *Ra-mai-then* had a son *Meng-kyí-nygyo*, who was sent to *Toung-ú* to be under his uncle *Tsí-thú-kyau-hteng*. The uncle is described as a man of a more savage disposition than even at that time was usual. He decided to break off connection with the king of *Ava*, and entered into friendship with the king of *Pegu*. His nephew *Meng-kyí-nygyo* conspired against him, and put him to death. He then succeeded him in the government of *Toungú*, and at once proclaimed himself king in the year 847, being A. D. 1485. He now assumed the title of *Ma-há-thi-ri-dze-ya-thú-ra*. He soon became so powerful, that his alliance was sought by the kings of *Pegu* and *Siam*. In the year 853, he built a new city or fort in a secure position, which he called *Dwá-ra-wa-ti*. He became involved in a quarrel with the king of *Pegu* consequent on border disputes, and his city was attacked, but he defeated the assailants. In the year 863, some nobles who had been in rebellion against the king of *Ava*, fled and took refuge in *Toung-ú*. This produced a war, in which the army of *Ava* was defeated. In 866, as already mentioned, the king of *Toung-ú* made a league with the king of *Prome*, *Tha-do-meng-tsau*, against *Ava*, in support of two rebel chiefs. In the following year their forces advanced up the *Iráwati*, to support the rebellion of the king of *Ava's* brothers at *Pa-khan-gyí*. But the rebellion had been crushed before his troops reached the scene of operations. The king of *Toung-ú* now felt strong enough to build a new city in a more convenient place than that hitherto occupied. The new city of *Toung-ú* was therefore built in the year 872 (A. D. 1510) on the west bank of the *Poung-loung*, and in the midst of the most extensive and most fertile plain of the whole territory. The city was called in *Pa-li*, *Ke-tu-ma-ti*. It is the custom of the Burmese, Shans, and *Talaings*, to have a *Pali* as well as a vernacular name for their cities and districts, which is used in all official documents. A more ancient name for the territory of *Toung-ú* was *Dzé-yá-wa-ta-na*.

The king of *Toung-ú* appears to have extended his influence and territory towards the north, as the power of the king of *Ava* declined. In the year 888, when the *Mo-nhyin Tsau-bwá* conquered *Ava*, many

of the Burmese nobles fled to Toung-ú, and the king of that territory may now be said to have become the representative of the ancient Burmese monarchy. King Ma-lá-thí-ri-dze-ya-thú-ra died in the year 892 (A. D. 1530).

The son who succeeded him was Ta-beng Shwé-htí, then only sixteen years of age. He is called in the history Meng-ta-rá Shwé-htí. From his birth many prodigies had announced his great destiny. In the history, in accordance with the strange application of the doctrine of transmigration to account for the actions of great conquerors, which has been noticed before, this prince is represented as the transmigrated prince of Pegu, Meng-rai-kyau-tswá, son of Dham-má-tsé-dí, king of that country, who was unjustly put to death by his father. When dying, he exclaimed, "If innocent, may I be born as a Burmese prince, and subdue, rule over, and oppress the three Talaing provinces." And so it came to pass. The young king from an irresistible internal influence, determined to invade and conquer Pegu.

At this time, the capital of that kingdom was at Mut-ta-má (Martaban). That city was occupied as the seat of power, about the year 713 (A. D. 1351), by a Shan chief, styled Tsheng-phyú-sheng Bi-ngya-ú. The ancient Talaing kingdom, which had its capital at the city of Pegu, was overthrown, and the seat of government removed to Mut-ta-má. In the year 888, Thu-sheng-ta-gá-rwut-bi ascended the throne. In 896 (A. D. 1534), the young king of Toung-ú first marched against Pegu. The city was defended by two Shan nobles, Bi-ngya-lau, and Bi-ngya-kyan. They held it so obstinately that Meng-ta-rá Shwé-htí was forced to retreat. In the following year, he again invested it. But from the walls of the city, the foreigners and Muhammadans, called "Kulá Pan-thé," fired so incessantly with jinjals and blunderbusses, and wounded and killed so many, that the king was again obliged to retire, especially as the rainy season was nigh. In 898, he again invaded Pegu. The king of Pegu now met him in the plain of Kau-lá-ya to the north of the city, but was defeated. The city, however, could not be taken. The king of Toung-ú therefore passed it by, and marched to Da-gun, the modern Rangoon, and from thence, sent detachments, which took possession of Pu-thein, Myoung-mya, and other cities in the delta of the Iráwati. Still he could not

retain his position, and as the rainy season approached, he once more returned to Toung-ú.

The following year the king of Pegu sent a humble letter to Meng-ta-rá Shwé-htí, proposing peace and friendship. The bearers of this letter were the two Shan nobles, Bi-ngya-lau, and Bi-ngya-kyan, who had defended the city of Pegu. The king received them kindly, but would give no reply. As they could obtain no reply, they returned to their own master. Their king became suspicious of them, and Meng-ta-rá Shwé-htí now had recourse to a deep artifice. He caused a letter to be inscribed on a scroll of gold as follows: "The king of "Dzé-yá-wa-ta-na Ké tu-ma-tí informs his uncles Bi-ngya-lau and "Bi-ngya-ran that, when the affair as before agreed is settled, Bi-"ngya-lau shall be appointed governor of Han-tha-wa-tí (Pegu), and "Bi-ngya-kyan of Mut-ta-ma (Martaban), and so be ye diligent in "my royal service." This scroll being enclosed in a cloth bag and placed in a basket, was entrusted to two bold and clever messengers with several followers. They proceeded into the Pegu territory, and at one of the border villages, having entered in a friendly manner, they after a time managed to get into a dispute with the head of the village regarding the provisions brought them. This gradually led to a serious quarrel, and the messengers, as a large number of the Talaing villagers assumed, fled, leaving behind them their baggage and the basket which contained the king's letter. The villagers took everything to their headman, and all was brought to the king of Pegu. The letter was now discovered and without any inquiry, the two noblemen were put to death. The king of Toung-ú now again attacked the city of Pegu, and took it after a slight resistance. The king of Pegu determined to retire to his brother-in-law, the king of Prome, and proceeded up the river. The king of Toung-ú now consulted with his nobles, as to whether it would be better to follow on to Prome or to march against Mut-ta-ma. It was decided to do the former. The king's principal general was Kyau-hteng Nau-ra-htá, who was also his brother-in-law. He was distantly connected by blood with Meng-ta-rá Shwe-htí, and was said to be descended from one of the former kings, or governors, of Toung-ú. This general led the forces of the king to Noun-ro, where the king of Pegu had collected an army. Kyau-hteng attacked and utterly defeated that

army. The king of Pegu then fled with his whole family to Prome, where he was received by the king Na-ra-pa-tí.

King Meng-ta-rá Shwe-hti was profuse in his acknowledgments to his general, and bestowed upon him the title of Bhu-reng Noug, intimating that he would be king hereafter. It was now determined to pursue the king of Pegu to Prome, and here the history once more is linked with the fortunes of the king of Ava, Tho-han-bwá, which for a time were dropped, in order to trace the events which brought the king of Toung from Pegu up the Irawáti to Prome.

The king of Prome hearing that he was to be attacked, had persuaded Tho-han-bwá, king of Ava, to support him. That king came down the river with a large army of Shans. They and the fugitive king of Pegu met at Prome, and took an oath of fidelity to each other. Near Prome, the flotillas of the contending powers had an engagement, in which the allies were defeated, and some of their principal officers were taken prisoners. Meng-ta-rá Shwé-hti either did not then feel himself strong enough to retain Prome, or more urgent affairs called him to Pegu; for he now led his army back to that country. The king of Pegu, Thi-sheng-ta-gá-rwut-bi now desired his allies to invade Pegu. But they were unwilling to do so. He therefore proceeded himself with a small force, but lost his life in the jungle. King Tho-han-bwá returned to Ava, taking with him the children of the king of Pegu. Soon after, the king of Prome, Na-ra-pa-ti died, and was succeeded by his younger brother Sheng Tha-ret, who took the title of Meng Khoung. His sister, the widow of the king of Pegu, was sent to Arakan, where she married the king of that country.

After the death of Thu-sheng-ta-gá-rwut-bi, all the Talaing nobles in Pegu submitted to Meng-ta-rá Shwé-hti. He provided for the most worthy by appointing them to the different districts. But Mut-ta-ma (Martaban) still held out. The brother-in-law of the late king, Tsau-bi-ngya, governed that province, and refused to submit to the conqueror. The king therefore marched with a large army to take the city. On arrival, he found the difficulties enormous. Situated near the mouth of a great river, or an arm of the sea, it was defended with numerous gns; and the Ku-lá Pan-thé (Foreigners and Muhammadans), some on the city walls, and some on board seven

ships, heavily armed, anchored before the city, were ready to defend it. It was in the year 902 (A. D. 1540) that the king besieged Mut-ta-ma. Bhureng NOUNG commanded all the forces under the immediate orders of the king. The boats brought from Pegu were useless; they could effect nothing against the ships. And provisions could not be kept from entering the city, so that the garrison could not be starved. The king of Mut-ta-ma being encouraged by the foreigners would not submit. Meng-ta-ra Shwé-hti, however, succeeded in drawing to his side the governor of Maulamyaing (Maulmain), and through his assistance he had several large rafts of timber constructed, which were piled high with dry bamboos. These were made ready up the river and set afloat to drift down with the tide. When completely on fire, they were directed to where the ships lay, and amidst the great confusion which ensued, three large and four small vessels were burnt. While this was going on, the land army assaulted and took the city. Immense plunder was taken, which the soldiers were allowed to keep, the king only reserving for himself munitions of war. All who resisted or had arms, were killed, but the king by proclamation forbade the soldiers to kill the men of rank. The governor Tsau-bi-nyga, was taken prisoner, and appointed to be governor of Myoung-mya; and the other nobles of the city received what was appropriate. The governor of Maulamyaing was liberally rewarded. He swore allegiance to Meng-ta-ra Shwé-hti, and was confirmed in his previous government of the country, east of the Salwín river. Care was taken to have guards placed on the frontier, to watch Zim-may and Siam.

Having made these arrangements, the king returned to Han-thá-wa-tí (Pegu), where he was solemnly consecrated king of his new dominions. The city now received some additions to make the fortifications more complete.

When Meng-ta-rá Shwé-hti left Toung-ú, Meng-rai-thing-ga-thú, the father of Bhureng NOUNG, had been appointed governor. The king regarding him as his own father, gave him the title of king, with regalia and a palace. He was thenceforth known as Meng-rai Thí-ha-thú, tributary king of Ke-tu-ma-tí.

In the year 903, Meng-ta-rá Shwé-hti proceeded with a great retinue to Da-gun, made rich offerings, and crowned the building with

a kingly crown. Having feasted the clergy and laity, he returned to Han-thá-wa-tí, and informed Bhureng NOUNG that he would march to Prome after the month Tha-den-gwyut (October), and charged him to make all the necessary preparations. A large army and fleet of boats were prepared, including some boats armed with guns. The city of Pegu was left in charge of Tha-do-dham-má Rá-dzá, brother of Bhureng NOUNG, and Thet-shé-kyau-hteng. The whole of the war arrangements were under the direction of Bhureng NOUNG, and the army moved by land and water from the city of Pegu in the month Ta-tsoung-mun (November).

In the meantime, Meng KhOUNG, king of Prome, was exerting himself to resist the formidable force which had been gathered against him. Tho-han-bwá, king of Ava, felt that his own safety depended upon supporting Prome. He collected an army, and supported by the Tsau-bwás of Un-boung, Mo-meit, and Mo-nhyin, marched down to Prome. The king of Arakan also having been applied to for help, sent a land column across the hills from Than-dwai (Sandoway) under his brother; while another force was sent by sea, round Cape Negrais to penetrate up the Bassein river, and so cause a diversion.

Meng-ta-rá Shwé-htí having reached Prome with his fleet and army, remained at a little distance to avoid loss from the guns. Hearing that the king of Ava, with the northern Shans, was moving down, he sent half of his army to the northern side of the city under Bhureng NOUNG, who suddenly attacked them about one march distant from the city. They were completely routed, the guns of Bhureng NOUNG doing great execution. The Shan army fled to Ava, and there the Tsau-bwás proposed making an attack on Toung-ú, but nothing was done, and they returned to their own countries.

The city of Prome was closely invested, but was too strong to be taken quickly. A letter was now intercepted from the brother of the king of Arakan to the king of Prome announcing his arrival, and that he was about five marches distant. A feigned reply was once sent together with guides, and Bhureng NOUNG was despatched with a force to attack the Arakanese army. Taken by surprise, they were defeated and utterly dispersed, being only saved from destruction by the hilly country, which favoured their flight. The son of the king

of Arakan who had come with the boats by sea, hearing of the defeat of his uncle, returned home. The king of Prome being thus left entirely to his own resources, and the citizens and soldiers suffering from want of food, at length surrendered in the month Na-gun 904 (June 1542, A. D.). King Meng Khoung with his queen and concubines were sent to Toung-ú. Tha-do-dham-má Rá-dzá, one of the brothers of Bhureng Noung, was made tributary king of Prome, being invested with the usual regalia. Meng-ta-rá Shwé-htí having made arrangements for the government of the country, placed garrisons in such places as required protection, and returned to Háu-tha-wa-tí. A number of the nobles, officers and soldiers of Prome, were brought away.

At Ava, the defeat of king Tho-han-bwá had increased his difficulties. His Shan followers had always been hated by the Burmese, whom they cruelly oppressed. In the palace there were both Shan and Burmese guards. The Shan officers had long wished to clear the palace of all Burmese. The latter depended upon Meng-gyí Rau-noung, who supported their interests. The wicked character of Tho-han-bwá caused him to be hated, and facilitated a conspiracy against his life. While he was living at a summer palace, the Burmese nobles and guards were suddenly set upon and killed, and the king himself was seen no more. This occurred the month before Prome was surrendered. This king's character is thus drawn in the Ma-há Rá-dzá-weng: "He was of a cruel and savage disposition. He "spared not men's lives. He respected not the three treasures. "Pagodas, he used to say, are not the Phrá, but merely fictitious "vaults in which the Burmese deposit gold, silver, and jewels; so he "dug into and rifled those shrines of their treasures. The Phun- "gyis too, he used to say, having no wives and children, under "pretence of gathering disciples, collect guards round them, ready "to rise in rebellion. So he built a number of sheds on the plain of "Toung-ba-lú, and pretending to do honour to the Phun-gyís, invited "all those round Ava, Tsagaing, and Pán-ya to a feast. Then sur- "rounding them with an army, he had them all slaughtered. He then "seized all the books in their monasteries, and had them burnt. But "some of the Shans had pity on the Phun-gyís, and many thus "escaped to Prome and Toung-u. More than three hundred and "sixty were killed, but more than a thousand escaped."

On the death of Tho-han-bwá, the Burmese wished Meng-gyí Ran-noung to become king. But he refused, and recommended them to choose the Tsau-bwá of Ün-boung, named Khun-mhaing-ngai, who was a relation to the late king Shwé-nan-sheng Na-ra-pa-ti. The Tsau-bwá accepted the invitation, and came to Ava. He ascended the palace in the year 904. Ran-noung became chief minister; but after about a year, wearied with worldly affairs, he became a Ra-hán in the province of Mek-kha-rá. Khun-mhaing-ngai determined to attack the new king of Prome. He was supported by seven powerful Tsau-bwás, and in the month Nat-dau 905 (November 1543), they proceeded by land and water against that city. The tributary king of Prome, Tha-do-dham-má Rá-dzá, had no force sufficient to meet them in the field, so he shut himself up in Prome, which was well defended with guns. As soon as Meng-ta-rá Shwé-hti heard of this attack, he came to the rescue with a large army. The Shans were defeated near Prome, and Bhureng Noung followed them up the river Irawáti, as far as the city of Pu-gán, which was captured. Governors were appointed to all the provinces which were occupied above Prome, and having made such arrangements for future security as seemed advisable, Meng-ta-rá Shwé-hti returned to Pegu, which he reached in the month Wa-goung 906 (August 1544, A. D.)

The governors who had been appointed to Tsa-leng and other districts, had desultory fighting with the officers of the king of Ava. But the confusion among the northern Tsau-bwás became daily worse. The son of the Tsau-bwá of Mo-nhyin, named Tsa-lun-ngai, leagued with Kyau-hten, who had been governor of Tsa-leng, and enabled him to take possession of Tsa-gaing, where he set himself up as king in the year 907. In the same year died Khun-mhaing-ngai after a reign of three years. He was succeeded by his son, who had been Tsau-bwá of Mo-byé. He took the title of Na-ra-pa-ti. This king did not join with his kinsmen, the Shan chiefs, but entered into friendly relations with Meng-ta-rá Shwé-hti. He strove also to conciliate the ruler of Tsa-gaing, Kyau-hteng. This ruler urged on by the Tsau-bwá of Mo-nhyin, named Tsa-lun, gradually collected forces with the view of attacking Ava. His measures were complete by the year 913 (A. D. 1551), when he had a large force and a fleet, to cross the river and attack Ava. The king Mo-byé-meng, however,

would not wait an attack. He fled from his palace, and took refuge with Bhureng NOUNG, who then had succeeded Meng-ta-rá Shwé-htí. The Tsa-gaing chief Kyau-hteng now took undisputed possession of Ava, and ascended the throne in the year 913.

We must now relate the events which had occurred in the kingdom of Pegu since Meng-ta-rá Shwé-htí returned there from Prome in the year 906. That king now turned his attention to settling the internal affairs of his kingdom. He beautified the capital, and built monasteries and other religious works. He adopted several of the customs and the dress of the former Talaing royal family. In the year 907, he was solemnly consecrated as king, having a crown like that used by the Talaing kings, but with all other paraphernalia like those formerly used by the Burmese and Talaing kings. Meng-rai-Thi-ha-thú, the king of Toung-ú, was present at this ceremony; and his son Bhureng NOUNG appeared as Ein-shé-meng or Crown-Prince. All the nobles received magnificent presents from the bounty of the king, and the whole kingdom was full of joy.

About this time the king of Arakan died, and his son U-ba-Rá-dzá succeeded him. His brother, who was governor of Than-dwai (Sandoway), was discontented. He came with presents to the king of Han-thá-wa-ti, and asked for assistance to gain the kingdom of Arakan. Meng-ta-rá Shwé-htí promised himself to go with an army. Both a land force and a fleet were put in motion in the month Ta-tshoung-mon 908 (November 1546, A. D.). The town of Than-dwai was occupied. The Arakanese retreated, and the Burmese army marched on to the capital city, Arakan. The king found the city too strong to be taken, but he entered into a negociation with Ma-há Dham-ma-rít, the king of Arakan, by which the king's uncle was recognized as governor of Sandoway. The king of Pegu then returned to his own country.

While he was in Arakan, the king of Siam had marched an army and taken possession of Dha-way (Tavoy). The king of Pegu ordered his officers to drive them out, and this having been done, he seriously meditated a march on Siam. Having assembled his army and made all preparations, he left the city of Pegu in the month of Ta-tshoung-mon 910 (November 1548, A. D.), and proceeded to Mut-ta-ma. All the arrangements as usual were under the direction

of Bhureng Nong. The army advanced with great difficulties and much fighting to the capital of Siam. The general, Bhureng Nong, was indefatigable in his exertions, and his son, a boy of thirteen years, greatly distinguished himself. But the capital city was most difficult to operate against, on account of the streams and water channels round it. The Kulá Pan-thé people also were there with ships and guns. Seeing that great delay would occur, and fearing a want of provisions, the king determined to retreat. Much fighting took place in effecting this. The son-in-law of the king of Siam had been taken prisoner in a skirmish. This led to negotiations, and according to the history, the king of Siam agreed to pay tribute. Two of his brothers were sent to the camp of Meng-ta rá Shwé-htí to enter into arrangements. The Siamese prisoners were released, and the Burmo-Talaing army retired. This expedition occupied five months.

The history now relates a curious incident in the life of Meng-ta-rá Shwé-htí, which appears to have had an evil influence upon him, and eventually led to his death. It is told as follows: "This powerful
"and wise king, by associating with a false heretical Kulá Ba-reng-gyí
" (Foreigner-Feringi) deviated from the virtuous conduct becoming
" a king. This Ku-la Ba-reng-gyí was the nephew of Peits-tsa-rit
" Meng, and had been sent with seven ships and one hundred larger
" vessels to attack Acheen. He took in guns, powder, and balls, at
" Ma-li-ka (Malacca), but was defeated by the Acheen chief and
" forced to retreat. He came to Muttama with a few vessels, and
" was made prisoner by the governor, who sent him to Meng-ta-rá
" Shwé-htí. The king soon became familiar with the youth, gave
" him a house to live in, and bestowed upon him in marriage one of
" the female attendants of the palace. This young woman, after
" having learnt how to prepare dishes, according to the Kulá method,
" was accustomed to present such eatables to the king. Not only that,
" but wine and sweet intoxicating drinks, were also presented, of
" which the king became very fond. At last the Kulá was wished to
" live in the palace. From constantly drinking these liquors the
" disposition of the king became changed from good to bad. He
" gave contradictory and absurd orders. He attributed wrong motives
" to innocent men, and ordered them to be put to death. At length

“Bhu-reng Nong with the concurrence of all the nobles, Shan, Burman, and Talaing, took the guidance of affairs into his own hands, and putting the nephew of Peits-tsa-rit into a ship, with his property, and giving him gold and silver, sent him away to the “Kulá country.” From this time Meng-ta-rá Shwé-htí had little more than nominal authority.

In the year 910, the father of Bhureng Nong who was king of Toung-ú died. His title was Meng-rai Thi-ha-thú. He was succeeded by one of his younger sons, and there was bestowed on him the title of Thi-ha-thú. He is also called Meng Khoung. Bhureng Nong having now become the virtual ruler, his descent is carefully traced in the history. On the father's side he was descended from Meng-khoung-ngai, who was governor of Toung-ú, and was killed in the year 813. This Meng-khoung-ngai was the son, or younger brother, of Ta-ra-bya who had also been governor of Toung-ú and who was of Shan descent. Bhureng Nong's mother was said to be descended from a half brother of Nga-tsí-sheng Kyau-tswá, king of Pán-ya. Bhureng Nong had two brothers, Meng-rai-tsí-thú, who afterwards became king of Mut-ta-ma; and Tha-do-dham-ma, who became king of Prome. There were also two sisters. After their mother's death, their father had married her younger sister, and had two sons by that marriage, Bhureng Meng Khoung, who became king of Toung-ú, and Meng-rai Kyau-hteng, called Tha-do-meng-tsau, who became king of Ava. The family was originally of Shan descent. Having been settled for three or four generations at Toung-ú, it had become Burmese in national feeling.

In the year 911, a son of Bi-nyya-ran, the deposed king of Pegu by an inferior wife, rebelled, and took the title of Tha-mein-htau-rá-ma. He got together a force, and took possession of the fort of Ma-kau. Bhureng-noung-dau without delay took measures against him. He was defeated and fled, but managed to gain possession of the fort of Than-lyeng (Syriam), and remained there secure. But he was soon obliged to abandon the place, when a force was brought against it, and fled to the westward. Bhureng Nong followed him up, and fixed his head quarters at Da-la. At this time the tributary king of Toung-ú, Thi-ha-thú was in charge of the city of Pegu. A Talaing nobleman, Tha-mein-tsau-dwut had been appointed go-

vernor of Tsit-toung (Sit-tang), but was now in charge of the palace and the royal person. The king Meng-ta-rá Shwé-hti was staying at a country palace, at a place called Pan-ta-rau. A report was spread of a white elephant having appeared, and the king was induced to go out into the jungal. Tha-mein-tsau-dwut now managed to send away those about the king on whom he could not depend, and at night in the month Ka-tshun 912 (May 1550, A. D.), he killed Meng-ta-rá Shwé-hti. He had reigned twenty years and was thirty-six years old. The chief Ra-hán performed his funeral rites, and collecting the bones, placed them in a golden vase, which he buried in an undefiled spot.

In the mean time, Tha-mein-tsau-dwut killed some of the nobles about the king; drew others to his side, and then withdrew to Tsit-toung, where he assumed the title of king. He took the title of Tha-mein-tsek-ka-wau. Bhureng Noung was at Da-la hunting down the followers of Tha-mein-htau-rá-ma in the difficult country of the delta. His younger half brother Thi-ha-thú called round him his followers, and marched from Pegu city to Toung-ú. Tha-mein-tsau-dwut at once occupied the city of Pegu. Tha-do-dham-má Rá-dzá, tributary king of Prome, changing his title to Tha-do-thú, declared himself independent. All the cities and districts at the Iráwati river beyond Prome as far as Pu-gán remained under their own governors. Bhureng Noung now consulted all the Shan, Talaing, and Burmese nobles who remained faithful to him. It was determined to march to Toung-ú as the place where Bhureng Noung could best collect his forces, and where he possessed most strength and influence. Whereas "Da-la in the midst of the Talaing country, was like a wasp's nest, into which the hand had better not be put." He immediately put himself in motion. His wife who was in the city of Pegu, managed to escape and joined him. When he arrived near Toung-ú, his brother Thi-ha-thú made no advances to him, but remained sullenly within the city. Bhureng Noung patiently waited in his camp watching events. At Pegu, the usurper Tha-mein-tsau-dwut did not long give satisfaction to the Talaing nobles. They therefore deposed him, and called in Tha-mein-htau-rá-ma who, by this time, had set himself up at Mut-ta-ma. These events induced several Shan chiefs, who did not wish to serve a Talaing king, to come with their

followers and join Bhureng Nong. Some chiefs also came to him from Toung-ú. At length he found himself strong enough to attack that city. But he was obliged to proceed to reduce it by starvation. At the end of four months, the city was surrendered; no plundering was allowed; his brother was pardoned, and Bhureng Nong was consecrated as king, with the title of Tsheng-phyú-myá-sheng Meng-ta-rá-gyí. His former title of Bhureng Nong will, however, be retained in this narrative.

The king now considered that his best plan was to make himself master of Prome, where another of his brothers was king. He marched his army across the hills from Toungú; but arrived on the banks of the Iráwati, he found himself at a loss for boats, while Tha-do-thú had a large fleet. The city was too strong to be attacked. The king therefore leaving it marched on to Mye-dai, which submitted, as did Ma-lwun and other cities higher up the river. There he gained a large addition to his army and a fleet of boats. He therefore returned to Prome, and re-invested the city. Some of the officers in command were now in communication with Bhureng Nong, and the city gates were opened to him. The king pardoned his brother Tha-do-dham-ma-Rá-dza, and he was reinstated as tributary king of Prome.* The whole country on the Iráwati, as far down as Dhanú-byú (Downebew), submitted to Bhureng Nong. It was now the year 913, and from the events which were occurring at Ava, the king of that city, Mo-byé-meng, had fled to take refuge. The king marched up the country, and penetrated nearly to Ava, which he intended to attack. But news reached him that preparations were being made to attack Toungú from Pegu. He lost not a moment, but marched back as far as Mye-dai. From thence he despatched his brother Meng-rai-kyau-hteng with a force across the hills, and himself proceeded down to Prome. There he collected an army to invade Pegu, of which his brother Tha-do-dham-má Rá-dzá was made commander-in-chief. He, however, marched to Toung-ú, taking Mo-byé-meng with him.

* The Ma-ha-Rá-dzá-weng wishes to make it appear that Tha-do-thú who held out Prome against Bhureng Nong, was not his brother, but some one else who assumed the name. I have considered it most consistent with the whole narrative to assume that Tha-do-thú was the brother, and that like the other brother at Toungú, his rebellion was pardoned.

At Toung-ú, he made all arrangements to march against Pegu, and left in the month Ta-gú 913 (April 1551). His brothers Meng Khoung and Meng-rai-kyau-hteng accompanied him. He defeated the Talaing usurper, Tha-mein-htau-rá-ma, entered the city of Pegu, and the Talaing nobles submitted to him. The Talaing usurper, after taking refuge at Pu-thein, fled from that place to Mut-ta-ma, and became a Ra-hán. Bhureng Nong who had followed him to Pu-thein, then returned to Pegu city, where he built a house on the site where he had formerly lived. He now took measures for settling the country, and called his brothers around him. These were Meng Khoung, Tha-do-dham-má Rá-dza, Meng-rai-kyau-hteng, and Meng-rai Tsí-thú. He repaired all the pagodas and monasteries which had been injured during the troubles, and made suitable offerings at the grave of Meng-ta-rá-Shwé-htí. His brother, Meng-rai Tsí-thú, was now made tributary king of Mut-ta-ma, and received the regalia. Tha-do-dham-má Rá-dza received regalia as tributary king of Prome. Meng Khoung received regalia as tributary king of Toungú. He rewarded munificently all his officers, Burman, Talaing, and Shan, and the country and the people began to be quiet and satisfied. In Mut-ta-ma, however, though the Talaing usurper had become a Ra-hán, and fled to the border of Siam, he again appeared, collected a few followers, and proclaimed himself king. He was again defeated, and after wandering about in the jungles, was taken in the month Ta-gú 914 (April 1552). He was put to death.

Bhureng Nong now called a council to consider and decide upon his future measures. He was careful to assemble round him his brothers and principal officers, Burmese, Talaing, and Shan. The council was in favour of a march upon Ava, to establish there the government of Bhureng Nong. An army and flotilla were collected, which moved by water from Pegu in the month of Wa-tsho 915 (July 1553). The command of this force was given to Ma-há U-bá-Rá-dzá, the king's son, but on account of his youth an officer of experience was sent, who was really responsible. This expedition would appear to have been intended rather to reconnoitre than to attack. The king of Ava, styled Tsa-gaing Tsí-thú Kyau hteng, had made great preparations to defend his capital. An army of Shans, chiefly from the country to the east of the upper Iráwatí, was stationed

close to the city. Another army composed of the contingents of the western Shans and other troops, was encamped at Ta-ruk-myo on the bank of the Iráwati, about fifty miles below the capital. The invading army on reaching Pu-gán heard such reports of the defensive measures that had been adopted, that the commanders considered it prudent to report to the king the state of affairs, and await further orders. The result was, that the army under Ma-há U-ba-Rá-dzá retired.

Bhureng Noung now made more strenuous exertions. He collected men and provisions from all parts of the wide territory subject to him. In Pegu and Martaban a vast number of war-boats, and vessels of every description as transports, were constructed and collected. While this work went on, the city of Pegu was improved and a palace built. In the month Wa-tsho of the year 916, the son and nephew of the king of Arakan came, and took refuge with Bhureng Noung. He received them with great favour. The former he married to the daughter of his brother Meng-rai-tsi-thú, king of Muta-ma, and gave him the title of Thí-ri-dham-má-thau-ka. The latter, named Sheng-rai-myo, he married to one of his own daughters, and gave him the city of Ta-mau for his support.

The whole of the arrangements for the invasion of Ava were now complete. The strength of the army and flotilla is stated to have been as follows: The flotilla was to proceed up the river Iráwati. It consisted of six hundred large boats and war-boats; three hundred lighter row boats; and of five hundred provision boats; one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers accompanied the flotilla, of whom a portion was distributed on board the boats; while the rest apparently marched from point to point to keep company with the flotilla. The water force was under the command of the tributary king of Prome, Thado-dham-má Rá-dzá.

The land column of the army of invasion is stated to have consisted of one hundred and eighty thousand soldiers, with eight hundred elephants, and nine thousand horses. This included a corps of four hundred Ku-lá soldiers, wearing caps, uniforms, and trowsers, and armed with muskets. Their place in the line of march was in front and rear of the royal elephant. This army, under the immediate command of Bhureng Noung marched from the city of Pegu in

the month Nat-dau 916 (November 1554). The flotilla had been despatched much earlier.

The following arrangements were made for the government during the king's absence. His son Ma-há U-ba-Rá-dzá was left in charge at the capital city of Pegu, with a faithful officer as his adviser. At Mut-ta-ma (Martaban), king Meng-rai-tsí-thu remained with a large force, on account of the neighbouring kings of Zimmay and Siam. The governor of Mau-la-myaing, Bi-ngya-ú, and other trustworthy officers were under this tributary king. Arrangements were also made towards the Pu-thein (Bassein) side to guard against any danger from Arakan.

Having thus provided for the safety of his southern kingdom, Bhureng Nong proceeded to carry out his plan for the subjugation of Ava. The whole army, other than that which accompanied the flotilla, marched direct north up the valley of the Poug-loung river to Toung-ú. The main body under command of Bhureng Nong marching as far as Ra-may-then, directed its march in a north-westerly direction, through Kyouk-pan-doung, until it debouched upon the Iráwati at Pu-gán. The rest of his army continued its march northerly for some distance. A corps was then detached to the left under the command of the king's brother Meng-rai-kyau-hten, which went to attack the fortified post of Peng-ta-lai. The remainder under the command of the tributary king of Toung-ú, Meng Khoung, continued its march direct towards Ava. After taking Peng-ta-lai, which made no resistance, Meng-rai-kyau-hten joined his brother, and they marched to a position somewhere in the neighbourhood of Myin-tsaing or Pán-ya, where they entrenched themselves, to await news of Bhureng Nong.

The king had so regulated his movements, that by the time he reached Pu-gán, the flotilla and army which accompanied it, were not far off. He now crossed his whole army to the west banks of the Iráwati, landing at Kwom in the district of Pa-khán-gyí. The army then marched up the western bank of the river and up the course of the Khyen-dweng to A-myín. A portion of the flotilla was also sent there, by which the army crossed that river. The governors of provinces everywhere submitted, and the king now marched to Tsa-gaing. The governor of that city had fled to Mo-

nhyin. The king here disposed his whole army and flotilla, and sent scouts across the river to communicate with his brothers Meng-rai-kyau-hten and Meng Khoung, and to fix a day for a combined assault upon the city of Ava.

These arrangements having been agreed upon, the two brothers advanced from their entrenchments towards the city. The king of Ava, Tsi-thu-kyau-hteng, came out to oppose them at the head of a Shan army. A battle ensued, in which the Ava Shans were worsted, and forced back into the city. The two brothers then entrenched themselves on the ground they had won. In the mean time Bhureng Nong was crossing the Iráwati to the Ava side. Arrived there with his whole army, and in communication with his brothers, the city of Ava, the people, and the garrison were enclosed like fish in a trap. A general assault was made. The soldiers by attacking the gates, by digging and by scaling the walls, at length took the city in the month Ta-bu-dwai 916 (March 1555). The king of Ava, Tsi-thú-kyau-hteng, had escaped from the city, hoping to join the Uu-boung Tsau-bwá, who was marching down with a force to support him. But he was taken prisoner and brought before Bhureng Nong. That great king having pity on him, at once provided for him a place where he might remain with his family and attendants. Afterwards he was sent to Pegu, and a handsome house suitable to his rank, with a pleasant garden, was provided for him at the city of Han-thá-wa-ti.

Bhureng Nong intending to remain for a time at Ava, built for himself a temporary house at Toung-ba-lú. His brother, Meng-rai-kyau-hten was made tributary king of Ava with the title of Tha-domeng-tsau. He received the usual regalia. Bhureng Nong with the dignity of Emperor in the wide dominions over which he ruled, began such measures as were necessary to secure his victory.

Observations.—The dynasties which reigned at Pu-gán throughout the long period of fourteen hundred years, had gradually declined from the powerful position which the monarchy held, during the reign of A-nau-ra-htá-tsau, in the eleventh century of the Christian era. The invasion by the Chinese, or Tartars, during the reign of Kublai Khan towards the end of the thirteenth century; the capture of the

capital, and the flight of the king to the southern provinces, completed the ruin of the kingdom. An immigration of Shans had long been going on—independently of the earlier arrival of people of that race in the upper Iráwati—into the country of the middle Iráwati. They had gradually acquired the influence due to their superior energy and intelligence. In the confusion which resulted from the destruction of the ancient monarchy, three brothers, leading men of Shan race, born in the country, who had risen to power under the native kings, gradually acquired independent authority. This authority probably did not extend in any direction over one hundred miles from Myin-tsaing as a centre. Before long, this Shan kingdom was separated into two states, one being established at Sagaing and one at Pán-ya. About fifty years later, these two states were absorbed, and a new dynasty was established at Ava in a position not far from the two former cities, by Meng-kyí-tswá, who professed to unite in his person, the claims of the three Shan brothers, and also of the ancient race of kings of Pu-gán. Ava indeed had been built in the year 1364 A. D. by Tha-do-meng-byá, who claimed to be descended from the ancient kings of Ta-goung; but he died without issue, and Meng-kyí-tswá was then called to the throne, as one who could rule in troublous times, and possessed what were acknowledged to be hereditary claims. While there seems to be no reason for doubting his descent from the sister of the three Shan brothers, his alleged direct descent from Kyau-tswá, the deposed king of P'u-gán, is probably an invention of aftertimes. However this may be, it is evident from the history that the whole power in the country which constituted the kingdom of Ava from A. D. 1364 until A. D. 1554, was held by Shans, or persons of Shan descent. The story of the finding of golden images by Meng-kyí-tswá at Meit-htí-lau, said to represent those who should reign in Burma of the race of the “Leng-dzeng kings of Siam,” shows that that king desired to be considered of Thai, rather than of Mrán-má or Burma race. The length of the reign of Meng-kyí-tswá, thirty-three years, enabled him to consolidate his power to some extent; to place a relative on the throne of Arakan, and to seek to extend his dominions by the conquest of Hantá-wa-ti or Pegu. The same object was striven after in the reign of his son Meng-khoung, and Pegu was invaded year after year, but

without success. The kings of Pegu at this time were no longer the old dynasty of Talaing race. The Shans from Zimmay and the adjoining states had occupied Martaban, and eventually succeeded to the throne of Pegu. These tribes of the Thai branch of the Indo-Chinese family, had been pouring down from their highlands by various routes through a long period of time. They gradually accomplished in the countries watered by the Iráwati and the lower Salwín, a plantation and revolution similar to what had been worked out by the north men, in the British islands, and on the coasts of Western Europe in the eighth and ninth centuries. Had it not been for the Muhammadan occupation of Bengal in the thirteenth century, it is probable that they would have penetrated into that country through Assam or Cachar.

The continued attacks made by the kings of Ava on Pegu, produced a counter invasion by Rá-dzá-di-rít, who nearly conquered Ava in the year 766, A. D. 1404. The possession of guns or jinjals at this time, with which Prome was defended, is mentioned; but it seems doubtful whether they can have been known in Burma at this period.

The successful attack on Ava in the year 788, A. D. 1426, by the Shan chief of Mo-nhyin, renewed the Shan race and spirit in the kings of Ava. But the monarchy was weakened. From this time for more than a century, the kings of Ava were rather the heads of a loose confederation of Shan chiefs, whose states lay to the north of Ava on either side of the Iráwati, than sovereigns of a Burmese kingdom. One curious result of this state of affairs was, that the rulers of the petty state of Toung-ú, originally Shan by race, gradually became identified with the national or Burmese party. This afterwards led to important results. The rulers of Toungú, more isolated from Shan influence than the Tsau-bwás to the north, became in fact Burmese. The character and conduct of the Shan chiefs, as disclosed in this history, entirely corresponds with the Tsau-bwás of the Shan country, of the present day. Each chief in his own state, which, in some instances, is but a few square miles in extent, is jealous of the least interference; and they have not yet learnt to combine for their general safety, except on sudden emergencies, when they rise in rebellion against the Burmese.

In the country of Toungú we have seen that the ruler Meng-kyí-nygyo, who died in the year A. D. 1530, had reigned for forty-five years. During that period, while Ava was a prey to disorder, he had maintained his independence, and gradually increased his power. His son Meng-ta-rá Shwé-htí commenced his persevering attacks upon Pegu, overthrew that kingdom, and after a surprising career was assassinated at the early age of thirty-six years. It might have been anticipated, that here would have ended the fortune of the rulers of Toungú. But Bhureng Noug, the general of Shwé-htí, with wonderful enterprise, crushed all opponents, and combining the power of Toung-ú, of Pegu and of Prome, accomplished the designs of Shwé-htí by conquering Ava and the north. This he effected with a mixed army of Talaings, Burmese, and Shans; and though subduing the country where the Burmese people were probably more numerous than elsewhere, he claimed to represent the Burma race.

A future chapter will describe the remarkable career of this ruler; and the empire which he founded, extending from near the Burhamputra river to the Mekhong, or great river of Cambodia. The dealings both of Meng-ta-rá Shwé-htí and of Bhureng Noug with the Portuguese, who, with their Muhammadan followers, are styled Ba-reng-gyi and Pan-thé, the latter word apparently a corruption of Farsi, may also be illustrated from European sources.

Memorandum.—The accompanying lists, Nos. 1 and 2, contain the names of the kings of Burma, who reigned contemporaneously at Myintsaing, Pán-ya, and Tsagaing. The list No. 3 contains the names of the kings of Burma who reigned at Ava from the foundation of that city, until it was conquered by Bhureng Noug in the year 1555 A. D. The whole period of the reigns contained in the three lists, amounts to 257 years, or from A. D. 1298 to A. D. 1555. By the Burmese reckoning, as Ava was captured by Bhureng Noug in the month of March, before the current year 916 had been completed, there will appear by that reckoning one year less for the whole period than is shown according to the European Calendar.

No. 1.
List of Kings of Burma of Shan race who succeeded the Pu-gán Kings and reigned at Myin-tsaing and Pán-ya.

No.	NAMES OF KINGS.	COMMENCEMENT OF REIGN.		LENGTH OF REIGN.	Relation-ship to preceding King.	REMARKS.
		Burmese era.	A. D.			
	A-theng-kha-yá, Rá-dzá-theng-gyan, Thi-ha-thú Ta-tsi-sheng, } 1 Thi-ha-thú Ta-tsi-sheng,	660	1298	14	...	Three brothers of Shan race, who usurped authority, and governed with equal power.
2	U-za-ná, ...	674	...	10	...	The youngest brother, reigned alone at Pán-ya.
3	Ngá-tsi-sheng Kyau-tswá,	684	...	20	...	Son of Kyau-tswá, the deposed king of Pu-gán, adopted by No. 1.
4	Kyau-tswá, ...	704	...	8	Half brother.	Son of Thi-ha-thú Ta-tsi-Sheng.
5	Na-ra-thú, ...	712	...	9	Son.	
6	U-za-ná byoung, ...	721	...	5	Brother.	
6	U-za-ná byoung, ...	726	1364	8 m.	Brother.	Dethroned by Tha-do-meng-bya, A. D. 1364.

No. 2.
List of Kings of Shan race who reigned at Tsagaing contemporaneously with the Kings of Pán-ya.

No.	NAMES OF KINGS.	COMMENCEMENT OF REIGN.		LENGTH OF REIGN.		Relation-ship to preceding King.	REMARKS.
		Burmese era.	A. D.	Years.	Years.		
1	A-theng-kha-yá Tsau Ywon, ...	677	1315	7	...	...	This prince was the son of Thi-ha-thú Ta-tsi-sheng, who reigned at Myin-tsaing and Pán-ya.
2	Ta-ra-bya-gyí, ...	684	...	14	...	...	Stepson of Thi-ha-thú Ta-tsi-sheng.
3	Shwé-doung-tet, ...	698	...	3	Son.	...	
4	Kya-tswá, ...	701	...	10	Son of No. 1.	...	
5	Nau-ra-hiá Meng-rai, ...	711	...	7 months.	Brother.	...	This prince was driven from Tsagaing by an army of northern Shans and put to death by his stepson Tha-do-meng-bya in the year 726, = A. D. 1364.
6	Ta-ra-bya-ngai, ...	711	...	3	Brother.	...	
7	Meng byouk Thi-ha-pa-té, ...	714	...	12	Brother-in-law.	...	

No. 8.
List of the Kings of Burma from the foundation of the City of Ava.

No.	NAMES OF KINGS.	COMMENCEMENT OF REIGN.		LENGTH OF REIGN.	Relation-ship to preceding King.	REMARKS.
		Burmese era.	A. D.			
1	Tha-do-meng bya, ...	726	1364	3	...	Founder of the City of Ava. This king, said to be descended from the ancient kings of Tagoung, was on his mother's side grandson of Atheng-kha-yá Tsau-ywon, the Shan king of Tsa-gaing.
2	Meng kyí Tswá Tsau-kai or Ta-ra-byá, ...	729	...	33	...	Elected to the throne as a descendant of the kings of Pu-gan, and of the family of the three Shan brothers.
3	Tsheng-phyú Sheng, Ta-ra-byá, ...	762	...	7 months.	Son.	
4	Pyin-tsing-meng-tswé, or Meng Khoung, ...	763	...	21	Brother.	
5	Thi-ha-thú, Taheng-phyú-Sheng,	784	...	4	Son.	
6	Meng-hla-ngai, ...	...	...	3 months	Son.	
7	Ka-lé kyé-toung-nyo, ...	...	...	7 months.	...	Usurper.
8	Mo-nhyin Meng-ta-rá or Meng-nan-tsi, ...	788	...	13	...	A chief of Shan descent, who enforced his claim to the throne, as a descendant of the kings of Pu-gan, and of the family of the three Shan brothers.

No. 3.—(Continued.)

No.	NAMES OF KINGS.	COMMENCEMENT OF REIGN.		LENGTH OF REIGN.	Relation-ship to preceding King.	REMARKS.
		Burmese era.	A. D.			
9	Meng-rai-kyan-tswá, ...	801	...	3	Son.	
10	Thi-ha-thú or Bhureng Na-ra-pa-ti, ...	804	...	26	Brother.	
11	Ma-há-thi-ha-thú-ra, ...	830	...	12	Son.	
12	Thi-ri-thu-dham-má Rá-dzá-dhi-pa-ti, or Dutí-ya Meng Khoung, Má-há Rá-dzá, Dhi-pa-ti, or Shwé-nan-sheng, Nara-pa-ti ...	842	...	21	Son.	
13	...	863	...	25	Son.	
14	Tho-han-bwá, ... *	888	...	16	...	Killed by Tho-han-bwá who succeeded to the throne.
15	Khun-mhaing-ngai, ...	904	...	3	...	Son of Tsa-lun, the Shan chief of Mo-nhyin, who conquered Ava. Shan chief of Un-boung, who was elected king. He was related to Shwé-nan Sheng.
16	Mo-byé-meng Na-ra-pa-ti, ...	907	...	6	Son.	Abdicated.
17	Tsa-gaing Tsi-thú-kyau-hteng Nara-pa-ti, ...	913	1561	3	...	A chief of Shan descent, who seized the throne. Conquered and deposed by Bhu-reng Noug.

The District of Lúdiána.—By T. W. Tolbort, Esq., C. S.

[Received 17th May, 1869.]

The following article is one of a series which the contributor has written, or purposes to write, descriptive of different districts in the Panjáb. Most of the information it contains, has been derived from local sources. Much is legendary or trivial; but the writer in pursuing his own studies, has found the want in each district of a basis on which to commence historical or scientific inquiries; and it is to supply such a basis, however meagre or deficient in scholarship, that he proposes to publish the series of papers referred to.

Excluding topics of purely official or administrative interest, we shall find it convenient to arrange our account of the Lúdiána district under two headings. 1, Natural Features. 2, History and kindred topics.

1.—NATURAL FEATURES.

The Lúdiána district is the most westerly of the three which form the Cis-Sutlej or Ambála division.

It is bounded by Ambála on the east, by Firozpur on the west, by Patialá and other native territories on the south, and by the district of Jalandhar, from which it is separated by the river Satlaj on the north. The soil is sandy, yielding a rich crop of cereals and of grain, but is not so fertile for sugar cane and fruit trees, as in the neighbouring district of Jalandhar. The aspect and area of the district, have been much modified by a change in the course of the river Satlaj, which formerly flowed by the Lúdiána fort, but is now six miles to the westward. The old bank of the river forms a ridge the whole length of the district, and a small offshoot of the river called the Búddha Náláh still flows in the deserted bed. The Lúdiána district does not produce either mangoes or dates, but there is much to interest in its flora, and the writer regrets that he is not competent to give a detailed and accurate account of its botanical features. Some information on the subject may be found in a paper by Mr. Edgeworth, Vol. VII. of the Asiatic Society's Journal, page 751, and a short subsequent paper in Vol. XI., page 26. The Lúdiána district appears nearly to coincide with what Mr. Edgeworth in the papers referred to, terms the "phalahi" tract. The

principal trees are the kíkar, pípál, jand, sissú, sirras, mulberry, bher phalahi, tamarisk, baklair (bakáin, *Melia sempervirens*).

There are a few fine banyans scattered at intervals. There are a few jámans (*syzygium jambolanum*) at Lúdiána itself, but I have not seen any elsewhere in the district. At Máchiwára and at Bhilolpúr, in the north-east of the district, are a few impoverished mangoe trees, and there are some at Lúdiána itself, but they bear no fruit; in the neighbouring zillahs Jálandhar, Hoshiárpúr, and Ambála, they come to perfection. One of the most common trees in the belt or low land along the river, is called the pílkan. Near Pakhowál is a remarkable grove of keham trees, respecting which the tradition is current that they can never be counted, no two visitors giving the same tale, although apparently the number is small. The bakáin is a well known tree of ready growth, but of no great ability for timber. It is a species of *Melia* (*sempervirens*), and consequently akin to the Ním, possessing some of the medical virtues for which the latter is so famed. Its leaves are long and pointed, like those of the Ním, and its fruits are about the size and shape of marbles. Akin to the bakáin, with similar fruit but with leaves somewhat broader, is the Dek, which I find in Forbes Watson under the botanical name of the Ním, though it appears to be a different species from the well known tree of Hindustan. Next to the irrepressible kíkar, the most characteristic tree in this district is the "řerú," which I cannot find in Forbes Watson, but which Edgeworth describes hesitatingly as *Acacia leucophlæa*. Its foliage is darker than the common kíkar. It is common on the western, or Fírozpúr, side of the district, and is rare on the eastern side.

With regard to smaller shrubs and herbs, some make their appearance with the Kharíf after the autumn rains, and others with the Rabí, in spring, while many remain during the whole year. In the neighbourhood of Khanah, a nettle-like plant with large bright green leaves and white flowers, which covers all the lower hills, is common, but it is not found in those parts of the district from the Himalayas. It is called by the natives "basúta"; but this is a word used very generally and vaguely. While this plant is found only in the west of the district, the "karil" (*capparis decidua* ?), so characteristic of the Multán desert, is confined to the eastern half, becoming more com-

mon as the Firozpúr boundary is approached, but nowhere so abundant as in the Multán division. In the neighbourhood of Máchiwára, I have noticed numerous clusters of a shrub 5 or 6 feet high, called "Samálú." It seems always to grow in such clusters, forming a natural kind of hedge or coppice; I have not seen detached shrubs. The leaves are in triplets with two smaller below. They are long and narrow at both ends, darker above and whitish beneath. I believe, this is the *Vilex trifolia*.

But the three shrubs abovenamed, are not in any sense characteristic of the district. Much more common are the following. The bher, a species of *Zizyphus* or jujube, is almost as general as the kikar tree. Many parts of the country are covered with a smaller shrub like the bher, and I presume also a species of *Zizyphus*. This is called "jhári." Its small leaves, mixed with white *bhúsa*, are given as food to oxen. Of course the omnipresent "ák" or "madar" is found in abundance here as everywhere else. Royle has devoted two or three pages of his book on the fibrous plants of India to the economical uses of this plant, *Calotropis gigantea* and *Hamiltonii*. So far as this district is concerned, I believe the only use made of it is to apply the milky juice externally to stings or parts suffering from rheumatism. Its soft but pungent down makes an admirable stuffing for pillow-cases.

Besides the Ák, there are three weeds, which deserve separate mention from their abundance. First the "chúris roz." This shoots up during the autumn rains in every field. In the winter, the stalk becomes dry, contrasting in colour with the small tuft of canes at its base. At this time, the flower spike, when rubbed, gives out a very pleasing cinnamon-like scent. This, no doubt, is a species of *Andropogon*. Another troublesome weed goes by the name of "piyázi," on account of its resemblance to the onion. The leaves and stalk are like those of an onion, but it has no smell, nor does it seem to produce a bulb. The flowers which grow in a spike, are small and pretty, bell-shaped, white in colour with light brown stripes. This weed is a constant intruder in the corn fields.

There is a third very common leguminous weed, which seems to bear several names, among which are "máhá" and "malúla." It looks like a wild vetch. Between Samrálá and Máchiwára, and

also in many other parts of the district, the ground is covered with it. It is used as fuel by the gram roasters. The "ákás bel" or dodder, *cuscula reflexa*, which is common on the Jálandhar side of the river, looking very pretty as it covers the hedge-rows with a yellow, silk-like net, is also found here, but is not so common. The cactus which makes the favourite hedgerow in the Jálandhar Duáb, does not come to perfection here. "Aliya" and "henna" succeed better.

I may add to my list of common weeds easy of identification, the "itsit" (*trianthema pentandra*), a creeping plant which spreads over the ground; the "bhakhra" or "gokrú" (*pedalium murex*) also recumbent, the fruit of which is used by the natives for gonorrhœa, the "hulhul" (*cleome viscosa?*) of which the seeds possess anthelmintic and other virtues, and the "pápá" or "sháhbra," which is used for cutaneous diseases and is, I believe, the "*Fumaria officinalis*," or fumitory.

Of course this is by no means an exhaustive list of the Lúdíána flora. There are many plants that I know by their native, but not by their scientific names; and doubtless there are many more which have not come under my observation at all. The garden plants are the same as those cultivated elsewhere in the Panjáb and North-West.

2.—HISTORY.

Doubtless the province of Sarhind, through which the classical Saraswatí flowed, and which was the scene of so many struggles for empire in Muhammadan times, possessed historical interest from the very dawn of Brahmanical religion; yet the traces of ante-Musalmán civilization are few. There are extensive ruins of undoubted antiquity at a small village called Sunet, about four miles from Lúdíána on the Fírozpúr road. The settlement report speaks of it as an old Rájput city, said to have been renowned throughout Hindustan for its size and splendour. Coins and large old bricks with figures on them, are constantly dug up from its remains.

The most common impression on the bricks is that of three or four fingers of the human hand. There are no standing ruins; but broken bricks are found on the surface for a great distance, and excavations beneath what are now corn fields, uncover walls and floors of brick

so extensive, that for centuries past they have supplied Lúdiána with much of its building material. People say, that the masonry work is mostly upside down, the smooth and marked side of the bricks which one would expect to find uppermost, being on the contrary downwards. This may perhaps indicate that Sunet was overthrown by some sudden convulsion of nature, perchance an earthquake, and the popular traditions are in accordance with this supposition. I have been unable to trace the authentic history of Sunet, but the story of its fall, a mixture of Hindú and Muhammadan fable is as follows: There was once a king at Sunet, named Rájá Mauj Gend or Panwár, who treated his subjects with great violence and cruelty. This king was afflicted with an ulcer, and was told that human flesh would do it good. So an order went forth to bring him a human being, as occasion required, from each household.

One day it so happened, that it was the turn of a brahman widow, who had an only child, ten years of age. The myrmidons of the tyrant came to carry off the child, when its mother's tears moved the sympathy of a holy man, Sháh Qutb, by name. He, after a vain attempt to turn away the soldiers, swore that they should never see their homes again, and so it happened. They turned towards Sunet, but both Sunet and its rájá had disappeared from the face of the earth.

Next to Sunet, the town of most undoubted antiquity is Máchíwára. There is a local tradition that a woman named Machodrí, the grandmother of the Pándavas, founded it. I do not find any mention of Machodrí in Talboys Wheeler's book. The paternal grandmother of the Pándavas was a daughter of the Rájá of Kásí. Of the maternal grandmother nothing is said. The mother bore the name of Mádrí. Of her, Talboys Wheeler writes—

“Mádra is the ancient name for Bhootan, and there seems some reason for believing that Mádrí belonged to one of the mountain tribes occupying the southern slopes of the Himálayas, but probably much further to the westward than the country of Bhootan.” This is not inconsistent with the story that Máchíwára may have been founded by some ancestor of the Pándavas; but these myths are too vague and various to be of any historical use.

Another tradition connects the name Máchiwára with that of some Rájá Machhandar. It is much more probable that the word simply means "the fisherman's village," *máchhí* being the word for *fish*. There are several other villages on the Satlaj and on other rivers, bearing names either identical or nearly so. Whether we adopt a simple or a far-fetched etymology, the antiquity of Máchiwára is undisputed. Besides Sunet and Máchiwára, there is reason to believe that a third town, Tihára, was of importance in pre-Islamic times.

But if the etymology given by Edgeworth be correct, the name Tihára will appear comparatively modern, being used to denote the low land by the river, which paid one-third of the produce as revenue while the "Chauhára" tract only paid a quarter, and the "Pachdie" two-fifths.

The settlement report states: "There are traces of the town having become a ruin previous to the general Muhammadan invasion of India, in consequence of the internal feuds either of the Rájputés or of some other Hindu race with theirs."

The settlement report refers to some Rájá Biroyt as governor of Tihára about the time of Rái Pithora, when Shiháb-uddín Ghorí invaded India; and to a Rájá Shámí, a Gaisí Rájput as ruler of Bhilolpúr; but the dominant tribe of Rájputés in the neighbourhood of Sunet seems to have been the "Punwárs."

Alexander never touched the Lúdiána district. His encampment on the Hyphasis or Satlaj was probably below its junction with the Beyás opposite Fírozpúr, and as no special mention is made of any important nation on the left bank of the Satlaj, we may presume that the Lúdiána district was included in those *vastæ solitudines* which arrested the Macedonian's progress.

The history of the district in Muhammadan times is, as might have been expected, much more detailed and authentic. It was a portion of the province of Sarhind, which was ever the battle ground of Muhammadan India. But to give a detailed history of the province is not our object, we merely select special allusions to the district itself.

For many years after the invasion of Taimúr, the banks of the Satlaj appear to have been the scene of a succession of struggles with various lawless tribes. First, we find mention of Turks under Malik Toghán, then of an impostor who appeared near Máchiwára,

and falsely gave himself out as Sárang Khán, the deceased viceroy of Multán, lastly of the Gakkhars under a famous chief named Jasrat. The city of Lúdiána owes its origin and name to the Lodis, and its early history is thus given in a local account. The country was overrun by Beloches (?). The cultivators represented the matter to the emperor Sikandar Lodí, who sent two generals, Yúsuf Khán and Nihang Khán, also Lodis, to punish the marauders. They encamped near the site of the present fort where, in those days, there was a village called Marhotá. Having driven out the Beloches, they heard that the Gakkhars were plundering on the north side of the river. So Yúsuf Khán crossed the river, subdued the Gakkhars, and founded the city of Sulṭánpúr (now in Kapurthalla territory), where he settled. Meanwhile Nihang Khán remained at Marhotá, to which he gave the name Lúdiána. He was followed by his son Mahmúd Khán, and the latter by Jalál Khán, who built the first Lúdiána fort with Sunet bricks. Jalál Khán had two sons, Haibat Khán and Ṭáhir Khán. The latter died without offspring, the former left two sons Alú Khán and Khiḍr Khán. It was in their time that Bábar overthrew the Lodi dynasty of Delhi. Members of the Lodi family continued to reside at Lúdiána and Bhilolpúr after the downfall of their empire; but there is a tradition that they were massacred in Akbar's time; at any rate no descendants of the family are now to be found. Their tombs and other buildings, which were once a prominent feature near the fort and perhaps in the direction of the European residences, are now levelled with the ground.

In the beginning of 1555, a great battle was fought at Máchíwára, doubtless the town so called in the Lúdiána district. The battle is thus described by Farishta.

“Sikandar Sháh Súr in the meantime had ordered Tátár Khán and Habib Khán with an army of thirty or forty thousand horse, from Dehli against Humáyún. Notwithstanding the great superiority in number of this force, Bairám Khán Turkmán resolved to hazard an action, and having advanced boldly to meet the Indian army, pitched his camp on the banks of the Satlaj at the town of Máchíwára. It being cold weather, the Indian Afgháns kindled great fires of wood in their camp at night, of which Bairám Khán took advantage, and crossed the river with a thousand chosen horse. He now advanced to their

camp without being discovered, when he began to to gall those who crowded round the fires with arrows, which threw them into disorder. The Afgháns (notorious for blundering), instead of extinguishing their fires, which prevented them from seeing their enemies, who had a fair view of them, threw on more wood; and the whole of Bairám Khán's army having crossed the river, fell upon them on all sides, and routed them. The Afgháns, on this occasion, lost all their elephants, their baggage, and a number of horses. Bairám Khán sent the elephants to Humáyún at Láhor, and remaining encamped at Máchíwára, he dispersed detachments in all directions, and occupied all the country up to the walls of Dihlí. The king was greatly rejoiced, when he heard of this victory, and conferred on Bairám Khán the title of Khán Khánán."

In the *Aín i Akbarí*, three mahals are named, which are still included in the modern district. They are, Lúdiána itself with a revenue of 2,294,933 dáms; Tihára, 7,850,809 dáms; and Máchíwára, 653,552 dáms. Each of these is described as having a brick fort. The dám in Akbar's time was the fortieth part of a rupee.

During the supremacy of the Moguls, Lúdiána is seldom mentioned in history, but before referring to subsequent events, we will give a short account of a distinguished Rájput family known as the Ráis, who have at times been more or less influential in this neighbourhood. The account is furnished by one of themselves.

About the year 1308, Sumbat, there was a Rájá of Jaisalmír and Bhatnír, named Dulchí Rám or Bersí. His ancestor, Rájá Mokal, had built a fort called after himself, where Farídkot now is. Mokal's servants inadvertently seized the famous saint Faríd-uddín Shakarganj, whose shrine is still at Pák Pallan, and compelled him to labour. On discovering the saintly character and miraculous powers of his workman, Rájá Mokal called the city by his name, Farídkot. Dulchí Rám had a son, Tulsí Dás, who came in the direction of the Panjáb, to see Farídkot. At that time Sayyid Makhdúm Jahániyán resided at Jaisalmír, and through his influence Tulsí Dás embraced Islám, and assumed the name of Shaikh Cháchú. So Shaikh Cháchú came as far as Hattúr, and colonised a village in the neighbourhood, called Chakar. Hattúr itself had been founded by a certain Rájá, Jagdeo Sing, and his descendant was at first hostile to the new-

comers, till mollified by Shaikh Cháchú, who subsequently took advantage of his presence at a wedding to murder him. Shaikh Cháchú then took possession of Hattúr. He had two sons, Pahrú and Nopál. The former remained in Hattúr, where an 'úlgáh, built by him, is still standing, while Nopál founded the village of Sháhjahánpúr, near Ráikot. Pahrú had two sons Rai Dalla and Rai Jaggú. They rented from 'Alá-uddín Ghorí (Khiljí?) the pergunahs of Tihára, &c., and received the title of Rái Raián. At that time, their possession extended from Fírozpúr to Máchíwára, and, as their descendants are fond of saying, comprised 1360 villages. They also acquired some villages on the other side of the Satlaj. Among these was one named Dalla (after the founder Rai Dalla), near Sultánpúr in Kapúrhalla. The village still bears his name. Rái Dalla had a son Rái Kamál-uddín, who received the title Sultán for his military services in the south.

To enumerate all the branches of the Ráis would be a minute and profitless task. Many of the towns and villages in the Lúdiána district were founded or re-founded by them; some still bear names of individual members of the family; and others, as for instance Jagráon, Ráikot, and Talwandi Rái, have incorporated the word Rái itself. It is also said that many members of the family settled in other parts of India, even as far as Patna on the one side and the province of Gujrát on the other. One Rái Kulla colonised Talwandi Rái in Sambat 1535. About Sambat 1600, another member of the family Fath Khán rebuilt Bassián, which had been in ruins before, and which went to ruin again after his death. A second Rái Kulla built Ráikot in Sambat 1643. Jagráon, at present the second commercial city in the district, was founded by another member of the family Kamál-uddín 1125, Hijrí. There are different derivations of the name Jagráon; some say that it means Jagah Raián, the place of the Ráis; but the more probable explanation is, that "Jag" was the name of a Rájput who preceded the Ráis, and that the two names are united in the word Jagráon. Omitting minute and unimportant family details, we come to Rái Kulla who, in Sambat 1743, threw off his allegiance to the emperor of Dihlí. 'Alí Muhammad Rohílá, governor of Sarhind, reduced him to submission for a time, but was then called off by the inroads of the Sikhs, and Rái Kulla established his independence. He died in Sambat 1826.

His son and successor, Rái Muhammad, died in S. 1850, leaving the inheritance in the hands of a child, Rái Ilyás. The Sikhs took advantage of his tender age, to appropriate Dharmkot and other portions of his dominions. In S. 1856, Bábá Sáhíb Sing Bedi of Una in the Hoshyarpúr district, and others pressing him hard, Rái Ilyás hired the assistance of the adventurer George Thomas, then ruler of HÁnsí, and known here as "Járj Sáhíb." Thomas got a lák of rupees for his services, and with his assistance the Sikhs were driven across the Satlaj. Three years after this, young Ilyás was out hunting in the bér, half way between Jagraón and Sidhúwan. He was holding a drawn sword, when suddenly his horse reared with him. He fell and ran the sword into his thigh, inflicting a mortal wound. His mother Rání Núr-unnisá then became chief of the Ráis ; but in S. 1863 and S. 1864, corresponding to A. D. 1806, and 1807, Ranjít Singh overran most of her dominions, leaving her only Ráikot itself. In A. D. 1831, Núr-unnisá died, and was succeeded by another lady, Rání Bagbari, widow of Ilyás. On her death, Ráikot lapsed to the British Government.

We now return to the general history of the district. The invading armies of Nádír Sháh, Ahmad Sháh Duráni, and the Mahrattas, must have frequently crossed the district, but have left few traces behind them. A local history states that Nádír Sháh, on some complaint being made, ordered a general massacre in Lúdiána. I am unable to say whether this is true or is merely a local version of the Delhi massacre. Ahmad Sháh Duráni gave Máchíwára and other portions of the district to Bhíkam Khán, Nawáb of Maler Kotla. The Maler Kotla family who are still sovereign princes, claim descent from a faqír, Hazrat Shaikh Sadr Jahán, disciple of Bahá-ul Haq, and this faqír is said to have been he who sold the empire of Delhi for 2000 dínárs to Bahlol Lodí.

The struggle for supremacy, between Sikh and Musalmán during the latter half of the eighteenth century was much more important in its permanent results than these invasions from Kábul, and it is much fresher in the memory of the people. This neighbourhood is classic ground in Sikh history. Máchíwára and Bhilolpúr were the scene of Guru Govind Singh's adventures and persecutions (see Macgregor's History, chapter V., pages 88 and 94), and Sarhind,

even in its desolation, is to every Sikh an accursed spot, as the city where the Guru's two sons were murdered. In 1762, a great battle was fought about twenty miles south of Lúdiána between Ahmad Sháh and the Sikhs, a battle in which the Sikhs were defeated with great slaughter, and which they still remember by the name of "Ghulú Ghára" (Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, pages 100-101). But in the following year the Sikhs gained as great a victory, sacked and destroyed Sarhind, and established their supremacy throughout the province. The Sodhis established themselves at Máchiwára; the Jágádrí, Jhínd, Nábah, and Patiálá chiefs in the south, and the Allhúwália family at Jagraón. Lúdiána itself was occupied for a time by Hindú Rájputés of the Halwára got. They were expelled and succeeded by the Ráis under Rái Kulla. During the rule of his successor, Rái Muhammad, in S. 1822, Nattu and Chúhar, his representatives in Lúdiána, repaired the fort, each mahalla of the city building a portion. For some years, they kept off the Sikhs by payment of black mail, but the neighbourhood was laid waste. When the plundering expeditions of the Sikhs were announced, a drum was sounded to give warning, and the people took refuge in the fort. The city was plundered over and over again, by Bhág Sing Bheriya, by the sardárs of Khánah, by Karm Singh Narmalla of Sháhábád, by Bhangá Sing of Thánesar, and others. On the death of Rái Muhammad and the accession of the child Rái Ilyás, the encroachments of the Sikhs became greater; but the thánahtár of the Ráis at Lúdiána, whose name was Husain, defended the city with great bravery. It was then that Bedí Sáhib Sing, already referred to, invaded the territory of the Ráis. He penetrated as far as Maler Kotla, destroying Maler itself, and profaning the shrine of Shaikh Jí. Most of the Jat zamindárs fraternised with him. At last, one night, the citizens of Lúdiána admitted the Bedí, while the Ráis retreated to the fort. Then it was that the Ráis applied to George Thomas, and by his assistance expelled the Bedí. To oppose Thomas, Lál Sing of Kaital and Bhág Sing of Jhínd applied to Perron, the well known French general in the Mahratta service. He sent a subordinate, whom the local history calls Loí Sáhib (probably Louis Bourquin), who defeated Thomas. But the Ráis found means to appease the conqueror, and were allowed to retain their dominions on pay-

ment of a nazrána. On the death of Rái Ilyás, his mother Núr-unnisá appointed two Gujars, Ahmad and Madahí, as her deputies. They rebelled, and took possession of Lúdiána and Jagráon for themselves. Nur-unnisá was obliged to re-engage the brave and faithful thánahdar Husain. The rebels applied for assistance to Bhangá Sing of Thanesar, who was glad of the opportunity for interference. There were numerous battles. Husain valiantly protected his mistress against the rebels, Ahmad and Madahí, who were shut up in the fort, on the one hand and against Bhangá Sing on the other. Bhangá Sing was wounded, and was nearly defeated, when unhappily Husain was slain. His followers lost heart, the Rání fled to Ráikot, and the people of the city deserted their property and their homes. Bhangá Sing remained eleven days, plundering and laying waste the city, burning all that was consumable. This was in Sambat 1860. So Ahmad and Madahí remained masters of Lúdiána and Jagráon till 1862, when Ranjit Sing overran the country, and gave the city to Bhág Sing of Jhínd. In S. 1864, or A. D. 1809, Sir David Ochterlony came here, and repaired and occupied the fort; but the city and cantonment site remained with the Jhínd family till the death of Sangal Sing, when they escheated to the British Government, in A. D. 1835. While these events were taking place at Lúdiána itself, numerous Sikh sardárs had established themselves in various parts of the district, where their descendants still hold jágírs. The most important of these families is that of Maland, a branch of the Phúlkía clan, and consequently related to the rájás of Patiálá. Their ancestors appear to have lived for some time at Sahnah, a town in the extreme south of the district which still belongs to their jágir. In A. D. 1762, Mán Sing took possession of Maland, which has since given its name to the family. His son Dalel Sing was the most distinguished of the sardárs. His tomb is a prominent building at Maland. The jágir has been since divided into three. The other Sikh jágírdárs in the district all trace their origin to the general appropriation made by the Sikh army after its great and final victory over the Musalmáns, when Sarhind was destroyed.

We have now brought the history of the district down to the time, when it merges in that of British India. Some memorable events have occurred of later years; but it is not our work to narrate them

The battle field of Aliwál is in the district, and during the mutiny a skirmish took place here with the Jálandhar mutineers (see Cave Browne's "Panjab and Delhi," pages 251 to 264.

An account of the Lúdiána district would not be complete without reference to the new sect of Sikhs, the Kúkas, who have lately made some noise in the Panjáb. Their founder, Rám Sing, is the son of a carpenter, named Jassa Sing, and lives at Bhaini, a small village some 15 miles to the east of Lúdiána. He is over 50 years of age, is married, and has had two daughters married, to one of whom further reference will be made. He served in the Khálsa army between 1844 and 1846. There is a story that, in 1850, Rám Sing was engaged in the shop of one Panjába, at that time a well known carpenter of Lúdiána, and embezzled a large sum of money belonging to his employer. With the capital so obtained, he started a shop at Bhainí in partnership with some one else who, after a time, served Rám Sing the same trick that the latter had played Panjába. After this, Rám Sing left for the Ráwal Pindí district, and there became the disciple of an Udási faqír, named Bálak Sing.

From him Rám Sing received the religious impulse which has since influenced his career. Bálak Sing himself was but little known, and has been dead for 8 or 9 years. Rám Sing began to proselytize about 1858, and assumed the title of Bhái in 1860.

Rám Sing, like most other reformers, repudiates the character of innovater, and professes to be merely a restorer of the old religion. He is a purist Sikh, acknowledges and reveres the ten gurus, and the granths, and preaches the unity of God. He differs from the orthodox Sikhs chiefly by a more stringent enforcement of morality, and by his iconoclastic tendencies, condemning the erection of tombs and shrines. Notwithstanding these tendencies, he is constantly visiting the sacred cities of the Sikhs, Amritsar, Mukatsar, and Anandpúr Makkowál. Like other Síkhs, the Kúkas wear the "kes" or long hair, and are initiated by the sacrament "páúl." Rám Sing condemns excessive lamentation for the dead as being distrustful of the Deity. He particularly warns his disciples against foolish extravagance in their marriage expenses. He teaches them to believe in "heaven" and "hell." A disciple and namesake of Rám Sing gave me the following list of virtues especially inculcated by his guru—fear of God, faithfulness,

purity and cleanliness, truthfulness, benevolence, consciousness of the Deity's presence, compassion, abstinence from covetousness, abstinence from perjury. Particular stress is laid on truthfulness, and it will, I think, be admitted that as a class, the Kúkas are remarkable in this respect. On initiation, a sentence or "mantra" is whispered into the ear of the convert, which he is told to repeat constantly to himself, but never to divulge. The Kúkas have frequent religious meetings. They sit round a large fire, one reads the granth, and others repeat favourite slokas. This continues till many work themselves into a state of great excitement, and it is, I presume, from the cries they then utter, that the name Kúkah or "Howler" has been given. Many of the common slokas or sayings among the Kúkas have an iconoclastic purport. Thus—

Pahilá máro Pír Bannoí
Phir máro Sultána
"First destroy Pír Bannoí
"Then destroy Sultána."

Pír Bannoí is a saint, whose shrine is in the state of Patialá, while the Sultán referred to, is the famed Sakkí Sarwar, whose shrine is in the district of Dera Gházi Khán. Kúkas may be recognised by the unusual whiteness and cleanliness of their garments, and by a very large and prominent turban. They often carry a small club or hatchet, and also a small blunt knife. There is a proverb applied to Sikhs generally that they have four *Ās*—Karád, Kes, Kangá, Kachh, *viz.* a knife, long hair, a comb, and short-drawers. The total number of Kúkas has been estimated at 60,000. Converts are chiefly made among Jats, Tirkháns, Chumárs and Mazbís, besides a few Muhammadans. Rám Sing has appointed from twenty to thirty apostles under the title of Súbahs. Of these, Sáhíb Sing is the chief, and he, it is supposed, will succeed Rám Sing. For a time, Rám Sing was kept under surveillance by Government, and this rather added to his *éclat*. For two years past, he has been at liberty to go where he chooses. He has attended the great Sikh festivals, but has been rejected by the orthodox guardians of the temple. On the occasion of his visit to Anandpúr Mákkowál in 1867, a riot was with difficulty avoided. During the last twelve months there has been an undoubted diminution of enthusiasm and deterioration of morals among the new

sect. Scandals have arisen, culminating in the murder of Rám Sing's own daughter by her husband, it is supposed, on suspicion of unchastity. But the sect is still of importance; the disciples regard Rám Sing as the incarnation of the deity, as the same being who animated in succession the ten preceding gurus. A very worthy Kúka known to the writer, expressed himself as confident that this was the case because of the wonderful and ecstatic thrill which pervaded the disciple, when he heard the sacred "mantra" from his teacher's lips.

We now proceed to give a short account of the prevalent local castes and a few phrases exemplifying the local dialect.

Out of a total of 879 villages, 532 belong to Hindú Jats; 76 to Muhammadan Jats, 98 to Muhammadan Rájputés, 87 to Gujars, and 42 to Raians. The statistics of the more important Gots are as follows: among Hindu Jats,—Gíl 97 villages, Dhálúvál 95, Sandhú 82, Garewál 55, Punaich 41, Upal 22. Among the Muhammadan Jats—Kúrsá 27 villages, Túr 10, Moliwvál 9. Among the Rájputés—Manj 52 villages, Ghorewál 13. Among the Raians—Karu 22 villages, Rahíl 12, Narú 10. These constitute the agricultural population. Here, as to the west of the Satlaj, the Khattrís are the great commercial class. Their principal gots are Chirímunj, Nande Khullar, Jerath at Ludíána itself; Bahl, Kapúr, Mahre, Seṭh, Berí, Senchar, and Dhir at Jagraón; Batte, Sohndí and Karír at Máchíwára, and Bahlolpúr; Sahgal and Thápar at Ráikot; Haḍ and Cham at Khanah. But the gots of Khattrís are innumerable. There are a great many bánias of the gots Gar, Goyal, Sítal, Mítal, Eran, Dheran, Básal, and Kásal. The brahmins are mostly engaged in retail trade, and are not influential. Leaving out of view a few Roras and other castes, the two most important commercial castes remaining to be noted are the "Súds" and the "Bhábras." As they have not been described in Campbell's ethnological sketch, our readers may be interested in a short account of them.

The caste Bhábra is of the Jain sect, and except a few bánias here and there, I have not heard of any "Jains" in the Panjab other than these "Bhábras." The following account is by one of themselves.

About eleven hundred years ago, there was a holy man at Osanaggari in the country of Gujrát. His name was Rattan Deo. He changed

the name of the inhabitants from Rájput (?) to Oswál. The Bhábras were originally Oswáls, and the name Bhábra is peculiar to the Panjab. At Dihlí, the Oswáls generally go by the name Jauharí, because they are generally employed as jewellers. The name Bhábra was originally Bháo Bhale, or "good brother." The peculiarities of the Jain religion need not be detailed here. Abstinence from all animal food, and an excessive regard for animal life are its most remarkable tenets.

The "Súd" caste is very different from the Bhábra, though both are money-lending. Súds like the Káiths of Bengal are lax in matters of eating and drinking. They are much less religious than Khattrís, and they have a very bad name for dishonesty. Perhaps most judicial officers in this neighbourhood will admit that of all classes the Súds and the Zargars, or goldsmiths, are the most given to cheating. The chief gots among the Súds are Raskí, Mihán, Kulle, Shahí, Dosáhj.

Among the Káshmirí residents of Lúdiána, besides ordinary Muhamadan caste names, there are three principal castes or gots, Baṭ, Bánḍe, and Gámaní.

In order to exemplify the local dialect, I will first render in it the sentences given by Mr. Campbell at the end of his appendix A, and will then add a list of a few local words which have struck me as peculiar.

What is your name ?

Tera kí náún hai ?

How old is this horse ?

Es ghore dí kí 'umr hai ?

The price of that is two rupees and a half.

Ohda mul qhái rupaiyá hai.

My father lives in that small house.

Merá pyú os chhoṭe koṭhe vich rahṇda hai.

Give this rupee to him.

Ih rupaiyá oh nú dih.

Take those rupees from him.

Oh rupaiye oh toṅ le le.

Beat him well and bind him with ropes.

Oh nú khúb már ate rassi nál ban de.

Draw water from the well.
 Kúe vichon pání kaḍ le.
 Walk before me.
 Mere sáhmne chalo.
 Whose boy comes behind you ?
 Kis dá munḍá tere maḡar auṇḍa haí ?
 From whom did you buy that ?
 Taiṇ oh nu kithon mul liyá ?
 From a shop-keeper of the village.
 Pind de haṭwánía kolon.
 How far is it from here to Kashmir ?
 E toṇ Kashmír nú kinní dúr hai ?
 How many sons are there in your father's house ?
 Tere pyú de ghar kíṇne puttār haṇ ?
 I have walked a long way to-day.
 Aj maṇ dúr te sail kítí haí.
 The son of my uncle is married to her sister.
 Mere cháche dá puttār ohdí bahṇ náḷ vyáhá hoyá hai.
 In the house is the saddle of the white horse.
 Chiṭṭí ghore dí káṭhí ghar vich hai.
 Put the saddle upon his back.
 Káṭhí ohdí piṭh utte kas de.
 I have beaten his son with many stripes.
 Maṇ ohde puttār nú bahut máṛ mári.
 He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.
 Oh pahár utte dangar charándá hai.
 He is sitting on a horse under that tree.
 Oh os darakht heṭán ghore te baiṭhá hai.
 His brother is taller than his sister.
 Ohdá bhará ohdí bahṇ náḷon waḡḡa hai.

Local words and phrases.

mallomallí	by violence.
berwá	details.
siṭh dená	to throw.
aujaṛ jáná	to lose one's way.
tih	a mound of ruins.

kamlá	blockhead.
aukhá	difficult.
nívín	low, not elevated.
barkhá	rain.
uprant	in future.
úrlí pásí	on this side.
parlí pásí	on that side.
aidkí	this year.
paron	last or next year.
parár	year before last.
mohándra	face, appearance.
kup	stack (of <i>bhúsa</i> , &c.).
baṭa saṭa	exchange, barter.
lahndá	west.
chhaṛda	east.
pahár	north.
sarmailí	south.
chakan	to lift up.
gohára	heap of manure.
sajjá	right.
khabbá	left.
wahṛa	a young bullock.
tagádá	jewels, &c.
biḍh	watercourse of a well.
áwah	brick kiln.
ṭair	a lean mare.
gaṭhná	to mend.
rojh	nil gáo.
mainh	buffalo.

Religious fairs and pilgrimages are of such interest to the people of this country, that they call for a description notwithstanding the absurdities connected with them. There are two great bathing-fairs held here, the "bhet chandas" and the "baisáklí." And immense concourse of people meet at Lúdiána on the 11th Rabi' ussání to celebrate a festival called the "Roshaní." This is in honour of one of the greatest saints in Muhammadan tradition, Shaikh 'Abdul Qádir i Jílání, who is spoken of as Pír Sáhíb or Pírán i pír. Herklots in

his translation of the Qánún i Islám devotes one chapter to this saint under the name of Pír i Dastgír (pages 237 to 241). This saint, who is esteemed by educated Muhammadans the chief among Walis, was born in the year 471 H. in Jílán (Gílán) During thirty-three years, he prepared himself for the dignity of walí. He died in 561 A. H., being then 90 years of age, and was buried at Bagdád. In personal appearance he is described as a handsome man. Among the greatest and most popular of his miracles are the following. While he was an infant at the breast, the month of Ramazán came round. The neighbours were prevented by the clouds from seeing the moon, and were in doubt whether they should begin the fast or not. On inquiry from the parents of 'Abdul Qádir, they found that he had refused the breast ever since sunrise, and this indication of the precocious young saint was accepted as conclusive.

Again a mother was travelling with her son to celebrate his marriage with the betrothed. As they were crossing the river Indus, a storm arose, and upset the boat. The boy was drowned, but the old woman escaped to the bank. There she remained for twelve years praying to the Pír i Dastgír; at the end of that period the saint appeared, and at her request prayed that the drowned boy and his comrades might be restored to life. Twice the holy man prostrated himself on the ground without result; after the third prostration, the boat and its passengers reappeared on the river. The cause of the delay was that the bodies of the drowned had been devoured by fish, and the fish in their turn had become the food of men, many of whom had died in the interval. It had been necessary to collect the scattered fragments of the drowned before they were re-animated. On another occasion the saint converted a thief who was in the act of stealing from him, and made this same thief the Quṭb or Chief among the darweshes of the city.

A fourth and equally notorious anecdote refers to the punishment inflicted on a walí named Shaikh Çan'án for disputing the supremacy of Píran i Pír. The latter had composed a qaçída in which the following couplet occurred :

انا الجبلي محيي الدين إسمي * و اقدامي علي عنق الرجالي *

“I am the resident of Jílán, my name is Muhiyyuddín, and my foot is on the necks of men.” Shaikh Çan'án denied that 'Abdul Qádir's foot

was on *his* neck, on which 'Abdul Qádir told him that the foot of a *pig* should be placed there. This was brought about by the charms of a swineherd's daughter who captivated the frail "wálí," and made him carry a litter of newborn swine. She would moreover have compelled him to eat pork had not Shaikh 'Abdul Qádir compassionately saved him from infidelity, and restored him to his right mind just as his hands were stretched out, to raise the forbidden food.

The shrine at Lúdíána was founded according to the tradition by a disciple of 'Abdul Qádir, named Shaikh Mahmúd Makkí who had established himself at Lúdíána, whence he made frequent pilgrimages to his teacher's tomb at Baghdád.

Next in importance to the Roshaní fair is that held at the village of Chapár about sixteen miles from Lúdíána in the direction of Maler Kotlah. This fair is connected with a most remarkable superstition, which I cannot yet unriddle, but which I suspect is derived from some aboriginal religion. The divinity, or saint, in whose honour the fair is held, goes by the name of "Gúgá," and the shrine itself is called "máří" or "mařhí." The original "mařhí" is supposed to be situated at some indefinite locality to the south; but there are numerous small "mářís" in this district besides the large one at Chapár. They are always outside the village; in size and shape they are not unlike an ordinary Hindú samáhd. The worship seems to consist in burning a "chirágh," and in salaaming with the forehead lowered and with hands, palm to palm, "mathá tekná" as it is called. The worship is in some way connected with the snake. At Chapár, though not in the smaller mářís, there is a figure of a snake on the dais inside the shrine. Persons who have been snake-bitten, are taken to the máří for cure, and there is a special "mantra," called "jhárá," recited for their recovery. There is also a custom called "til chásli" of throwing down rice and til seeds in places frequented by snakes. This Gúgá worship, though specially favoured by the lower classes, is not confined to any sect. At Chapár, the guardians of the shrine are brahmins, and only Hindus of good caste actually cross the threshold, but while the front of the mařhí is allotted to them, the Muhammadans, Chumárs, and Chúras have each of the three remaining sides. Many of the smaller mářís are under the guardianship of Muhammadan mírásís.

There are a great many wonderful tales chiefly of metamorphosis connected with Gúgá, but I have not yet obtained any rational or satisfactory account of the superstition itself. The inquiry is interesting, as it may throw light on ethnological questions and on the old snake-worship of India. The Chapár fair is held in the north of Bhádon.

Still more numerous than the shrines of Gúgá are those of the famous Sakhí Sultán or Sakhí Sarwar, the Musalmán saint whose great place of pilgrimage is on the frontier beyond Dera Ghází Khán. In almost every village there is one of these shrines spoken of as the "thán." Attached to them is a class of priests or rather missionaries called "bharáis." These make converts, and collect pilgrims for the annual caravans to the great shrine. This shrine is spoken of as Nigáhã, and the qáfilas are called "sangs." Thurslay appears to be the day sacred both to Gúgá and to Sakhí Sultán.

The great saint or divinity of the Chúrás, or Panjáb-sweepers, goes by the name of "Lál Beg." They erect a green flag in front of their houses, place chirághs by its side, and then pay their devotions to the flag. They are very exclusive in their religious dogmas, maintaining that there will be no salvation in a future life for any but sweepers, though possibly a few Muhammadans may be admitted to heaven by inadvertently taking the name "Lál," when they repeat the *kalima* "Lá Illah, &c.

I may conclude this account of the Lúdiána district with a few words respecting the old Muhammadan capital Sarhind, which though in Patiála territory, is very near the Lúdiána border. Sarhind is now a city of desolation; not a mere mound of bricks like Sunet, but a collection of standing ruins imposing from their size and extent, but entirely desolate. The total area of the ruins is about ten miles round. The two most prominent ruins are those of the fort and of the governor's Palace or 'Ám Kháç. A road of white quartz connects the two and crosses a substantial Moghul bridge. Near the 'Ám Kháç is a large bank with a causeway leading to an island. Sarhind was long the residence of numerous families of Sayyids, and almost every third building seems to have been a mausoleum. The streets are crowded with these tombs mostly of one pattern, with three domes and a double roof. Most of the buildings have under-

ground apartments. There is a large number of wells, and each of them has a chamber connected with it. The Sikhs have built a Gurdwára on the spot where Govind Sing's two sons were murdered.

These extensive ruins, which bear a melancholy testimony to the departed grandeur of Muhammadan rule, have been sold by the Rája of Patiálá as "ballast" for the use of the Railway. Strange to say coins or trinkets are seldom found in excavating, nor could I discover a single inscription on any one of the thousand tombs and houses which cover the ground.

About 20 miles from Sarhind is another old Muhammadan city called Páil, of which also frequent mention is made in Farishta. This is still an imposing old city, but presents, like Sarhind, the appearance of desolation, though it is not like Sarhind a ruin.

I send herewith two packets of coins. Those marked A are miscellaneous, but were collected chiefly in the Lúdiána district; of those marked B., one I believe or perhaps more than one was found at Sunet. [*Vide* Proceedings, Asiatic Society Bengal, for June, 1869.]

JOURNAL
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PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. III.—1869.

Badáoní and his Works. By H. BLOCHMANN, Esq., M. A., Assistant Professor, Calcutta Madrasah.

[Received 1st April, 1869.]

I.—INTRODUCTION.

This paper is the first of a series of essays which I intend to write from copious notes collected by me on the Arabic and Persian editions of our *Bibliotheca Indica*. The object of the essays is to supply pre-faces and introductions to those works of which merely texts have been printed, to collect whatever biographical information we possess of the authors of our editions, and to remark on the style of their productions. Though the subject matter, especially in the case of our historical publications, has received much attention, the style of the authors presents many interesting features, inasmuch as we can trace in their works the growth of the Persian language in India. I also intend giving translations of new and interesting passages, and thus prepare the way for systematic translations. The more texts the Asiatic Society prints, the more necessary will it become to translate the works. This is of great importance for our historical texts: as long as we have no translations, the Historians of the *Bibliotheca Indica* will be a treasure under lock and seal.

The great difficulty connected with the translation of our works is this, that in most cases the translations will have to be made in India,

where the MSS. which were used by the editors, still exist. In some works the geographical difficulties are so great, that they could not be well overcome by a translator in England; in others the allusions are so pointed that without some familiarity with the people, and some instruction and assistance from good native teachers, it would be almost impossible to write a faithful translation. Not all our works are as easy in style as the *Iqbálnámah*, the *Pádisháhnámah*, or Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the *Tuzuk-i-Jahángírí*, which works any one who has made fair progress in Persian could translate. The texts of these works, moreover, are in a satisfactory condition.

It was therefore with much pleasure that the Society lately learned that two of its members, Mr. T. W. H. Tolbort, and Mr. C. J. Lyall, are about to entrust to the Society their MS. translations and abstracts of the *Tárikh-i-Firúzsháhi*, and the reign of Akbar by Nizám i-Harawí.

For the present paper I have selected the work known as the *Tárikh-i-Badáoní*, partly because I found a perusal of the work of great assistance for my critical edition of the *Áin*, partly because of all Indian Historians Badáoní is the most difficult to be understood; and I take this opportunity to acknowledge the obligations under which I lie to the Joint-Editor, Maulawí Aghá Ahmad 'Alí, for the assistance I received from him in preparing a MS. translation of Akbar's Reign (the second volume of Badáoní), from which some of the extracts below are taken. Badáoní is the only author among our Historians, to the peculiarities of whose character and opinions it is possible to trace the plan and the execution of his work. The opinion now current regarding Badáoní—which opinion is also held by a recent writer on Indian Historians in the *Journal of the R. A. Society of Great Britain for 1868*—is that the value of Badáoní's work lies in its giving us a view of the character of the great Emperor from an *opposite* point; *secondly*, that he was a bigoted Moslem; *thirdly*, that he could not tolerate the extremes of toleration to which Abulfazl and Faizí allowed the Emperor to go; *fourthly*, that the bitterness of the author impaired his judgment; *fifthly*, that his work when read by itself does injustice to Akbar; *sixthly*, that he writes "in unmeasured terms" of Akbar; and *seventhly*, that "his work may even give a very erroneous impression of the character, and

particularly of the motives which actuated the greatest sovereign that has ever ruled the destinies of India, in many of the measures of his government." It is one of the objects of this paper to vindicate Baddoni, and to shew that with the exception of the third statement, which is a personal matter, every one of the remaining six points is a statement capable of being disproved by quoting from his works.

But before proceeding to my task, I shall give a short outline, because I have chosen a historical writer for my first essay, of the history of our editions, as I can trace it from the records and journals of our Society. The following remarks then may serve as an introduction to the *Historians of our New Series*.*

II. — *Sir Henry Elliot's Scheme and the Bibliotheca Indica.*

It may at first sight seem surprising that before the appearance, in 1849, of Sir H. M. Elliot's *Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India*, but little was done for determining the sources from which the history of the Muhammadan period should be compiled. When circumstances lead men to pay attention to a new branch of knowledge, it is outlines rather, and comprehensive sketches, which are required, than critical details. But when, in the course of time, a fair knowledge has been gained of the subject and its scopes, men will proceed to analytical enquiries; and after gaining an insight into the sources, they will exercise the power of selecting that which is original from that which is borrowed. The attention which scholars before and at the time of Elliot paid to Indian History, was, however, by no means slight. This is shewn by the numerous translations which have been made by Anderson, Bird, Briggs, Chalmers (MS.), W. Davy, Dorn, Erskine, Gladwin, W. Hollingbery, C. A. Mackenzie (MS.), Miles, D. Prize, H. T. Prinsep, J. Reynolds, Rowlandson, C. Stewart, D. Shea, A. Troyer, White, J. Wilkins, &c., several of which translations were printed at the cost of the Oriental Translation Fund.

But it is the works of Sir H. M. Elliot, and his posthumous papers which, for years to come, will form the sound basis of *critical studies*. Sir H. M. Elliot, shortly before 1847, if I am not mistaken, proposed to the Government of the North West to lithograph a uni-

* Since writing the following remarks, the *New Series* of our *Bibliotheca Indica* was reviewed in the *Times* of the 26th March, 1869.

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form edition of the *Historians of India*. Though this proposal was not accepted for want of funds for such an object, Sir H. M. Elliot was asked to prepare an Index of the *Historians*, so that the proper MSS. might be selected and deposited in the College Library of Agra. The 'Index' thus called for by the Government of the N. W. 'insensibly expanded into several volumes,' of which the first and only one was printed at Calcutta in 1849. The unexpected death of Sir H. M. Elliot put a temporary end to the completion of his Index.

In March 1863, Mr. A. Grote proposed to the Philological Committee of our Society, to carry on the publication of Sir H. M. Elliot's papers, and on the 30th April of the same year the Committee [Messrs. A. Grote (President), E. C. Bayley, W. N. Lees, Rájendra Lála Mitra, and the Secretaries, Messrs. W. S. Atkinson and E. B. Cowell] reported to the Society as follows:—

"The Committee have under consideration a proposition which has for its object an endeavour to secure the publication, even in an imperfect form, of the valuable materials which the late Sir H. Elliot had collected for his work on the '*Muhammadan Historians*.'

"It was the wish of many members of our Society eight years ago to offer the Society's aid to Lady Elliot in carrying out the author's project, but no proposition was made because it was hoped and understood that the more powerful assistance of the Home Government would be given to that end."

"The Committee are aware that the late Board of Control in their letter, dated 4th August, 1856, to Professor Wilson, and Messrs. Morley and Bayley, sanctioned the printing of the first three Vols. of the Elliot MSS., which had been left ready for press, on the understanding that *the payment by the Court in respect of the 3 vols. is to be strictly limited to the sum of £500, excluding the remuneration to the gentleman who may undertake the superintendence of the publication*. It was hoped that the publication of the further volumes might be effected by means of private efforts." * * *

"Mr. Bayley who had examined all the materials, reported on them thus:—Vols. 4 and 5, far advanced; 6 and 7, materials and outlines only ready; 8 nearly as far advanced as Vols. 10 and 11, which

“are about, say, half ready; Vol. 9 in an equally forward state with the three first vols.*

“The arrangement which was made with Mr. Morley for publishing the work to the extent of the Board of Control’s grant was terminated by that gentleman’s death, and no similar arrangement has since been found feasible. It seems to the Committee that there is great risk of the late Sir H. Elliot’s labours being altogether lost, unless the Society comes forward with an offer to undertake the superintendence of the publication. * * * *

“The materials to be placed at the Committee’s disposal by Lady Elliot. With Mr. E. Thomas’ cooperation in England, the Committee will be in a condition to determine what they will require to be sent out, and what portion may be left with him, or accessible to him, for compliance with references made to him from this Committee.”

Circumstances, however, to the great regret of the Committee, prevented the proposal from being carried out; but Sir H. M. Elliot’s papers are now being published in England under the able editorship of Professor J. Dowson.

Though the departure of Sir H. M. Elliot from India, and his untimely death, had put an end to the immediate completion of his work, the collection of MSS. detailed in the ‘Index’ was commenced, and actively pursued. In 1855, the late Mr. Colvin, then Lieutenant-Governor of the North West, at the suggestion of Mr. E. Thomas, B. C. S., entrusted to Mr. H. W. Hammond, then Secretary of the Sudder Board of Revenue, the task of collecting and collating MSS. of the Muhammadan Historians of India. Mr. Hammond issued the following notice—

اشتہار

سرکار کو چھپوانا کتب تواریخ مفصلہ ذیل کا منظور ہی اور تصحیح کے واسطے متعدد نسخے ہر کتاب کے مطلوب جسکے پاس منجملہ ان کتابوں کی کوئی کتاب قلمی ہو بسبیل ڈاک بیرنگ بھنگی صاحب سکرپٹری صدر بورڈ آگریہ کی خدمت میں بھیج دے بعد چھپنے کے اصل نسخہ واپس دیا جائیگا اور ایک نسخہ چھاپہ کا سرکار سے اور عنایت ہوگا اور جسکو بچھنا منظور ہو کتاب مول لٹچائیگی فقط

* Vide also Dr A. Sprenger’s *Manuscripts of the late Sir H. Elliot*, J. A. S. Bengal, Vol XXIII.

تاریخ و رشتہ	خلاصۃ التواریخ	چہچہ نامہ	تاریخ سند
ترجمہ تاریخ یہیذنی	طبقات ناصری	فیروز شاہی تصنیف ضیاء برنی	
فیروز شاہی تصنیف شمس سراج	الانتخاب ظفرنامہ	مخزن افغانی	
محب اللباب	تاریخ چغتای	بابری تصنیف بابر	
ہمایونی تصنیف ہمایون	اکبر نامہ	سوانح اکبری	
انتخاب تاریخ بدایونی	زبدۃ التواریخ	مآثر رحیمی	مآثر عالمگیری
جہانگیر نامہ	پادشاہ نامہ مع ضمیمہ	انتخاب حدیقہ الصفا	
عبرت نامہ	تاریخ ارادخان	تاریخ نادر الزمانی	سیر المتاخرین
انتخاب تاریخ مظہری	انتخاب منہج التواریخ	انتخاب حدیقہ الاقالیم	
توزک تیموری	وصاف		

۱۲ ستمبر سنہ ۱۸۵۵ ع

"The Government intends to print the undermentioned books, for which purpose several MSS. are required for each work. Should any one possess MSS., he is requested to send them *bearing* by Bangy-dák to the Secretary of the *Çadr* Board, *Agrah*. After printing the books, the MSS. will be returned, together with a copy of the printed work *gratis*. Should any one be willing to part with his MSS., they will be bought."

"Tárikh i Farishtah,* Khuláçatuttawárikh, Chhachhnámah, Tárikh i Sind, Tárikh i Yamíní (in Persian),* Tabaqát i Náçirí,* Fírúزشáh i by Zíá i Baraní,* Fírúزشáhí by Shams i Siráj, Extract from the Zafarnámah,* Makhzan i Afghání,* Muntakhabullubáb,* Tárikh i Chagatái, Bábarí,* Humáyúní,* Akbarnámah,* Sawáníh i Akbarí, Badáoní,* Zubdatuttawárikh, Maásir i Rahímí, Maásir i 'Alamgírí, Jahángírnámah, Pálishálnámah* with its sequel, Extract from the Hadiqatugçafá, 'Ibratnámah, Tárikh i Irádat Khán, Tárikh Náliruzzamání, Siyarulmutaakhkharin,* Extracts from the Tárikh i Muzaffarí, Extracts from the Muntakhabuttawárikh, Extracts from the Hadiqatulaqálím, Waççáf,* Tuzuk i Tímúrí.* 12th September, 1855."

* The works marked * have since been either printed or translated.

The number of MSS. which Mr. Hammond succeeded in purchasing or borrowing amounted to no less than 67. They were—

Tárikh-i-Firúz-Sháhi by Ziá i Baraní, 6 MSS. ; Tárikh-i-Firúz-Sháhi by Shams Siráj 'Afiif, 3 ; Iqbálnámah i Jahángirí of Mu'tamid Khán, 6 ; Tuzuk i Jahángirí, by the Emperor Jahángir, 3 ; Maásir-i-Jahángirí, 1 ; Siyar al-Mutaakkharín, 3 ; Tárikh-i-Farishtah, 3 ; Khulácat ut-Tawárikh, 2 ; Zubdat ut-Tawárikh by 'Abdul Haq, from Mu'izz ud-din to Akbar, 1 ; Zubdat ut-Tawárikh by 'Abd ul-Karim, from Muhammad Sháh to E. I. Company, 1 ; Akbarnámah, Part I., 4 ; Idem, Part II., 1 ; Sawánih i Akbarí, 3 ; Sháh Jahánnámah, 1 ; Tárikh-i-Badáoni, 2 ; Maásir i 'Alamgíri of Muhammad Sáqi, 1 ; 'Alamgírnámah i Dosálah, by the same, 1 ; Maásir i 'Alamgíri, by Munshí Muhammad Kázim, 1 ; Tárikh-i-'Alamgíri, author unknown, 1 ; Muntakhab ul Lubáb, 1 ; 'Ibrat-námah, Vol. II., 1 ; Tárikh i Muzaffarí, 3 ; Tabaqát i Tímúriah (abstract of Vol. I.), 1 ; Zafarnámah, 1 ; Tuzuk i Tímúri, by Amír Tímúr, 2 ; Tárikh-i-Tímúri (by ?), 1 ; Malfúzát i Amír Tímúr, by Muhammad Afzal, 1 ; Nádír uz Zamáni, by Múnshí Mahdí, 3 ; Khulácat ut Tawárikh, 3 ; Hadiqat ul Aqálím, 1 ; Idem, abstract of, 1 ; Makhzan i Afgháni, 1 ; Maásir ul Umará, 1 ; (???) Sikandarí, 1 ; Tárikh Mamálik i Hind, 1.

'The MSS. of Ziá i Baraní's Tárikh-i-Firúz-Sháhi,' says Mr. Hammond, 'were carefully collated, under my supervision, by Maulvi Faiz Ahmad, Sarishtahtár of the Board of Revenue at Agra, a man well versed in Oriental literature, a good Persian and Arabic scholar, and much employed by the late Sir Henry Elliot. He disappeared during the mutiny, and I never could ascertain any particulars regarding his fate. In collating the MSS. he was assisted by two competent Munshis. One copy of Ziá i Baraní's history, belonging to Sayyid Ahmad, was prepared for press, and (I believe) formed the basis of the text lately printed in Calcutta. This and one other MS. of Ziá i Baraní alone escaped. All the others were placed by me in a strong chest on leaving India in 1856, and were deposited in the Record Office of the Board of Revenue at Agra, which edifice was burnt during the mutiny. There were in the same box some MSS. of Arabic and Persian Dictionaries.'

'The MSS. of Shams i Siráj 'Afiif's history were also collated, and some others commenced upon. I defrayed from my private means

all expenses of collection or collation of the MSS. herein referred to. I have no idea whether any grant for purposes of publication was subsequently made by the Government of India.’*

The year before Mr. Hammond had been commissioned to collect the Agra Library MSS., Mr. Morley’s Catalogue of the Historical MSS. of the R. A. S. made its appearance. In the absence of the completing portion of Sir H. M. Elliot’s Index, the publication of this catalogue was of the greatest importance, whilst it is still one of the best indexes to the Historical works of other Muhammadan countries.

The loss of 67 MSS. of 35 historical works is irreparable. Any one who has been collecting MSS. in India, knows how difficult it is to obtain any at all. The paucity of MSS. at the present day, is due to vermin, the climate, the impoverished status of many Muhammadan families, but especially to the introduction of printing and lithographing, which has made *kātibs* superfluous. The number of professional copyists is very small, and daily decreasing. Bearing moreover in mind that historical works, as also dictionaries, are from their voluminousness more rarely copied than *Dīwāns* and other light reading, we should not have been surprised, if the loss of the Agra MSS. had frustrated the last hope of carrying out Sir H. M. Elliot’s scheme of issuing, in India, editions of Native Historians.

It was therefore fortunate, as it was patriotic, that the Philological Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in 1859, took up the scheme, and resolved to print in the *New Series* several works on the History of Muhammadan India. The minute book of the Philological Committee shews that it was Mr. A. Grote, its President, who first advocated the editing of Muhammadan Historians. He says in his minute of the 26th September, 1859 :—

“ I am strongly in favour of publishing the works of some of the
 “ Persian Historians of Muhammadan India. The N. W. Govern-
 “ ment had, it will be remembered, a project for bringing out a series of
 “ such histories. This, Mr. Muir tells me, has, for the present, been
 “ abandoned, all the materials collected for the publication having
 “ been destroyed at Agra in 1857. The only MSS. which escaped,
 “ were those of Ziá i Baraní, which Mr. Hammond had taken home

* *Vide* Journal, R. A. S. 1868, p. 475.

“with him ; and which will probably be placed at our disposal, if we decide on undertaking its publication. I will hereafter make some suggestions as to the historians to be selected, should the Committee concur generally in the propriety of including this class of works in the New Series.”

In the minutes of the Committee (26th Sept. 1859) I find the following entry :—

“*Present*—The President, Capt. Lees, Rev. J. Long, Babu Rájendra Lála Mitra, and the Secretaries [Messrs. W. S. Atkinson and E. B. Cowell]. I. Resolved that a new Series of the *Bibliotheca Indica* be commenced. IV. The President proposed that the Society should undertake to publish some Muhammadan Historians, particularly *Ziá i Baraní* (*vide* Minute attached). Approved of. Information should be collected respecting MSS. and a competent editor.”

These recommendations were adopted by the Council of the Society. The Committee soon gave proofs of its continued activity. At the meeting of the 16th January, 1860, a letter was read from Sayyid Ahmad Khán of Murádábád, offering to edit *Ziá i Baraní*. It was resolved to accept his offer, and to ask him to send the MS. to Calcutta.

On the 12th April of the same year, Mr. Grote circulated the following extract of a letter written by Mr. Morley to Mr. E. Thomas—

“I am much pleased to find that Persian texts are to be printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, and that Mr. Grote begins promisingly. I should not at all object to send my collated transcript of *Baihaqí* to India, if I were sure that it would be printed, but not else. I wrote it, in the first place, faithfully from my own MS. which you have, and in it is noted *every variant*, without reference to sense, from Sir H. Elliot’s MS. and the one in the Paris Library. Printing a correct text from my collated transcript would be an easy task for any painstaking Persian scholar.

P. S. The *Baihaqí* amounts to 372 pages, small 8vo., 19 lines in a page.”

The editing of *Baihaqí* was happily not interfered with by the death of Mr. Morley. At the meeting of the Committee on the 15th

August 1860, the President announced the decease of Mr. Morley ; but he added that Mr. E. Thomas had seen the Executors, and had secured from them the promise that the MS. of *Baihaqi* should be sent out to India. On the receipt of Mr. Morley's transcript, it was immediately forwarded, as had been done with Sayyid Ahmad's *Fírúzháhi*, to Major Lees' press.

In their Annual Report for 1861, the Council announced to the Society that four fasciculi of *Ziá i Baraní* and two fasc. of *Baihaqi* had been issued. The completion of both works was announced in the Annual Report of our Society for 1862. At the annual meeting the President (Mr. A. Grote) remarked :—

“The series of Persian historians is one, in the progress of which I take a special interest, an interest borrowed from others, but not the less genuine for not being original. The late Sir H. Elliot and Mr. John Colvin were the first movers, as is generally known, on behalf of the publications in question, which the active co-operation of Mr. E. Thomas had just pressed into a project, when the troubles of 1857 caused all idea of it to be dropped. It was resumed some three years ago by the Philological Committee at the suggestion, I believe, of myself, since I, as your Secretary, had been all along in close communication with those friends whom I have just named. The first work, the *Tárikh i Fírúzháhi* of *Ziá i Baraní*, which the Committee undertook to recommend to the Council, was that which was to have opened the series under the auspices of the North-Western Government. I indulge in the hope that much may yet be done towards carrying out, not only thus partially, but in its entirety, the task to which Sir H. Elliot had devoted himself, and which was occupying him when he died. The mass of valuable materials which he had collected, ought not to be allowed to remain inaccessible to the many who desire to consult them and profit by them.”

On the 23rd April, 1862, Mr. E. B. Cowell proposed that the *Tárikh i Badáoní* by 'Abdul Qádir be undertaken in the Series of Indian Historians. At the same meeting, Major Lees also, guided by Morley's Catalogue, proposed to edit such portions of the *Ṭabaqát i Náqirí* as had a reference to India. The minute Book contains the following entry :—

“VI. Read a *Memorandum* by Capt. Lees connected with the

prosecution of Persian and Arabic publications by the Society, and resolved that the Committee cordially concur with him in the propriety of publishing the *Ṭabaqát i Náçirí*." The *Memo.* alluded to, I have not been able to trace among the records; but the substance of it may be embodied in Major Lees' remarks on p. 465 of our Journal for 1864. Regarding the *Ṭabaqát i Náçirí*, he says:—

"Of the contents of the work, the late Mr. Morley in his Catalogue, gave a brief outline; and from the examination I made of the book, his remarks appear to convey an accurate impression of its value: "of the propriety then of our publishing the portion mentioned [Ghorí "Dynasty up to Náçiruddín Mahmúd], there could not, I think, be a "question."

Mr. Cowell's proposal to print the *Tárikh i Badáoní* was accepted on the 8th April, 1863. The following entry refers to it:—

"Capt. Lees' Report on the MSS. of the *Tárikh i Badáoní* was read and approved; but his suggestions relative to the *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí* to be deferred to a future meeting."

It is a matter of regret that the printing of the *Ṭabaqát i Nizám i Bakhshí** was allowed to be deferred. The three very inferior MSS. of the *Tárikh i Badáoní* were handed over to Maulawí Kabiruddín Ahmad, who edited the second volume (Akbar's reign); afterwards, for the first and third volumes, they were given to Maulawí Ághá Ahmad 'Alí of the Calcutta Madrasah.† The completing fasciculus of the whole work, together with a short biographical notice of Badáoní in Persian, has just been issued.

The Annual Report for 1864 announced the completion of the *Ṭabaqát i Náçirí*, and the issue of five fasciculi of *Badáoní*.

During 1865, the historical editions were vigorously proceeded with. On the 22nd June, 1864, Major Lees proposed that the *Iqbálnámah i Jahángírí* should be printed. Though it was of little advantage to print this work as it is a *verbatim* extract from the *Tuzuk i Jahángírí*‡

* Called by mistake *Nakhsabí* on p. 468 of our Journal for 1864.

† Vide Journal A. S. Bengal for 1868, No. I., p. 20.

‡ I have collected the places in the *Iqbálnámah* which contain either new items of information, or differences from the *Tuzuk*, and trust to have shortly leisure to put them in form of an essay. If one of the two works is to be translated, it must be the *Tuzuk* (Sayyid Ahmad's edition). There are few works which contain more *collateral* information than the *Tuzuk*.

which had been printed the year before by Sayyid Ahmad of Alighur (1864), the Committee and the Council resolved to print it. The MSS. were handed over to Maulawis 'Abdul Hai and Aghá Ahmad 'Ali, whose edition is carefully got up, and generally free from typographical errors.

On the same day also, the Committee resolved to publish a revised edition of the *Áin i Akbarí*, and to apply to Government for a special grant. Dr. A. Sprenger, to whom Sir H. M. Elliot also owed so much in his search for rare MSS., had, on several occasions, even before the *New Series* was commenced with, pointed out to the Philological Committee the importance of a critical text of the *Áin*.

On the 12th November, 1865, Major Lees proposed that the Committee should print the *Pádisháhnámah* of 'Abdul Hamid i Láhori, and the *'Alamgír-námah* by Muhammad Kázim. The latter was edited by Maulawis 'Abdul Hai and Khádím Husain, the former of whom lately favoured the Society with a minute *Index* (now printing) of names, an *Index geographicus*, and a List of Errata which, in the absence of a translation,* will be of great assistance. The MSS. of the *Pádisháhnámah* were handed over to Maulawis 'Abdurrahím and Kabiruddín Ahmad of the Madrasah. The work is rather bulky, and awkward for references being made to it, especially as there is no index of names, &c. Its style, however, is easy, though not half as polished as the elegant *'Alamgír-námah*.

In 1866, the Government of India granted Rs. 5000 for a critical edition of the *Áin*, which was commenced in March 1867. Up to the present moment, eight fasciculi of the text, and three of an English version have been printed.

On the 2nd March 1868, Major Lees, shortly before his departure for Europe, proposed that the Committee should print eight other historical works, including the *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*, of which the Council selected the voluminous, but valuable, *Kháji Khán*, which is now being edited by Maulawí Kabiruddín. The endeavours which have been made to collect MSS. for the *Maásir i 'Alamgíri* have not been successful.

* A portion of the *'Alamgír-námah* (passages relating to Burma and Assam) has been translated (Library A. S. Bengal, No. 32).

III.

A Biography of 'Abdul Qádir.

'Abdul Qádir was born on the 17th Rabi'ussání 947 (21st August, 1540) at Todah,* in the Sirkár of Rantanbhúr, which belonged to the Çúbah of Ajmír. Regarding the year of his birth, he says in his history—"In this year Sher Sháh gave the order to build from Bangál to Rahtás in the Panjáb (a distance of four months' travel), and from Agra to Mandú in Málwah, at every *kos*, a house for travellers with a Masjid and a well. He appointed for each *sarái* a *Muazzin* and an *Imám* (leader of the prayer), and even a Muhammadan and a Hindu,† who were to provide travellers with water and the indigent with food. He also planted, on both sides of the road, trees which formed an avenue in the shade of which people could travel. Even now-a-days, though fifty-two years later, the traces of this road are in many places visible. During the reign of this good king, justice was everywhere so efficiently provided for, that an old man, for example, might have anywhere lain down to sleep with a golden plate in his hand, and yet no thief would have taken it away from him. Thanks be to God that during the reign of such a king the author of this history was born! I might apply to my case the words which our blessed prophet said of the time of his birth, 'I was born during the reign of the just king [Naushirwán the Just].'"

We know nothing of the circumstances of 'Abdul Qádir's father, whose name was Mulúk Sháh ibn i Hámid.‡ The family appears to have chiefly lived at Basáwar, or Bhasáwar, a town of the district of Bayánah on the route from Agra to Ajmír, and generally spelt on our maps *Bissower* or *Busowar*. There 'Abdul Qádir spent the first years of his life (II, 236). His maternal grandfather, Makhdúm Ashraf, took much interest in him, and taught him the elements of Arabic Grammar (II, 63). It appears that Makhdúm Ashraf held a military post; for 'Abdul Qádir states that, in 955, his grandfather was with the contingent of *Faríd Tárin*, a commander of Five thousand, at Bajwárah, near Bayánah (Çúbah of Agra). About that time, his

* I, p. 363; II, p. 236.

† Híndús will not drink water from the leather bags of the water-carriers.

‡ II, p. 252, Sir H. Elliot in one of his extracts from Badáoní calls 'Abdul Qádir's grandfather *Jáh*, according to the reading of the MS. belonging to the Society which he used. All other MSS. have *Hámid*.

father Mulúk Sháh, went to Sambhal, where 'during the reign of Islam* Sháh (952 to 960)' 'Abdul Qádir learnt to read and chant the Qorán. At Sambhal also lived Shaikh Panjú, the spiritual guide (*pír i dastgír*) of his father Mulúk Sháh. The Shaikh who was a pupil of the famous Shaikh Adhan of Jaunpúr, was as distinguished for his profundity in Çúfism, as for the beauty of his voice, and for his talents of speech and address; and it is perhaps from him that 'Abdul Qádir acquired the fine intonation which subsequently recommended him to Akbar. In 960, while still at Sambhal, 'Abdul Qádir studied Muhammadan law under Miyán Hátim and Shaikh Abulfath, son of the renowned Shaikh Iláhdíyah† of Khairábád (II, 286). With the former 'Abdul Qádir studied the *Kanz i fiqah i Hanafí*, and became in time his direct disciple (*muríd i rashíd*), when Hátim honoured him with the cap and the 'tree' of his own teacher 'Azízullah. Hátim, who died in 969, must have been a Shaikh of great renown; for not only has 'Abdul Qádir placed him first among his biographies of the learned of Akbar's reign (Vol. III), but Abulfazl has done so likewise in his list of the learned (Second book of the *Áin*).

During 'Abdul Qádir's stay in Sambhal, Basáwar and the surrounding districts were plundered by Hemú in his expedition (961) against Ibráhím Khán; and the exhausted state of the district was rendered mere pitiable during the dreadful famine of 962, when 'Abdul Qádir witnessed the death from hunger of thousands and the dreadful sight of man eating man (I, 423). During the sack of Basáwar by Hemú, the library also of 'Abdul Qádir's father perished.

In 966, the third year of Akbar's reign, 'Abdul Qádir accompanied his father to Ágrah, where he lived in the house of Mihr 'Alí Beg Saldoz, who subsequently rose to high dignity. After a journey with Mihr 'Alí Beg (related in Elliot's Index, p. 233) to the fortress of Chanár, 'Abdul Qádir continued his studies in Ágrah, under Shaikh

* *Islam*, with the *yá i majhúl* (*e*), is the vulgar and Indian pronunciation for *Islám*; hence we also find towns called *Islampúr*. This change (*imálah*) of a long *á* to *e* has in many words become classical. Another well-known Indian example is *hawéll*, the environs of a town, for *hawáli*, which has now-a-days taken another meaning. But *اسليم*, with the *imálah*, is never pronounced *islím*. Vide Elliot's Index, p. 229, note 2.

† *Iláhdíyah* is the Hindústáni for the Persian *Iláhdál*. Another form is *Alláh díyah*, pr. God has given, *Therefore*. So also *Iláhábád* and *Alláhábád*, *Iláhorídlí Khán* and *Alláhwádlí Khán*.

Mubárik of Nágor. This Mubárik is one of the most remarkable men of Akbar's reign. He had the good fortune of seeing his eldest son, Abul Faiz, acquire the renown of being the second greatest poet that Hindústán has produced; whilst his second son Abulfazl became the greatest statesman and patriot that Muhammadan India can point to. Shaikh Mubárik was, moreover, one of the principal causes of Akbar's apostacy from the Iskám. The heretical influence which he even exercised on 'Abdul Qádir, who at that time had commenced rigorously to walk on the path of the law and the commentaries, is clearly visible in his belief in the approach of the Millennium, of which I shall say a few words in connection with 'Abdul Qádir's character.

The law studies which 'Abdul Qádir continued at Ágrah, remained his favourite occupation to the end of his life. Under Shaikh Mubárik he had made friendship with Abul Faiz and Abul Fazl; under Qází Abul Ma'álf, a lawyer who had come to Ágrah from Bukhárá, he had Naqib Khán as class fellow (*handars*), who subsequently played an important part under Akbar and Jahángir.

Thus we see that, as far as education and society were concerned, 'Abdul Qádir enjoyed all those advantages upon which success in after-life depends.

In 969, 'Abdul Qádir and Shaikh Muhammad, his younger brother, had to mourn over the death of their father. His body was carried from Ágrah to Basáwar. In the following year, Makhdúm Ashraf also, 'Abdul Qádir's grandfather, died at Basáwar. "Thus in the space of one year," says 'Abdul Qádir in chronicling these events, "nothing but grief entered my heart, which up to this time had been so thoughtless; and sorrow which I had hitherto avoided, stepped up in all its ruthlessness and attacked me. The meaning of '*It has befallen me*' became now clear to me, and I saw the truth of what my father had once told me, "that my light-mindedness would last as long as he was on earth; but afterwards people would see how I would go on without him, and how I would scorn the world and everything connected with it."

'Abdul Qádir soon after removed to Badáon (بداون)* where he

* The word *Badáon* has the accent on the penultima, and a final nasal *n*; hence *badáoní*, with a short *o* or *u*, and the Shakti Hamzah above the *váv*, an inhabitant of Badáon. The transliteration *Badáúni*, which I have seen in

stayed till 973. He then removed to Patiyála (پتیاالا), and was introduced to Husain Khán, the Jágirdár of the town. This man was at once the Bayard and the Don Quixote of Akbar's Court. He belonged to the chiefs who under Humáyún had re-conquered India; hence he was in high favor with Akbar, who had raised him to the dignity of a Commander of Three thousand (Áin Second Book, Áin 30, No. 53). But he was a pious monomaniac; he thought of nothing else but treasures and gold bars concealed in the Hindu temples of the Sawálik Range, and he undertook predatory expeditions, from which he returned poorer than he had been before. His enthusiasm was ever in advance of that of his men who, badly equipped as they were, had not only to suffer hunger and thirst, but never found the gold bars for which they and their master got their heads broken. When Governor of Láhor, he used to eat bread made of oatmeal—'his fare was not to be better than that of his prophet.' He would not indulge in the luxury of a *chárpái*, or bedstead—'had not saints slept on the ground?' It was known that he had never committed an unchaste deed. Property he had none. The contingent which he ought to have kept as a Commander of Three Thousand was never in proper order; and though Akbar had added the town of Shamsábád to his jágir, his liberality towards the poor and pious left him no money to get horses for his men. On one occasion (II, p. 94), he lost for this reason the command of an expedition. Sometimes he had not a horse for himself; or his servants had to bring him a horse, because he had given away his last and only horse as a present. "Money kept at home," said he, "is a thorn in my side." A poet said of him—*Khán i muflis, ghulám i básán-án*—'A poor lord with rich subjects.' When, in 983, he died from a wound which he had received on his last expedition in search of Hindú gold bars, he was one lac and a half in debt; but his creditors tore up the receipts, partly because he had no assets, partly

some works, is misleading; for *بداونی* has the *maṣnū* of *مفاعلی*, *و — و —*, and *Badáuní* would be *مفاعیلین*, *و — —*. For *بدارون*, we find an old spelling *بدانون*, with a nasal *n* after the *Alif*. The spelling *بدایون*, with a *yá* after the *alif*, is quite modern.

The town was famous as the 'abode of saints.' The 'Chronicle of Badáon,' published in Urdú by the Rohilcund Library Society, gives the names of fifty-one 'worthies.'

because they loved the man. He was tall of stature, and possessed immense physical strength. He fought like a lion. His war cry was, "Death or victory!" ; and when people asked him why he did not say "Victory or death," inverting the order of his battle call, he said, "Oh, I do long to be with the saints that have gone before!"

His piety and reverence for the Sayyids, the learned, and every thing Islámitic, frequently led him into serious mistakes. Once, at Láhor, a Hindú had come to one of his meetings, who wore a long beard as Muhammadans do. Mistaking him for a co-religionist, the old warrior shewed him every mark of respect, and even humility. When people informed him of his mistake, he gave the order that every Hindú at Láhor should sew a piece (*tukrá*) of cloth over the place where the sleeve is sewn to the coat; and the rigour with which he exacted compliance to his order, procured him the nickname of *Tukriyah*, the Patcher. Nor would he allow Hindús to use saddles (*zin*) when on horseback, because the Muhammadan law denies infidels this boon; but he only allowed them a wallet (*pálán*).

Another time, at Lak'hnaú, he appointed a man as his Vakíl, because he was a Sayyid, when sometime after his relations, to his infinite disgust, told him that his Vakíl was a *Shi'ah*.

The last expedition which Husain Khán led, was as much directed against the imperial collectors who oppressed the poor, as against Hindú temples with hidden gold bars; and Akbar had the greatest difficulty in believing that Husain Khán had not rebelled. "People," says 'Abdul Qádir, "think him mad; but he is wise and lowly in heart." His piety was so sincere, that Badáoní thinks that Akbar would never have renounced Islám, if Husain Khán had remained alive.

This was the man to whom 'Abdul Qádir, in 973, had been introduced, and whose service he entered. He had at that time the idea of going to Court; but the liberality of Husain Khán and the regard he shewed to learned men, induced 'Abdul Qádir, for the present, to give up all thoughts of applying to Akbar. He preferred the appointment of *Qadr* of Husain Khán's jágir. As such, he had to look after the poor of the district, and attend on his master for religious matters, as leading the prayer, &c.

During the nine years (973 to 981), which 'Abdul Qádir remained with Husain Khán, he shared the transfers, and the adventures

of this Knight-errant of the Crescent. In 974, when Akbar and his grandees were engaged in suppressing the rebellion of Khán Zamán, which ended with the defeat and death of the rebellious chief at Mungarwál, near Allahabad, 'Abdul Qádir lived for a short time in Ágrah, where he met Mírzá Nizám uddín Ahmad (II, p. 99,) who subsequently wrote the *Ṭabaqát i Akbari*, and became his warm friend.

In 975, 'Abdul Qádir married a second wife at Badáon (II, 105). Of his first marriage he has left no record. The event was the occasion of a pretty *Tiríkh*,—گفت ماه قرین بهرے شد، 'I said, a moon in conjunction with a sun,' which gives 975.

Soon after, 'Abdul Qádir followed his patron to Lak'hnanu, to which place Husain Khán's jágir had been transferred by Akbar. 'Abdul Qádir made use of his stay in Audh to visit the principal saints and the learned men of the time. The sojourn at Lak'hnanu was, however, of short duration; Husain Khán's jágir was again transferred to *Kánt o Golah* (Sháhjahánpúr), and mortified at the transfer, the old hero set out on an expedition against Hindú temples and their hidden treasures.* 'Abdul Qádir did not accompany him, but asked for leave to go to Badáon where he got his younger brother, Shaikh Muhamuad, married. The union, says Badáoní, was productive of mischief, and appears to have led, towards the end of 977, to the death of Shaikh Muhammad. 'Abdul Qádir's sorrow at this loss was increased by the death of his infant son 'Abdullaṭíf. The *Tarkib-band* in which he has expressed his grief (II, pp. 127 to 132,) is very fine, and shews the powers of his poetical genius.

In the beginning of 979, 'Abdul Qádir rejoined Husain Khán at Kánt o Golah, where he continued his duties as almoner. In the same year 'a dreadful event' befell Badáoní, which is best related in his own words (II, p. 136). "I went to Makkanpúr, which belongs to the Sirkár of Qannauj, in order to visit the tomb of Sháh Madár.†

* This expedition has been translated in Elliot's Index, pp. 235, 236. The corresponding passage in the Text edition will be found on p. 125, of the second volume of Badáoní. Lines 6 to 8 are unintelligible; for دخترے read دختر; for *bainika* read *bainaka*; گذرا has no sense; for بیابی we expect the name of a town.

† Vide Garcin de Tassy, *La Religion Musulmane dans l'Inde*, p. 52 (second edition). The word *Qannauj* is differently pronounced. The spelling *Kanauj*

As it is the case with all men that are 'brought up on pure milk,' light-mindedness—Adam's legacy, and the source of repentance, cruelty, ignorance, sorrow, and injury—brought me into a foolish scrape. This light-mindedness I called *love*, and after getting entangled in the net of voluptuousness, I had to suffer what fate had ordained. An extraordinary row took place in the vault where the saint lies buried; but it was not only God's anger, but also His mercy, that I was made to suffer for my crime in this world. Some people belonging to the family of the beloved got hold of me, and inflicted nine sword wounds on my head, hands, and shoulders. But the wounds were only skin wounds, with the exception of the wound on my head; for my skull sustained a fracture, and the brain was laid bare. Besides, the vein of my little finger had been cut through. I fell into a swoon, and thought it was all over with me. But by and by I recovered and got well. I hope, I shall likewise get off as easily in the next world. At Bángarmau,* I fell in with a skilful surgeon, under whose care my wounds commenced to heal up within the course of a week. In my pains, I vowed to perform the rite of pilgrimage to Makkah; but this vow has up to the present time (1004) not been fulfilled. * * * From Bángarmau I returned to Kánt o Golah. After the bath of recovery, however, I was again confined to my bed. May God Almighty reward Husain Khán with a place in Paradise; for he tended me with the care of a father and a brother, and did more than man can do. As the cold of the season made my wound quite numb (*gazak*), he prepared for me a salve of *Tamarix*, and also fed me on Tamarix sweetmeats. At last I went to Badáon, in order to consult another physician. He re-opened the wound, which brought me to death's door. Once while in a state of torpor, I had a dream. A number of collectors of taxes had taken me up to heaven, where I saw a *daftar*, a *Dhván*, and clerks. Some mace-bearers, who resembled the mace-

or Qanaui, is very common; but several verses of the Sháhnámah and Nizámí's Sikandarnámah read *Qannauj*, with a double *n*, as is proved by the metre; *vide* Vullers' Dict. under قنوج. Dawson's edition of Elliot's works (II, p. 52), quotes a commentator who spells *Kinnauij*, which is also the spelling given in the *Taqwím ulbuldán*.

* بانگرمو. The *Kín* spells this name بنگرمو Bangarmau. Our maps have *Bingerinow*; it lies in Audh (south), and belonged to the district of *Unám* (on our maps *Onáo*, on the Lak'hnanu railway). There are many towns in Audh and Bareli, the names of which end in *mau*.

bearers attending on the kings of the world, with staffs in their hands, got hold of me, and hurried me about, when one of the writers who looked over a sheet of paper, said, "This is not the one." Trembling all over I opened my eyes; but from that moment I felt relieved, and the story which I had often heard when a child, proved true."*

The perusal of this 'lovescape' makes upon us a different impression from what it will make upon a Muhammadan. First of all, 'Abdul Qádir's "beloved" was a young boy. But whilst we, in censuring 'Abdul Qádir, would expect that the thought of his family and his office, his education, and his religious sincerity, should have protected him against committing or attempting an unnatural crime, a Muhammadan would rather look upon the whole story as a mere example of the power of love. In the East, it is a recognized fact that love to a boy renders a man mad, and makes him in the eyes of his neighbours an object of sympathy rather than of censure. The element of immorality enters but slightly. Even now-a-days, when such cases come to the notice of educational officers, the excuse constantly brought forward is, that the offender had temporarily become a *káfir*—a phrase only too frequently borrowed from the poets,—and that such love scandals are matters of fate as every thing else, so that the ends of justice are better met with by watching or locking up the boy than punishing the offender. As 'Abdul Qádir has related the story himself, we might feel inclined to give him the credit of being an unbiassed historian who will even relate events to his own disadvantage. He certainly might have suppressed it; but the story is related as a 'dreadful event,' and deals more with the thrashing and the wounds he got than with the crime itself.

Later, in 989, when he was forty-two years old, 'Abdul Qádir once more experienced the power of love (II, p. 297); and though he wilfully absented himself from Court, in order to be near the beloved boy, the affair was more platonic, and ended in a few ghazals and an often repeated desire of dying during a meeting with the beloved.

* I. e., that when a man dreams of death, it signifies life. The study of dream books is as profitable as the study of the proverbs of a nation. If we compare the interpretations which different nations attach to one and the same dream, we discover most curious coincidences and contrasts indicating a difference in national character. Lithographed *Khváb-námahs* command a most extensive sale in the *bázárs* of India.

Whilst recovering from his wound, 'Abdul Qádir witnessed the total conflagration, in 979, of the town of Badáon.

Towards the end of 981, 'Abdul Qádir fell out with his old patron, Husain Khán, in whose service he had been for nine years (II, 172). He does not state the cause of the disagreement; but to judge from his remarks, he felt himself wronged. Husain Khán in vain asked Badáoní's mother to intercede for him: her son had made up his mind to go to Court, and thus carry out the plan which he had made before entering Husain Khán's service.

'Abdul Qádir was introduced to Akbar by Jaláluddín Qúrchí, a commander of Five Hundred, and a personal friend of the emperor, and by Hakím 'Ain ul mulk, one of the Court Doctors. "As in those days," says Badáoní, "knowledge was a marketable commodity, my mere arrival at Court procured me His Majesty's favorable notice. He made me at once join a disputation which was going on among some learned men 'that beat the drum of profundity, and in their pride, care for no one.' His Majesty watched me closely. With the help of God, my force of character, my subtle understanding, and youthful boldness, gained the victory. The emperor praised me very much, and remarked that I was the man for Hájí Ibráhím of Sarhind. As His Majesty wished to see the Hájí defeated in argument, he appointed me as opponent. The manner in which I acquitted myself, entirely satisfied the emperor. But Shaikh 'Abdunnabí, the renowned *Çadr* of the realm, disliked me, as I had not consulted him before my presentation at Court. But when, during the discussion, he saw me placed on the opposite side, he did according to the proverb, 'He who has been bitten by a serpent, will eat opium,' and gradually allowed his dislike to change to friendliness."

Immediately after 'Abdul Qádir's introduction at Court, Abulfazl was presented to the emperor. 'Abdul Qádir hated and envied Abulfazl from his first appearance at Court; he must have known him in the house of his father who was their teacher, and may have looked upon him as a younger school comrade. The high opinion which Akbar had formed of 'Abdul Qádir's learning and disputational powers, was transferred to Abulfazl, who not only possessed 'Abdul Qádir's learning, but the boldness of thought and breadth of opinion which dazzled the Court, and excited the jealousy and envy of the 'Ulamás.

The mistake which 'Abdul Qádir made in the very beginning, and which he would not rectify, though even advised by Akbar himself, consisted in this, that he preferred for his services a grant of land (*madad i ma'ásh*) to having his name entered on the list of the army (*dágh kardan*). These were the two roads for young, ambitious men at the time of Akbar. But 'joining the army' had in those days a different meaning from what it now has. A civil service did not exist : every servant of the government, or rather every servant of the king, was on the rolls of the army, and though perhaps in civil employ, was liable to field service, and had to keep up a contingent of horses and beasts of burden, which at stated times were mustered by Akbar. The custom then obtained to brand the animals (*dágh kardan*) at each muster, after which the troopers got their pay from the treasury, and the officers received their assignments on the revenue of the districts where they were stationed. A young man, therefore, on joining the service of the emperor, got a commission as *Dahbáshí* (commander of Ten), or as *Bístí* (commanded of Twenty), to which offices salaries of Rs. 100 and Rs. 135, respectively, were attached. Promotion was rapid and depended upon personal exertions.

'Abul Qádir, however, did not care for the 'brand' of the emperor. Mír Sayyid Muhammad, the *Mír 'Adl* of the empire, strongly advised 'Abdul Qádir to join the army. "Young man," said he, "do not run after a grant of land, and do not submit to the insolence of the *Çadrs* (III, p. 75). Take the brand of the emperor ; see only how grand and proud His Majesty's officers are." "As I would not listen," said 'Abdul Qádir, subsequently, "I had to see what I saw and had to suffer what I suffered."

Abulfazl at once submitted to the *dágh* ; and whilst 'Abdul Qádir, when he wrote his history, had to struggle hard for the retention of the one thousand *big'hahs* of land which Akbar had granted him, his younger school comrade was prime minister of India, and was in receipt of a salary of Rs. 14,000 *per mensem*.

About a year after his introduction to Akbar, 'Abdul Qádir 'on account of the beauty of his voice,' was appointed Court Imám for Wednesdays (II, pp. 206, 226). As such, like the Imáms of the other six days, he had to be present at the five daily prayers. The Eunuch Daulat Házir, whose duty it was to call 'Abdul Qádir, when

the people were ready for prayer (*iqúmat*), appears to have given him much annoyance. "After having been appointed Imám," he says, "His Majesty told me to join the army; and giving me an inconsiderable sum of money for an outfit, he ordered me to take a *Bístí* ship, and to bring the regulated number of horses to muster. Shaikh Abulfazl, who had lately joined Court, and who, to use Shiblí's phrase with respect to Junaid [two celebrated saints], had come out of the same oven as I, accepted at once, cunning and time-serving as he was, the military career. He brought his horses to muster, and shewed himself so officious, that he ultimately received an appointment as Duhazárí, and was made minister of the empire. But inexperienced and simple as I was, I could not bring myself to join the army, and thought of the verse which a Sayyid of Injú [Mír Jamáluddín Husain] had said when in similar circumstances, 'You make me join a contingent, and appoint me to a command of Twenty. Good God, if my mother saw me in this wretched plight!' My wish was to be content with a grant of land which the emperor might bestow upon me as a means of livelihood; I thought of quietly retiring from the bustle of the Court, and passing my life in study and independence.* * * But this wish has not been fulfilled. In the month of Shawwál 983, I applied for leave, which was not granted. His Majesty said he would exempt me from military duties, and gave me about one thousand *big'hahs* of land. This was at that time the maximum allowed to such as applied for grants, and corresponded to the salary of a Commander of Twenty; but on account of the unwillingness of the *Çadr* ['Abdunabí] and the wretchedness of the present hard times I could not get more. Unfortunately the thousand *big'hahs* were described in my grant as *madad i ma'ásh* [not as *jágr*, which is given for services at Court]; and as on several occasions I represented that it was impossible, on so small a grant, to live constantly at Court, His Majesty promised to let me have an increase on the military list. Shaikh 'Abdunnabí, the *Çadr*, told me plainly that he had never seen a man of my class getting so large a grant of land. The promised assistance from the military list has, however, remained up to the present time [1005] buried in the will of God, though twenty-two years have elapsed. Times have now altered; and though once or twice I had a present, His Majesty's promise was a

beautiful *mirage*. My attendance at Court has brought me no profit, and I look forward to an act of God's mercy, to get rid of the awkward fetters which have fallen on my neck."

The part which 'Abdul Qádir took in the religious discussions held by Akbar at Fathpúr Sikrí, has been noticed in my translation of the *A'in i Akbari*, (pp. 171 to 179). Though his argumentative skill raised him in the eyes of the emperor, 'Abdul Qádir, in the pride of his success, forgot that he challenged his own set, and was actively working against his own advantages; and when after the downfall of the 'Ulamás in 987 (*A'in*, pp. 186, 187), and the resumption by Akbar of nearly all grants of *madad i ma'ash* tenures throughout the whole empire, 'Abdul Qádir was allowed to retain his thousand *big'hahs*, he owed his luck more to the generosity of Akbar, who never forget an old servant, and to the good will of Faizí and Abulfazl, his old school comrades, than to distinguished services of his own.

In 983, 'Abdul Qádir once more met with old patron, Husain Khán, who had been brought to Fathpúr Sikrí dangerously wounded on one of his customary expeditions. The wound was badly treated, and would not heal up, dysentery (*is-hál i kábid*) having acceded, to which the hero succumbed (II, p. 228). In the beginning of 984, 'Abdul Qádir joined an expedition against Ráná Kíká, whose strongholds, Gogandah and Konbhalner, were to be attacked by Rájah Mán Singh. When the expedition started from Ajmír, where Akbar had visited the tomb of the Saint Mu'in, 'Abdul Qádir accompanied for a short distance some of the courtiers that took part in the expedition. "As I felt much inclination," says he, "to join an expedition against Infidels, I returned, and reported myself to Shaikh 'Abdunnabí, and asked him to obtain for me the permission of the emperor to go to the scene of war. Though he had no objection, he left the matter to his headman, Sayyid 'Abdurrasúl; and as he delayed to accede to my wishes, I applied to Naqíb Khán, whom I looked upon as my brother. At first, he was unwilling, and said, "If the emperor had not appointed a Hindú* as Commander, I would

* The jealousy of the Muhammadan courtiers was always roused when a Hindú was appointed to a high command. Even when Todar Mall, in 971, was appointed to assist Muzaffar 'Alí, then minister of finance, the Muhammadan courtiers, in a body, complained to Akbar, and asked the emperor, to

have been the very first to apply for permission to go." I replied that I looked upon the emperor as the Commander, and had nothing to do with Mán Singh; but I had resolved to go. One day, when His Majesty sat on a high dais in the tomb of Mu'ín i Chishtí,* to which a ladder was attached, Naqib Khán mentioned my request. "Is he not an Imám," asked the emperor. "How can he go?" Naqib Khán replied that I was anxious to join a religious expedition, whereupon His Majesty called me and asked whether I was in earnest. I said, I was; and when the emperor enquired after my reason, I replied, "I wish to make my black whiskers red [with the blood of infidels] in Your Majesty's service." "You may go," said Akbar, "and bring me the news of victory." After this he fell into a reverie, and then prayed devoutly a *Fátihah* [the opening chapter of the Qoran]. But when from within the dais I tried to shew my gratefulness by touching the feet of His Majesty, he drew them back; but he called me as I returned from the office of the Diwán, and giving me a handful of *Ashrafís* (goldmuhurs)—in all fifty-six,—he bade me adieu. On taking leave from Shaikh 'Abdunabí, who in those days had become my well-wisher and had overcome the dislike which he had formerly taken to me, he exhorted me not to forget to include him in my prayer before battle; for according to a genuine tradition, the Prophet had said that the battle line was the place where man had his prayers heard. I also asked the Shaikh to read a *Fátihah* for me. I then got my horse ready and set out with a few friends whose thoughts and plans were similar to mine."

"The expedition from the first to the last, was successful. I took the news of victory to Fathpúr Sikrí, as also the famous elephant of Ráná Kiká, which to capture had been one of the objects of the expedition."

Towards the end of 984, 'Abdul Qádir fell ill; but he afterwards joined Akbar at Dipálpúr in Málwah, and accompanied him, in Rajab

remove Todar Mall. "Have you not each," said Akbar, "a Hindú manager on your estates? Why do you complain, if I do as you do?" *Bad.* II, 96. In another place, Badóni says, "The Hindús are indeed mighty fellows; the soil belongs to them, and they have half the army."

* The great veneration in which Akbar held this saint, explains the inscription *yá mu'ín*, O helper! which we find so often on his coins.

985, to Ajmir (p. 251). The emperor, at that time, allowed several courtiers to go to Makkah. 'Abdul Qádir also applied; but Akbar made his permission dependent upon that of Badáoní's mother, who naturally refused to let her only son and supporter go. On returning to Dihlí, 'Abdul Qádir heard at Rewárí that one of his wives had been delivered of a son, to whom the Emperor gave the curious name of '*Abdul Hádi*. The words *Yá Hádi*, O Guide, were at that time frequently on Akbar's lips.* But as the child died six months later, 'Abdul Qádir took leave and went to Basáwar. Though he overstayed his leave, he was let off without punishment. On his return to Fathpúr, in 986, he presented the Emperor a short work entitled *Kitáb-ulahhádis*, on the excellence of expeditions against infidels and the importance of practising archery. This book was 'Abdul Qádir's first work; for the translation of the *A'harban*, which, at Akbar's request, he had commenced as early as 983, had not been continued.†

The discussions on religious subjects were in the meantime continued at Fathpúr Sikrí with increasing zeal, and took a heretical character. In fact from 986 'Abdul Qádir ceased to look upon Akbar as a Muslim. He says in a remarkable passage (p. 255)—perhaps the most 'hostile' in his whole history—"His Majesty till now [986] "had shewn every sincerity, and had diligently been searching for "truth. But his education had been much neglected, and surrounded "as he was by men of low and heretic principles, he had been forced to "doubt the truth of Islám. Falling from one perplexity into the other, "he lost sight of his real object, the search of truth; and when the "strong embankment of our clear law and excellent faith (*millat* ; "baizá) had once been broken through, His Majesty grew colder and "colder, till after the short space of five or six years not a trace of "Muhammadan feeling was left in his heart. Matters then became "different."

'Abdul Qádir from now felt uncomfortable at Court. The 'Ulamás to whose downfall he had contributed, were gradually banished to Bengal and Bhakkar; the Court was full of rabid Shi'ahs who openly in the State hall reviled the companions of the Prophet, and with heretical sophists who sneered at Muhammad, and turned th

* This passage has been translated by Sir H. Elliot, *Index*, p. 247.

† *Vide* Ain translation, p. 105, note 1.

Emperor's head with mysticism and pantheism. 'Abdul Qádir therefore withdrew to the background, and performed on *darbár* days the customary *kornish* (or salutation) from a distance. He used to take his place at the door 'where the shoes are left,' apparently an indifferent looker-on, but mourning in his heart for the contempt which Akbar and many of his grandees evinced for everything Islámític.

In 987, 'Abdul Qádir had another addition to his family. He called his son *Muhiuddin* (reviver of the faith), without consulting the Emperor. In the same year he nearly lost his thousand big'hahs. Akbar, as related in the *Áin* (p. 270) had been busy in resuming the *Sayirghál* lands of the 'Ulamás, and had just deposed 'Abdunnabí, the Çadr of the realm, upon whom we may look as the last Çadr of the Moghul Empire in India.* He personally inspected the documents detailing the grants held by the 'Ulamás, who had been ordered to come to Court. 'Abdul Qádir also was examined by the Emperor at Ajmír (Ramazán, 987). "I think," said Akbar, "his grant specifies the condition under which it is held." Qázi 'Alí, by whom 'Abdul Qádir had been taken before His Majesty, replied, the condition was, that he should attend at Court. "Then has he been ailing," rejoined the emperor, "that he has been so often away without leave?" "No," said Gházi Khán, one of the courtiers that were present, "but his good luck has been ailing." Several others also interceded for him and desired the Emperor to leave him in possession of his grant, though the Imámship was abolished; for at that time the five daily prayers were no longer openly observed at Court, and 'Abdul Qádir's services were no longer required. When Shahbáz Khán observed, "He is always in attendance on Your Majesty," Akbar said, "I force no one to serve me; should he not wish to remain in attendance, let half the grant be resumed." As soon as 'Abdul Qádir heard this, he made a *salám*, as if he was pleased with the decision; but the Emperor was vexed and turned away his head. As the courtiers, however, again advised him not to let him go, Akbar issued no order, and 'Abdul Qádir retained his thousand big'hahs.

* Historians have hitherto paid no attention to Akbar's gigantic struggle with the office of the Cadr. In this point, he resembles such Roman Catholic kings as successfully interfered with the property of the Church and monasteries. The *Jaunpúr Rebellion* of A. H. 987 (Bad. p. 276) arose from Akbar's interference with religious matters and the almost ruthless manner with which he cancelled the grants of the Mullás.

Dissatisfied as he was with the religious innovations spreading at Court, poverty compelled him to remain with the emperor. But in 989, he again absented himself; and if it had not been for Abulfazl and Khwájah Nizámuddín Ahmad, the historian, he would have been dismissed. 'Abdul Qádir says (p. 296)—“ On the fifth Zi Qa'dah, 989, His Majesty returned from Kábul to Aghrah. I had been absent from Court, and had stayed for a whole year at Basáwar, fettered by a deep attachment (*ta'alluq i khaṭīro 'azím,*) a clear dispensation (*mazhare támm*) of the Almighty. Little caring for the world, I passed my time in spiritual independence; but I suffered much grief and sorrow. [This is the love affair alluded to on p. 124.] At last, on the sixth of the same month, I went to Fathpúr and paid my respects, when His Majesty asked Abulfazl why I had not accompanied him to the Panjáb.” “He belongs,” said Abulfazl, “to the grant-holders,” and I was let off. But before this, when the emperor was in Kábul, he asked one day Çadr Jahán to present all grantholders present in the camp, and draw up a list of such as were absent. When my name was read out among the absentees, Khwájah Nizámuddín Ahmad, with whom the year before I had become very intimate, very kindly reported me sick, which counted as present. And in reality, attendance on a person, before whom one stands in hope and fear, is worse than sickness. But the Khwájah wrote me letter after letter, asking me to go at least as far as Láhor to meet his Majesty, as I had been otherwise neglectful; and he reminded me that it was important to adhere to the formalities of the world. But an hour spent with the beloved appeared to me better than eternal life. What did I care about wisdom of going the ways of the world, and the interest and the disadvantage of others? I put my affairs into the hands of God; for after all, He does what He wishes.

Leave all thy cares to God, and live happy,
If thy accuser has no mercy, He will have compassion.

* * * And even now [1004], after seventeen years, the remembrance of his lovely shape has not vanished from my heart. I cry as often as I think of him. Would that I had died in the wretchedness of my love grief!”

In the meantime, Akbar's Divine Faith' (*dín i iláhi*) had made much progress, and 'Abdul Qádir who had no longer to lead pray-

ers in the Mosque of Fathpúr, was commissioned to execute literary tasks; but inasmuch as these orders were connected with the religious views of the emperor, they were unwillingly and hesitatingly performed. The first task which was given him, was to assist in the composition of a historical work, to which Akbar beforehand had given the title of *Tárikh i Alfí*,* or History of the Millennium. The year 1000 A. H. was near, and Akbar had been flattered into the belief that he was the *Çáhíb i Zamán*, or Man of the Millennium, through whose agency Muhammadanism was to be totally changed [Kin translation, p. 190]; and the object of the new historical work was to represent the religion of the Prophet as a thing of the past. The coins of the realm even were to announce this fact, and their inscriptions exhibited the mysterious word *alf*, or millennium. But as Akbar had engaged nearly every literary man at court to take part in the grand work, the narrative was tinged with the heretical and Shi'itic prejudices of the joint authors; and 'Abdul Qádir, who was a staunch Sunní, was soon called to account for certain facts which he had represented as having happened during the reigns of the early Caliphs. The Shi'ah account, it is well-known, of the events of that period differs remarkably from that of the Sunnis; and Akbar who rejoiced in any record which reflected discredit on Muhammadanism and the deeds and lives of the prophet and the apostles of Islám, naturally preferred Shi'ah accounts, soon relieved 'Abdul Qádir of his portion of the historical work which was to appear "By Authority," and entrusted the execution of it to Mullá Ahmad of T'hat'hah who, from all accounts, indulged openly at court in the most vehement abuse (*sabb o tabarrá*), which Shi'ahs cannot and will not suppress as often as they hear the names of 'Omar and Abú Bakr.† At a later period, however, [in 1002] 'Abdul Qádir, after the murder of the Mullá,‡ was ordered to revise the whole work after its completion; but knowing the propensities of the emperor, he limited his corrections to style and arrangement, without altering the party-coloured statements of the Shi'ah joint authors.

* Vide Elliot's Index, p. 144.

† A Shiah once told me that 'Omar appeared to them more ridiculous than Abú Bakr. They often use phrases which occasion mirth and laughter among themselves, though a Sunni would not know what they are laughing at.

‡ Vide Baddóni, II, p. 392.

Nor was 'Abdul Qádir more fortunate in his translation into Persian of the Mahábhárát. Akbar even called him a *Harámkhur* (sweeper) and a *Shalghamkhur* (turnip-eater), "as if that was the share due to him for his labours." (Aín translation, p. 105, note 1.) At the same time, however, he was engaged in writing a Persian translation of the Ramáyan, which after four years' labour he finished. In Jumáda I, 997, he presented his work, after a second revision, to the emperor. "I had put," he says, "at the end of the translation the following verse by Háfiz—

I have finished my tale, who will take it to the Sultán ?
I have worried my soul, who will tell it the Beloved ?

And this pleased His Majesty very much. He asked me how many *juz* [one *juz*=two sheets of paper] there were? "At first," said I, "there were about seventy; but after revising it, I got one hundred and twenty."* "But you must write a preface to it," replied the emperor, "according to the custom of authors." But I had no inclination (*inti'úsh*) for it, as prefaces had to be written without the usual laudation (*na't*) of the prophet; so I shut my eyes, and did as if I assented. I take refuge with God against the consequences of composing this black book [the Ramáyan], which, like the book of my life, is nothing but wretchedness. Relating the words of unbelievers, after all, is not unbelief, and I earnestly denounce unbelief. * * * A few days after, His Majesty was reminded that he owed me a present for my translation. He said to Hakím Abulfath, "Just give him this shawl here, and let him have a horse, and some money," and to Sháh Abulfath he said, "I give you the whole of Basáwar as *jágír*, and the grantholders there are also yours;" and mentioning my name, he said, "This man goes to Badáon; and having neither seen, nor heard any thing against him, I hereby transfer his grant from Basáwar to Badáon." * * * As soon as I received the *farmán* specifying my transfer, I took leave for twelve months, and went to Badáon (p. 368).

This transfer, in 997, from Basáwar to Badáon is the cause why 'Abdul Qádir has been called *Badáoní*. On his return, in 998, from Badáon to Court, he met his friend the Historian Nizámuddín

* From the number of sheets which Badáoní presented, it may be inferred that the translation was an abstract of the contents of the Ramáyan, not a translation.

Ahmad. During his leave, he intended to visit him in Gujrat, because as early as 993, he had been invited by Nizam, though he was prevented by circumstances from accepting the invitation.

Not long after, Bad'oni was again engaged in literary labours. "The emperor," he says, "had ordered me (p. 384) to re-write the Persian translation of the History of Kashmir by Mullá Sháh Muhammad of Sháhábád, a learned man well versed in argumentative sciences and history. I was to write it in an easy style. This I did, and in the space of two months I presented my book, which was put in His Majesty's library to await its turn for reading." This order was connected, it appears, with Akbar's stay in Kashmir, from the 2nd Jumáda II to 2nd Zí Qa'dah, 997, when he returned by way of Kábul in the beginning of 998.

After revising the History of Kashmir,* 'Abdul Qádir received a portion of the *Mu'jam ul Buldán*, which Akbar, at the recommendation of Hakím Humám, had given to ten or twelve people to translate from Arabic into Persian. Besides Bad'oni, there were Mullá Ahmad of T'hat'hab, Qásim Beg, Shaikh Munawwar, &c.† These translations were made at Fathpúr Sikrí, "the old *Dívánkhánah* having been changed to a *Maktabkhánah* for the comfort of the translators" (p. 344). Bad'oni finished his portion in a month, and presenting it to the emperor, asked again for leave, which was hesitatingly granted, though Nizamuddin represented that the leave was necessary, as Bad'oni's mother had just died. But Akbar did not make him a present, as was usual on departure; "for Çadr Jahán, who had been appointed Çadr of the empire, told me to perform before the emperor the *sijdah*, or prostration; and when His Majesty saw that I was unwilling to do so, he told the Çadr‡ to let me off. But he was annoyed, and would not give me anything."

* No copies have, till now, turned up of either Sháh Muhammad's History of Kashmir, or Bad'oni's revision. Abulfazl in the *Áin* (p. 106.) says that Sháh Muhammad translated it from Kashmíri into Persian.

† No copies appear to exist of the Persian translation of this valuable Geographical Dictionary. The Arabic text has lately been published, in eight volumes, by Wüstenfeld at the cost of the Deutsche Morgenl. Gesellschaft.

‡ This worthy Chief Justice set a bad example in this regard to pious Muhammadans. Subsequently he became a member of Akbar's 'Divine Faith.' He also held office under Jahángír, and was exempted from performing the prostration, "because the Chief Justice of the empire could not well be forced to act against the law of the Prophet." (*Tuzuk*.)

'Abdul Qádir accompanied Nizámuddín to his jágir, the town of Shamsábád, from where ill-health compelled him to go to Badáon. Whether his ill-health continued or not, 'Abdul Qádir again overstayed his leave. He also appears to have taken away with him from Akbar's library a copy of a book entitled *Khírad-afzá*, which he lost on his way to Badáon; and though a collector of Salímah Sultán Begum (one of Abbar's wives)* reminded him several times of the book, and his friends at court sent him several messages to Badáon, he was, as he says, unable to go (p. 377).

This annoyed Akbar. He cancelled Badáoní's grant, and ordered him to repair to court, to answer for his conduct. Nizámuddín and Abulfazl tried in vain to assuage the just anger of the Emperor.

During the time Badáoní enjoyed, at Court and in Shamsábád, the company of Nizám, he commenced his polemical work entitled *Najáturrashíd*, and his historical work entitled *Muntakhab uttavárikh*. Of the former work, the title of which contains the *Tárikh* of its composition (999), I have seen two MSS. One—a bad one—belongs to the Asiatic Society of Bengal; the other, a very superior one—I extracted from a heap of 'rubbish' in the Delhi collection of MSS. belonging to the Government. The extracts below taken from this work, will shew that it is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the religious questions which were discussed during the tenth century of the Hijrah, and gives a complete account of the rise of the *Mahdawí* sect, to which Badáoní, though not perhaps openly, belonged.

* *Vide* Proceedings, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for August, 1869, p. 213, l. 7, and p. 215, l. 11. Bábar in his *Wáq'át* says that he had three daughters—Gulrang Begum, Gulchihrah Begum, Gulbadan Begum (married to Khwájah Khizr Khán, Bad. II, p. 14). The *Tuzuk i Jahángírí* (p. 113) and the *Iqbál-námah* (p. 68) say that Salímah Sultán Begum was the daughter of *Gulrukh Begum*, who was a daughter of Bábar's. Does this imply that Bábar had four daughters? I consulted the two MSS. of the *Maásirul Umard* which are in the Society's Library, of which one is so excellent and correct, that it could be printed off without the assistance of other MSS.—an excellence rarely found among Indian MSS.; in fact I suspect, the book is an *autograph*. This excellent MS. says that Salímah Sultán Begum was the daughter of *Gulbará Begum*, but the inferior MS. reads *Gulrang Begum*. Perhaps time will clear up this confusion of names in the MSS. and our printed Historical texts. *Vide* my review of the *Tuzuk, Iqbálnámah, &c.*, in the Calcutta Review for October, 1869, entitled 'Jahángír's Death.' I am convinced that as soon as the existing MSS. sources of Indian History have been used up, we shall see how limited and inaccurate our knowledge of the history of this country really is, as far as details are concerned.

Deprived as he now was of his income, Badáoní was soon forced to repent his carelessness and disobedience. He hastened to Akbar's camp at Bhambar, near the frontier of Kashmir, which he reached during the last month of the year 999 (p. 383). "Hakím Humánu," he relates, "reported my arrival to His Majesty, and said, I was anxious to pay my respects. The Emperor asked, how long I had overstayed my leave. Humam said, for five months; and when the Emperor enquired after the reason of my absence, the doctor said that I had been ill, and that I had brought with me a representation signed by several nobles of Badáon, and also a certificate by Hakím 'Ain ul Mulk of Dihlí.

His Majesty read through the papers, and said, "No, this sickness does not last five months." He would not allow me to attend the darbár. So I had to run about in the camp which the Emperor left at Rahtás in charge of Prince Dányál, whilst he himself went to Kashmir. Lonely and sorry, disappointed and aggrieved as I was, I read through the *Hicn i Haçín* [a famous prayer book used all over the East], and fortified myself by repeating daily the *Qaçidah i Burdah* till, at last, after five months when the Emperor returned from Kashmir, matters began to look up. He had expressed the wish to have a Persian translation of the great Historical work by Rashid, entitled *Jámi'*, and some true and kindhearted friends, as Nizámud-dín and others, mentioned privately my name to His Majesty, and I was, at last, at Láhor allowed to attend at Court (17th Rabí' I, 1000)."

The state of Badáoní's mind whilst 'running about in Dányál's camp', may be seen from Faizi's letter of recommendation to Akbar, which, however, arrived too late. Faizi, in Shawwál 999, had been sent, on a political mission, to Rájah 'Alí Khán, ruler of Asír and Burhánpúr, and he had afterwards gone to Burhán ul Mulk of Ahmadnagar, to which place Badáoní, from Bhambar, had written, requesting him to intercede in his behalf. Faizi's reply was dated Jumáda I, 1000, at which time Badáoní was already restored. But 'Abdul Qádir shewed Faizi's letter at Láhor to Akbar; for he says that Akbar ordered Abulfazl to enter the letter, which is a model of a letter of recommendation, in the Akbarnámah.*

* Badáoní also gives a copy of the letter under his biographical notice of Faizi (III, 303). The letter has been (indifferently) translated by Sir H.

The translation into Persian of the *Jámi' i Rashídí*, part of which was done by Badáoní, was completed by other learned men of Akbar's Court under the 'superintendence' (*istiṭwáb*) of Abulfazl himself; but unfortunately no copies of it appear to be now extant, which is much to be regretted considering the comparative scarcity of MSS. of the Arabic original. [*Vide* Morley's Catalogue.]

Badáoní was thus restored to favour and the possession of his thousand big'hahs. It seems as if after his restoration, the religious feeling which his past misfortunes and exclusion from Akbar's Court had called forth, had disappeared and given way to levity and spiritual indifference. He may have found it necessary to assume a more conciliating attitude towards the 'heretics' of the Court, and the members of Akbar's 'Divine Faith,' who were in office and had partly brought about his pardon. He may have imitated the example of his friend Nizámuddín the historian, who, though a pious Muslim, managed to rise higher and higher in Akbar's favour by keeping his religious views to himself. But whatever the real cause of this inroad of worldliness may have been, Badáoní, towards the end of 1002, repented and thought it necessary to enter the fact in his history. "In this year," he says (p. 395), "I was punished by successive blows of misfortunes and lashes of adversity; but God created in me a new spirit, and led me to repent of the several wanton pastimes in which I had indulged, and the crimes which I had frequently committed against the orders of our Law. I acknowledge the viciousness of my deeds.

Elliot, Index, p. 256. The words on p. 255, 'He (Shaikh Faizi) is commonly called the "chief of Poets," but he was in fact a mere Poetaster', are not in Badáoní, neither in the printed edition, nor in the MS. which Elliot used. The *para.* on p. 256 commencing, 'He had composed poetry for forty years, &c.' conveys, in Elliot's version, an impression very different from what Badáoní intends to convey, and is diametrically opposed to another passage (II, 396) where 'Abdul Qádir clearly says that 'Faizi's *Nal Daman* is a Masnawi the like of which, for the last three hundred years, no poet of Hindústán, after Mír Khusráw of Dihli, has composed.' The sentence which Badáoní pronounces on Faizi's poetry—and every one who has read even portions of Faizi's *Diwán* will agree with him—is that he is somewhat frigid, and deficient in that soft and plaintive sentimentalism of modern Persian Literature, compared with which the Byronism of England and the Wertherism of Germany are nothing. Faizi's thoughts are grand and striking, and his language is classical *de rigueur*; but his poetry is so full of *Shafhiyát*, *Fakhriyát*, and *Kufriyát* (*vide* my 'Prosody of the Persians'), that "every one admires but no one remembers his verses." The extracts selected by Abulfazl of his brother's poetry in the *Aín* (at the end of second book) fully bear out what Badáoní says, and explain why Badáoní, though he censures, can yet warmly admire.

Oh that this frame of mind would last for ever—Alas!

And I saw a good omen in the word *istiḡámat* (purity of intentions), by which I expressed the *tárikh* (1002) of my repentance. Shaikh Faizí also [who evidently felt amused at Badáoní's 'confessions'] favoured me with the following Arabic verse (metre *Mutaqárib*)—

*Laqad tába Shaikhí 'anilhaubaté**

Wa tárikhuhú sábiquttaubaté

"My friend, the Shaikh, has now turned from his wickedness."

"And the words *Sábiquttaubate* (the old repenter) give the *tárikh*."

Badáoní adds, by way of explanation, (metre *Mujtass*)—

برفت از سرم اندیشه می و معشوق بشد ز خاطر ام آواز بربط و طنبور

The love of wine and sweethearts has vanished from my brain.

And songs, and drums, and lyres, "enchant my heart no more."

Faizí in his letter of recommendation states that Badáoní was well up in the melodies of Hindústán and Persia (*naghmah i hind o wiláyat*) and knew how to play chess, two-handed and four-handed (*kabír o ṣaghír*), occupations which even now-a-days are looked upon as unlawful by orthodox Muhammadans, and which form the never-ending theme of discussion at their social meetings. In another passage also (III, p. 239), alluding to his former habit of composing love poems, he says that such poetry was current in the days before the Prophet, and that sincere repentance was better than such occupations.

Badáoní's 'repentance' was also connected with the loss of two of his friends. In the beginning of 1002, he buried Khwájah Ibráhim Husain, an *Ahadí*, to whom he was much attached (p. 394). The Khwájah, according to a statement by Bakhtáwar Khán,† was a calligraphist of great renown, and had been a pupil of Sulṭán Báyzáid, poetically styled *Mir Daurí*, whom Akbar had honoured with the title of *Katib ul Mulk*. But a heavier blow befell Badáoní in the death, on the 23rd Ḥafar 1003, of his friend Nizámuddín, the historian. The fine passage which he devotes to the memory of his friend and to his own sorrow, has been translated by Elliot.‡ The

* The final \bar{z} counts as \bar{z} , 400.

† In the most interesting chapter of his *Mir-át ul 'A'lam*, which contains biographies of learned men, calligraphists, and poets.

‡ Index, p. 185. In Sir H. Elliot's extract from the *Maásir ul Umará* containing the biography of Nizámuddín, p. 181, l. 11 from below, read, *Karí*

death of these two friends so affected Badáoní, that he resolved not to cultivate a new friendship with any other man and to look upon his bereavement as a warning from God. He says (p. 397, metre *Khafif*)—

مجلس وعظ رفتند هومى است مرگ همسايه واعظ توبى است

Thou art anxious to listen to a good sermon :

The death of thy friend is a sufficient warning.

A few months later, Badáoní again attracted Akbar's attention. Two days before the 10th Rajab, when the Emperor celebrated the fortieth *naurúz* since his accession, on which day promotions used to be made, Akbar "sat at the window (*jharokah*) of the State hall, and called me; and turning to Abulfazl, he said, "He is a heavenly-minded, young man, with the air of the Çúfí about him; but he is such a bigoted lawyer, that no sword is powerful enough to cut through the neck vein of his bigotry." Shaikh Abulfazl said, "In which book has he made the remark of which Your Majesty spoke?" "In this very *Razmnámah*,"* replied Akbar; "and last night I asked Naqíb Khán about it." "Then," said Abulfazl, "he must have been very careless." I now thought it necessary to go close up to the window, and represented to His Majesty that I had strictly adhered to the duties of a translator; I had put down without alteration whatever the Pandits had told me, and I was ready to bear the consequences, should it be proved that I had put in words of my own. Shaikh Abulfazl took my part, and the Emperor remained silent."

"The passage in my translation of the Mahabhárat to which His Majesty objected, contains the last words of a dying Hindu sage, who advises all near him to give up carelessness, and only think of God : men should be wise and should not trust to knowledge acquired, but to good deeds done by them. Learning by itself was vain; men should refrain from doing wicked actions, and ought to believe that every deed would once meet with its reward—after which words I had put the following hemistich (metre Ramal)—

هر عمل اجرے و هر کرده جزائے دارد

for *Kathri*, and on p. 183, l. 2, read *Sháhám 'Alí* for *Shahám 'Alí*. Nizámí finished his book in 1001, which Badáoní expressed by the word نظامى (1001), — a very happy *tárikh*.

* Akbar had often the Mahabhárat, or *Razmnámah*, as he called it read out to him. From the above passage it seems that Badáoní in the portion which he translated, had entered, or was accused to have entered, a remark offensive to the religious feelings of the Emperor.

Every deed has its reward, every act its recompense.

“ These words [in italics] His Majesty thought referred to Islámitic notions of judgment, the day of resurrection, &c., in which he did not believe; for the transmigration of souls was his pet-idea. Hence he suspected me of having smuggled into the text something which he called *fa-qáhat*, ‘Lawyer’s stuff.’ But I impressed upon some of the Emperor’s friends that every Hindu believes in rewards and punishments; in fact, they say that when a man dies, the book in which his deeds have been entered, is taken by the angel of death to the king of Justice, who compares his good deeds with his wicked actions, and then says, ‘Let this man choose!’ The man is then asked whether he wishes first to be carried to paradise as a reward for his good actions, and then to hell for his bad deeds, or reversely. When the period of requital is over, he is sent back to the world and receives a body in accordance with the excellence of his former deeds; and so it goes on till by and by, he is freed from transmigration.

“ In this way I managed to get out of this difficulty.”

“ On the day of the *Sharaf* [nineteen days after the *Naurúz*], His Majesty said spontaneously to Çadr Jahán, “Do you think, I can appoint Badáoní to the *Mutawalliship* of the tomb of Mu’in i Chishtí at Ajmír?” The Çadr expressed his approval of this arrangement; and for two or three months afterwards, I attended every *darbár* in hopes of getting the appointment, by which I thought I would get rid of the miseries of Court life. I also wrote a few chapters and presented them, but got no answer. Soon after I was obliged to apply for leave * * ; and when towards the end of Ramazán, Çadr Jahán asked His Majesty for orders regarding my leave, the Emperor said, “He has lots of work here, and I shall point it out to him from time to time. You better get another man for the vacancy [in Ajmír.] A few days later, His Majesty said to Abulfazl, “He would do very well in Ajmír, it is true; but his translations give me satisfaction, and I do not like to let him go. Abulfazl and others agreed with the Emperor. On that very day I was told to complete the *Bahrul Asmár*, a book containing Hindú stories which at the command of Zainul ‘Abidín,* a former king of Kashmír, had been partly trans-

* No copies of this curious work appear to be now extant. Zainul ‘Abidín was a contemporary of Sulţán Bahlol Lodí and Mírzá Abú Sa’id. Abulfazl says

lated into Persian. I translated the new portions within the next five months, all in all about sixty *juz*. Soon after, the Emperor called me once to his sleeping apartment, and asked me the whole night till dawn about these stories. He also ordered me to re-write the first volume of [Zainul 'Abidin's] *Bahrul Asmár*, because it was written in ancient Persian, no longer spoken, and told me to keep the MS. of the portion which I had made. *I performed the Zamínbos*, and commenced with heart and soul the new work. His Majesty also gave me ten thousand Murádí tangas [struck when Murád was born] and a horse as a present." (p. 402.)

Thus Badáoní, in all his Muslim pride, had to temporise, and performed the prostration.

Towards the end of the same year (1003), 'Abdul Qádir had to mourn over the death of two other friends, Shaikh Ya'qúb of Kashmír, known as poet under the name of *صيرفي* *Çairafí*, and Hakím 'Ain ul Mulk, his old patron, who died at Hindiah, his *jágír*.

In the beginning of 1004, on the 10th *Çafar*, Faizí also died. The circumstances attending his death form the conclusion of Badáoní's History.

Our hero soon followed his heretical friend to the grave. Akbar may have granted him the leave which, in 1003, he was unwilling to give. He died at Badáon before the end of 1004, at the age of fifty-seven years.

The following particulars regarding Badáoní's death are of interest.

The *Khizánah i 'Amirah*,* a valuable MS. collection of biogra-

in the *Kín* that he had several works translated from Sanscrit into Persian—an additional example of attention paid by a Muhammadan ruler to Sanscrit literature. *Vide* Elliot's Index, p. 259, where on l. 18 we have to read *Mullá Sherí* for Mulla *Shabri*. So also on p. 251, of which the extract relating to the *Mahá Bharat* is so badly translated, that I cannot bring myself to believe that it was translated by Sir H. Elliot himself. For a correct translation, *vide* my *Kín*, p. 105, note 1.

As I mentioned the name of Sulţán Buhlól Lodí, I may state that the correct spelling is Buhlúl. But in India, *Buhlúl* is generally pronounced *Buhlól*, with an *o*; in our Histories, the name is generally spelled Behlol. *Buhlúl* is Arabic, and means *graceful*.

* MSS. of this work are rare. I possess a very excellent, almost faultless copy, which I lately bought, together with a copy of the *Saru i Azád*, another similar though earlier work by the same author. Besides these two *Tadskirahs*, there exists another by the same author entitled *يد پيدا* *Yad i baiza*, which was written before the *Saru i Azád*. The latter work, the *Saru*, contains valuable materials for a chronicle of the town of Balgrám, and extracts from (ancient) Hindí poetry.

phical and critical notices on the lives and works of Persian Poets by Ghulám 'Alí of Balgrám, as poet known under the name of *Azád*, has a short notice on 'Abdul Qádir of Badáon, in which the following sentence occurs—

صاحب ثمرات القدس كه شاگرد شيخ عبدالقادر است سال وفات او
سنه اربع و الف نوشته *

“The author of the book, entitled *Samrát ulquds*, who was Badáoní's pupil, says that 'Abdul Qádir died in 1004.”

The following much more valuable passage, translated into Urdú from the *Mukhtaṣir i sair i Hindústán* by Hakim Muhammad Wahidullah, was very kindly forwarded to me by Mr. A. S. Harrison, Bareilly College.

عبدالقادر بدایونی تخلص قادری پیش نماز اکبر بادشاہ کے سنہ ۱۰۰۴
ہجری میں وفات پائے چنانچہ تاریخ وفات شیفتہ شاعر نے لکھی ہی اور
وہ قطعہ تاریخ یہ ہی *
شاعرے خوشکلام و خوش افکار زین جہان چونکہ ارتحال نمود
از سر اشک شیفتہ آورد قادری آہ انتقال نمود
سنہ ۱۰۰۴ ہجری

“'Abdul Qádir of Badáon, poetically styled *Qádirí*, was the Court Imám of the Emperor Akbar. He died in 1004, A. H. The poet *Sheftah* has expressed the *Tárikh* of his death in the following verse (metre *Khafif*)—

He is a poet of fine language and fine thoughts.
When he left this world,
Sheftah said under tears,
“Alas! Qádirí is dead.”

This is an example of a *Tárikh batariq i ta'miyah*. The third *Miṣra'* literally translated is—Sheftah took from the beginning of اشك (*tears*), i. e., Sheftah added the letter *Alif*, with which *ashk* begins, to the numerical value of the letters of the last *miṣra'*, which gives $1003 + 1 = 1004$, provided we count آہ as $1 + 5$, and not as $ا ۱۱$, i. e., $1 + 1 + 5$.

The Urdu pamphlet, entitled *Tárikh i Badáon*, by Rái Bakhtáwar Singh, Sub-Judge of Gorák'hpúr (Bareilly, 1868,) gives on p. 83 the following particulars—

مولانا عبدالقادر بدایونی کے اکثر کتاب تصنیفات انکی یادگار ہیں خلاصہ
تواریخ (۱) و تاریخ بدایونی مزار اونکا متصل اباغ انبہ وقع مواد موضع
عطاپور نواح بدایونمین ہی *

“’Abdul Qádir of Badáon, famous for his *Tárikh i Badáoní*. His tomb is close to the mangoe garden which lies in the environs of ’Atápúr, in the district of Badáon.”

Mr. Harrison informs me that a gentleman in Badáon has been at some pains to discover among the numerous and decaying tombs in ’Atápúr the grave which encloses the remains of ’Abdul Qádir. But though his efforts have not been successful, it would be any thing but antiquarian sentimentality to continue the search for the resting-place of a man who has left us, if not exactly the fullest, yet the most original and independent history of the Great Emperor.

The conclusion of this paper will follow in an early issue. It contains extracts from Badáoní’s *Najáturrashid* regarding the *Mahdawí* Sect, in connection with which I shall make a few remarks on his character. Then follow extracts from the *Muntakhab*. My intention at first was to give in this paper Badáoní’s remarks on Akbar’s religion; but as the extracts have since been inserted in my *Áin* translation, I think it will be more advantageous to collect such passages as contain historical information not to be found in the *Akbarnámah*, the *Ṭabaqát i Nizámí*, and *Firishtah*. In collecting the *original* information from Badáoní’s work, I have been guided by the excellent work, entitled *Sawáneh i Akbarí*, a modern compilation by Amír Haidar Husain of Balgrám, the only *critical* work among the native Histories of India. I cannot in sufficiently strong terms recommend this book to Historians: it is a work that ought to have been long ago printed or translated.

The next article concludes with notes on Badáoní’s style, the text of the *Muntakhab*,* and a valuable collection of *Lectiones Variantes*, which Mr. J. C. Lyall, C. S., Balandshahr, kindly placed at the disposal of the Society.

CORRECTIONS &c. Page 110, *l.* 13 from below, and a few other places, read *Firishtah*, for *Farishtah*.—Page 116, last line. Add, ‘since writing the above, a copy of the *Madásir i ’Alamgírí* has been bought by the Society.’—Page 117, *l.* 4. I am somewhat doubtful whether Badáoní means this Todah, or the *Todah Bhím* in the *Sirkár of Agra*, and not very far from *Basáwar*, where B. spent his youth; *vide Áin* text, p. 356.—Page 120, *l.* 1, read *Patiydí*.—Page 127, *l.* 3 from below, read [1004,] for [1005.]

* Especially the very fair edition printed by Nawalkishor, Lucknow, 1864.

The Nineteenth (1) *Book of the Gestes of Prithiráj* by Chand Bardái, entitled "The Marriage with Padmávati," literally translated from the old Hindi by JOHN BEAMES, Esq., B. C. S.

I have selected this spirited poem as a first specimen of translation from the Prithirája Rásá, and it must be regarded solely as an essay in translation. Chand's language is archaic, his dialect is as much Panjábí as Hindi, dating from a time prior to the definite separation of the two languages, his poetic licenses are numerous and daring, the texts of the only two manuscripts I have yet had an opportunity of thoroughly studying, are very corrupt, and I have no Pandit to help me. I rely chiefly on my own resources. I have, however, used with very valuable results, dictionaries of Panjábí, Sindhí and Gujaráti, and a glossary of the Marwári dialect. Still much remains uncertain and conjectural, and I am open to any criticisms, and ready to admit that I may have made mistakes where "tantum difficile est non errare."

Book the Nineteenth.

Here begins the marriage with Padmávati.

Couplets (दोहा)

1. In the eastern land there is a fort, lord of forts,
Samud Sikhar, hard of access ;
There lives a victorious hero, lord of kings
Of Jádav race, strong-armed. (2)
2. With retinue, (3) horses, elephants, much land
And dignity of a Padshah (पातिशाय रे मज्जद्)
A mighty lord to all his servants
With pomp and standards very splendid.

Poem (कवित्त)

3. With many (4) standards very splendid,
Song and music playing five times a day,*
Mounting ten thousand horses
With golden hoofs and jewelled trappings
A lord of countless elephants,
A valiant army thirty lakhs strong ;

* At his palace gate, as is the custom with Indian princes.

- A sole ruler wielding Siva's bow,
 Holding the earth in his sway.
 Ten sons and daughters all told (5)
 Chariots of beautiful colours very many,
 Storehouses, countless millions of wealth
 Had he, Padam Sen, the virtuous prince.
4. Padam Sen, the virtuous prince,
 In his house was a wellborn dame,
 From her breast a daughter sprung
 Beauteous as a digit of the moon.
5. Fair as a digit of the moon,
 Fairer than the whole sixteen digits ;
 In her childish guise she rivalled the moon
 When he has drunk the *amrit* juice.
 Like a lotus expanding through love of the moon-dew (6)
 She had stolen from the deer the glance of its eyes.
 She had [the beauty of] the diamond, the parrot and the *bimb*.
 A pearl from head to foot, glittering like a serpent.
 Her gait [was like] a prince, an elephant, a lion, or a swan (7)
 She was endowed with a collection of all sorts of charms ;
 Padmāvati was the highest type of woman (पद्मिनी)
 Like an object of love created by Love himself.
6. Like an object of love formed by Love,
 Formed in the perfection of beauty,
 Fascinating beasts, birds, and serpents,
 Gods, men, and saints likewise.
7. She had all the auspicious marks [on her body]
 Well she knew the sixty-four arts, (कला)
 She knew the fourteen sciences, (विद्या)
 She was like the spring among the six seasons.
8. Playing about with her companions
 In the gardens of the palace
 Her eyes lit upon a parrot,
 Then her mind was joyful.
9. Her mind was very joyful,
 Expanding like a lotus in the rays of the sun
 Her red lips thirstily opening,

Likening the beauty of the parrot to the *bimb*-fruit.
She strove [to catch it] with eager eyes, (8)
 It resisted, fluttering and struggling;
 Avoiding its beak, she seized it,
 Then she took it in her own hand.
 Rejoicing with joy, pleasure in her mind,
 Having taken it inside the palace
 In a beautiful cage, inlaid with jewels
 She was taking and placing it.

10. In it she was taking and placing it;
 Went to play, forgetting everything,
 Her mind slipped away from the parrot
 Joyfully calling "Rám, Rám."
 11. The parrot seeing the beauty of the princess,
 This form from head to foot,
 This finished work of the Maker,
 This peerless model of a woman.

Poem कवित्त.

12. Wavy tresses fair to see,
 Rivalling the dawn, with a voice like the *Koíl*;
 Fragrant as the blowing lotus,
 Swan-like her gait, slow-paced.
 White-robed, her body shines,
 Her nails are drops of *Swáti* [pearls];
 The bee hums round her, forgetting his nature
 In the flavour and fragrance of the god of love.
 The parrot looked with his eyes, and was pleased—
 [Said] "This beauteously moulded form
 "My Lord Prithiráj shall obtain
 "Forestalling Hara, the joy of *Umá*."

Couplets.

13. Approaching the parrot, the princess
 Applied her mind to speak to it.
 It was a very accomplished Pandit-parrot
 Who spoke words distinctly.

Arill metre.

14. She asks with soft and gentle voice

Saying " O parrot, tell me true,
 " What is the name of your country ?
 " What king rules there ?"

15. Quoth the parrot, hearing the speech,
 " Dillí Garh, the abode of Hindús,
 " There is the incarnation of Indra, the Chahuwán,
 " There is Prithiraj, the mighty hero."

Paddhari metre.

16. To the princess Padmávati
 He tells the tale again very clearly,
 In the place of the Hindus, the best of lands
 There rises the fort of Dilli, fair to see.
 The lord of Sambhari, the land of the Chahuwan,
 Prithiraj there rules gloriously.
 Sixteen years of age, a king,
 A long-armed monarch, a lord of the people.
 Lord of Sambhari, son of Somesar
 God-like in form, a very incarnation.
 Nobles and heroes all unequalled
 With arms like Bhím, powerful as Yama ;
 Who took the Pakkari Shah Sahab
 Three times they stopped him and turned him back.

[Here a doubtful line.] (9)

His word never fails, his arrow is piercing,
 Mighty his voice, death-dealing his hand.
 With seven thousand virtues like Hari Chand,
 Brave and strong, a hero like Vikram,
 Among the Dánavs an incarnation, merciful
 Over the four quarters of the earth a king, skilled in all arts
 An incarnation of Kandarpa himself.

Couplets.

17. An incarnation of Kamdev is he
 The king, Somesar's son ;
 Scattering a thousand rays on the lotuses
 Like the sun, a guardian of mankind.
18. Hearing the account of the glory of Prithiráj
 Transported with child-like joy,

Body, soul and thought fixed on the Chahuwan,
She remained, blushing red.

19. All her moon-like appearance passed away,
Her end approached ;
Mother and father were anxious,
Seeking for the maiden a husband.

Poem.

20. Seeking for the maiden a husband,
They made enquiry on all sides ;
They got Brahmins and Gurus, speaking,
Telling, and explaining that matter,
“ A man, a king, a lord of men,
With a large fort, inaccessible, immense,
Accomplished, of pure race,
Give to the princess, O king !
Then send a Brahmin to make the betrothál,
Virtuous, praiseworthy, as thyself ;
[Let there be] joy and gladness in Samud Sikhar,
Singing of songs, flags many.”

Couplets.

21. To the North, in the Sawálikh hills
In the fort of Kamáún, hard of access
Rules a king, like the jewel in the lotus,
With horses, elephants, wealth endless.
22. The Brahman prepared the cocoanut fruit
Having filled the *chauk* with pearls and (other) jewels,
That the hero should pledge himself to the maiden
With great joy making the alliance.

Bhujangi metre.

23. Smiling the king took the betrothal offering,
For joy from door to door the drums were beat ;
The lords of forts all speaking, agreed,
All the kings of that family arrived.
Came ten thousand horsemen renowned,
Thirty-three thousand foot soldiers filling the place,
Drunk with the moisture (from their temples) five hundred
elephants

Like black mountains moving on earth, rank on rank.
 Came glittering like fire mingled with ice,
 Eighty-four horses, powerful and strong.
 With incomparable necks and hoofs, prancing and rearing. (10)
 Of the five colours, shaking their trappings.
 (There was) playing of instruments in five tunes,
 [A doubtful line (11)]
 In Samud Sirsikhá (12) there was shouting for joy
 The marriage hall was adorned with garlands.
 The noble maiden, Padmávati, seeing the time (approach)
 Spoke to the parrot this word, being alone.
 "Quickly go thou, parrot, to the fair land of Dilli,
 "Bring hither the hero, the Chahuwan king.

Couplet.

24. "Bring thou the Chahuwan hero,
 "First tell him this message from me,
 "While the breath remains in my body
 "My beloved (shall be) Prithiraj the king."

Poem.

25. Beloved Prithiraj the king,
 Fitly having written a letter, she gave it,
 Arranging all the words of the invitation,
 On the twelfth of the moon he took it.
 Eleven hundred and thirty
 Sákh era truly,
 Thus;—"Khatti of pure race!
 "Hero! save a maiden's life;
 "On seeing this arise at once, O hero!
 "Delay not for one instant.
 In the space of five nights and days
 "(Come) thou as Krishna came for Rukmini."

Couplets.

26. "As Krishna to Rukmini,
 Thus, hero, lord of Sambhari!
 On the western side of Siva's temple
 At time of worship, be present."
 27. Taking the scroll the parrot went,

Flew through the air like the wind ;
 To where in Dillí, Prithiraj the king ;
 * * [defective line.] * *

28. He gave the paper into the king's hand
 Opening, read it Prithiráj ;
 Seeing the parrot, he laughed in his heart,
 Made preparation for going.

Poem.

29. That very hour, that very instant,
 That very day, that very time, preparing,
 All his heroes and nobles
 He took, shouting " Boli bam."
 Mention also* Chand, the incomparable poet,
 The hero perfect in beauty,
 And his army, all its cohorts,
 A valiant army, thirty lakhs strong.
 To Chámanđ Rai, the land of Dillí
 And the fort, the lord of forts having given in charge ;
 Away went king Prithiráj then,
 Went away to the eastern land.

Couplet.

30. On the day the marriage procession went to Sikhar,
 On that day went Prithiráj ;
 On that very day to the Padshah
 Came at Gajjanain (13) the report.

Poem.

31. Hearing at Gajjanain the report,
 Arose the hero Sáhábdín,
 Of Khurásán, and Multán,
 And Kábul itself the ruler.
 A terrible warrior in the clash of battle,
 A king with arms heavy as steel
 The earth shook (beneath him), Seshnág fled,
 In the sky the sun was hidden, it became night.

* कवच evidently an imperative ; we must suppose the poet to be addressing his muse, or to take a lower view of the case, perhaps he wanted a rhyme for कवच in the next line.

Turning aside streams, like the Sindhu river,
Stopping the way, standing foremost.

At that time to Raja Prithiráj
Chand spoke on this wise.

[What he said is not recorded.]

32. Seeing that the city was close at hand,
The hero advanced without fear.
In Samud Sikhar there was a great noise,
The sound of drums on all sides.
The poet went before as a guide,
Having prepared a horse for the princess (14)
To see them, all the women
Mounted to the windows and balconies gladly.
The princess looked forth from her dwelling,
Looking like the shadow of Ráhu, (15)
Peeping out at the window every moment,
Watching for the coming of the Lord of Dillí.

Paddhari metre.

33. Watching the road in the direction of Dillí,
Happy was she when the parrot returned.
Hearing the news, glad were her eyes ;
The maiden was elated with the tokens of love.
She tore off the dirty clothes from her body,
Purified, and anointed, and adorned herself with robes. (16)
Called for priceless jewels (for her person) from head to foot
Arrayed with the tokens of the king of love.
Filling a golden tray with pearls,
Lighting a lamp she waved it round. (17)
Taking her confidante with her, boldly the maiden
Goes as Rukmini went to meet Murári ;
Worshipping Gaurí, revering Sankar ;
Circumambulating (18) and touching their feet.
Then on seeing King Prithiráj,
She smiled bashfully, hiding her face through shame.
Seizing her hand, putting her on horseback,
The King the lord of Dillí took her away.
The rumour spread that, outside the city,

They are carrying off Padmávati by force.
 Drums are beat, there is saddling of horse and elephant,
 They ran, armed, in all directions.
 "Seize! seize!" shouted each warrior.
 Rage possessed the heroes and their King.
 Where King Prithiraj was going in front
 With all his army behind him,
 There the horsemen advancing arrived ;
 King meeting king, the warriors joined battle.
 When Prithiraj the King turns rein,
 The heavens stand still, the world-serpent shakes.
 The chiefs and heroes all look (awful) as death,
 Eager for blood on rushes the King.
 The bows let fly countless arrows,
 The deadly blades draw blood ;
 From the sweat of the wounds of the heroes on the field,
 A thick stream flows, and dyes the sand.
 As the warriors of the *barát* smote.
 On the field fell heads and headless trunks of the foe.

Couplets.

34. The foe fell on the field of battle ;
 Turning his face towards Dillí,
 Having won the battle, went Prithiraj,
 All the chiefs were glad.
35. He took Padmávati with him.
 Rejoicing, King Prithiraj.
 Thereupon of the Padshah's
 Arrival, there came a rumour.

Poem.

36. Of his arrival there was a rumour ;
 Came Sáhábdín, the hero,
 "To-day I will seize Prithiráj,"
 Said the Chief, loud shouting.
 Countless warriors raged for the combat ;
 The army formed in line ;
 With arrows, javelins, and spears,
 Catapults, (19) all arranged.

Throwing as it were mountains of iron.
 The strong-armed lords of elephants met.
 On they came shouting, ha ! ha !
 The army of Khurásán and Multán.

Paddhari metre.

37. The lord of Khurásán, Multán and Kandahár,
 With powerful sword, and unerring arrows.
 Rohillas, Firangis (20) with long beards,
 Crowds of Biloches with blazoned shields,
 With cat-eyes, and slaving jackal-mouths ;
 Thousands on thousands, powerful warriors,
 On the backs and flanks of their horses saddles and housings.

* * * * *
 * * * * * (21)

Dense masses of iron, and waving horse-tails,
 Irákis, Arabs, Tázis swift for victory ; (22)
 Turkís wielding mighty bows and arrows.
 Such sword-handling troopers in crowds.
 Though demons opposed them, they would not avail aught. (23)
 In their midst, Sultan Sáháb himself,
 Such was his army as described in song (24)
 Him Prithiráj, the King surrounded,
 On all sides with standards, and noise of drums.

Verses.

38. With noise of drums, and with flags,
 (Came) the Chauhán Rána on all sides ;
 All the chiefs and heroes,
 Called to mind their potent spells.
 Prithiráj the King set on,
 The hero shook his reins with eagerness,
 Drawing his sword full swift,
 Strokes, quick as lightning, he struck.
 The gods stood curious in the sky.
 Drowned in blood (24) the earth was (one) stream :
 Hara rejoiced at the sacrifice (26) of heroes.
 At the shouts of the monarch and his host (27)

Couplets.

39. At the shouts of the monarch and his host ;
 The battle was very fierce,
 [An obscure line] (28)
 Neither yielded, neither conquered.

Verses.

40. None gave way, none conquered,
 Heroes and warriors stayed or fell,
 On the earth they fell in numbers.
 Making a very terrible fight.
 Here were trunks, there heads ;
 There hands and feet scattered wide ;
 Here shoulders cleft by the sword,
 There heads and breasts cut open at a blow. [hoofs.
 Here skulls (with their) teeth and foreheads crushed by horse
 Elephants' trunks and bodies likewise :
 When the Rána of the Hindus, with sun-like face,
 The Chanhán, grasped his sword.

Bhujangi metre.

41. The Chahuwán, the Hindu Rána grasped his sword,
 Rushed on the troop of elephants like a lion in his wrath,
 Severing heads and bodies, cleaving brows in twain,
 All the chiefs and heroes utter loud shouts.
 Shrieking and screaming in confusion they fled,
 Abandoning pride and shame, and begging for mercy.
 The elephants fled blindly, the Chahuwán overthrew them.(29)
 Surrounding them on all sides he turned them.
 The sun went down, (3) around was dark night,
 (The army) went searching (for the road) nothing was visible ;
 Leaning his head on his bow stood Prithiraj the King,
 Then he seized the Sháh, who risked death and disgrace,
 He took him away quickly having routed his army.
 There fell chiefs five hundred there in the field outright. (31)
 Rájputés fifty were disabled in the fight,
 The song of victory was sung with flags and with beating of

Couplets.

[drums.

42. Victory was to Prithiráj ;

Taking the captive Sháh with him :
 Towards Dillí he went,
 Crossing the passes, the mountains and the Ganges.
 With the fair Padmávati,
 And the Ghorí Sultán.
 Reached the city of Dillí,
 The mighty-armed Chauhán.

Verses.

44. The Brahmins spoke and affixed the nuptial mark,
 Selecting (32) a fortunate moment,
 Made a bower of green bamboos,
 Adorned with clusters and garlands (of flowers).
 The Brahmins recited the Vedas,
 The *homa* sacrifice [was performed] on a platform before the hero.
 Padmávati was the peerless bride ;
 The bridegroom, Prithiraj, king of men.
 He fined Shah Shahabdi,
 Eight thousand pieces of gold,
 Having conferred gifts and rewards and dresses of six pieces (33)
 The king went up into his fort.

Verses.

45. King Prithviraj went up,
 Having released the hero Shahabdin :
 The King, his chiefs and warriors ;
 With banners, and music, and shouting.
 [Moon-faced, deer-eyed women,
 Preparing golden dishes many
 Binding on pearls, joyously,
 Forming in a ring men and women all,
 Sang with joyful throats ;
 Waving *chumris* from hand to hand,
 With coronets on their heads.] (35)

Couplets.

46. The King ascended to the royal fort.
 The virtuous King, Prithiráj
 With very great and exceeding joy.
 The crown of the head of the Hindús.

Here endeth the nineteenth chapter in the Gestes of Sri Prithiraj, composed by Sri Kavi Chand Bardai, entitled the seizure of Padmá-vati in the fort of Samud Sikhar by Sri Prithiraj after a fight, and the fight between Sri Prithiráj and the Padshah, and the victory of Sri Prithiráj and the capture and release of the Padshah. 19. Finished.

Notes.

(1) In Tod's MS. the 20th. In the Agra MS. it is misplaced and occurs as the 24th, but in this MS. the whole of the Mahoba Samyo to which it is introductory, is omitted ; as it is also in Caulfield's MS.

(2) Tod महासुग which I have translated 'strong armed सुग = सुज. Agra has असंग which agrees neither with rhyme or metre.

(3) असम, حشم, retinue, attendants.

(4) Tod वन, Agra वुनि.

(5) Tod कह समस्य; Agra यिक असम which makes no sense.

(6) Tod चिस मसर, which is unintelligible ; Agra भिग मसर, ditto. I read अहत मसर, *i. e.* अहत के मसर (-प्रेम) से, conjecturally.

(7) I read these lines thus हवपति गयं केहरि हसं गति ॥ विहवनाय संसे सचीय ॥ Tod and the Agra MS. read गयंदहरि which gives no sense ; विहव I take to be for विश्व; the substitution of *h* for *s* is a Panjábí characteristic frequent in Chand ; नाय is for नाया. The other reading विहवनाय I can make nothing of.

(8) अव अक्रित, with eyes rounded like a disc (चक्र), *i. e.* widely opened.

(9) Tod and Agra सिंगनि दु सद्गुन चडि जंजरि ॥ the meaning of which is not clear to me.

(10) The translation of this and the preceding line is purely conjectural the MSS. have entirely different and irreconcilable readings.

(11) सहस सहनाय भिग मोहि राज' Tod. Agra has सहसं सहं, etc.

(12) In this time the proper name of the place is given for the first time. The fortress is identified as Sriswagarh on the Pahonj not far from Kúnch " in Eastern Bundelkhand. Elliot's History of India, vol. ii. p. 459.

(13) Ghaznín.

(14) Readings vary in the different MSS. That translated above is the only intelligible one.

(15) The princess when in health was compared to the moon, when sick she is likened to the moon under an eclipse, caused as the Hindus believed by the demon Ráhú.

(16) Here again I have constructed an intelligible reading out the varying and obscure versions in the MSS.

(17) This is an allusion to the ceremony called *ártí* or welcoming the bridegroom.

(18) The ceremony of *pradakshinam* or walking round an object to be revered, keeping the *right* side always nearest to it.

(19) Tod and Agra तुपक तीरह सब सज्जीय, I at first translated this "muskets and arrows," but arrows have already been mentioned in the line above (बान); and it is very doubtful if guns and gunpowder could have been known at that early age, moreover the next line speaks of throwing mountains of iron; I therefore suppose some sort of heavy machine for throwing stones or darts, such as a catapult or mangonel, is intended.

(20) The mention of Feringhees here is curious. If the blazoned shields in the next line, the heavily caparisoned horses and iron armour apply to them, we might almost suppose some band of old crusaders had found their way eastwards! I suspect the whole passage however to be a modern interpolation. The word translated "beards" is मसानी which is found in no dictionary. I connect it with the Sanskrit मसु, Prakrit अखरो Sindhi मसु,—It is merely a conjecture however.

(21) These two lines are a puzzle. They stand thus—

फिरंगीक तीपास सुकलातलालं ॥

तच्छांवाघवाघनखरीरौहारी ॥

सुकलात is probably Persian *سقالا* scarlet cloth, and I should like to read तीपा for तीपा, so as to make it descriptive of scarlet caps, which were distinctive of the Mughal cavalry, as in later times of the Kizilbash their descendants. The second line I give up entirely, as it stands at present.

(22) I read फती तेज ताजी, فتح نیز تازی, the MSS. both have पटी.

(23) In both MSS. भिरे भून जेते सु तेते अमोलं, i. e. जितने भून उमचे भित्तें सो तितने अमूल (= निर्वल) होते ॥

(24) जप strictly, means 'muttering prayers,' but Chand uses जप and जाप for chanting verses, or even for speaking.

(25) रजन मजन = रत्नमय. (26) जग्गे = जग्य *i. e.* यज्ञ

(27) I read ऊर करन मन बरन वर *i. e.* मन (= मन्) चरवरों के वर वर करने से (इलास ऊचा) वरों वर, hero of heroes, monarch, leader.

(28) निसवाधुरसमकिनपरत the meaning of which is not evident, nor how the words should be divided.

(29) This line varies in the two MSS. Tod has बिद्यो होरिग राज सु चान करो ॥ Agra होरे मज्ज चम्ब चुडवान करो ॥ I adopt the latter with the change of the last word to केया No verb केना exists in Hindi, but in Sindhī there is केरु to overthrow, cause to fall, and केरु is used in Panjābī in the sense of scattering.

(30) Both MSS. have उडि which is absurd. I propose to read बुडि which is the earlier form of डबि, as the *setting* of the sun and not its rising must be meant.

(31) I read with Agra परे जीर से पंच तर्हा पेत चौज. This last word only occurs when a rhyme is required for चौज; it would seem to be connected with Hindi चौज (Sansk. चौच), clean. I look on it as an expletive and translate it 'outright.' Tod's version of this line is unintelligible. The whole of this Bhujangi is very corrupt. The Agra leaves out three whole lines and patches up a fourth with part of one line and part of another. It differs also entirely in some lines from Tod, but oddly has rather the better readings of the two.

(32) The word translated 'selecting' is परठीय, which is for परठि participle of a verb परठनी, the last syllable lengthened *metri gratiā*. It occurs once before in this book at stanza 22, where I have translated it 'prepared.' It is probably the Sanskrit प्रतिस्था, which would be in Prakrit पठिडा, whence परिठा and परठ. Chand is not particular about ड and र; thus we have परत for पडत, जुर for जुड, etc. The meaning would be to fix, settle, arrange, place, apply, etc. cf. Benfey *s. v.* स्था, also Bopp. Gloss. Comp. ib.

(33) षडभेष, lit. 'six dresses.' I suppose this to mean dresses of honour, as we should say 'khil'ats of six pieces.'

(35) The whole of this passage in brackets is omitted from the Agra MS., and I think it is an interpolation. The style is different from the rest, and it is somewhat out of place in the story. Moreover the last line of 44 is repeated in the first line of 46, as well as in the beginning of 35, which is unusual. The sixth line is partially unintelligible to me.

Persian and Arabic words in this book are *hashm, hazár, mahal, bígh, zanjír, áwáz, jang, fauj, khás, mír, tír, nishán, saklút, fath, tez, aswár, bázi, sulṭán, tegh*; these occur chiefly in the passages relating to the Musalmán troops.

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PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. IV.—1869.

Translations from Chand.—By F. S. GROWSE, Esq., M. A., B. C. S.

The two specimen translations from the Father of Hindī Poetry which I have submitted to the criticism of the Society, were, I believe the first that had appeared since the year 1838, when Col. Tod contributed to the Asiatic Journal a version of the Kanauj Khand. I have lately had an opportunity of comparing his translation with the original, and find that notwithstanding its apparent close adherence to Indian modes of expression, it is in fact extremely loose and untrustworthy; though no doubt it contains many suggestions calculated to smooth the path of a future translator. Considering the novelty of my undertaking, the comparative failure of my only predecessor, the inherent difficulty of the text, and the imperfect condition of the MS. in my possession, I felt little confidence in the result of my labours, and would gladly have welcomed the suggestions of competent critics. I was also in great hopes that such suggestions would not be withheld, since it appeared that the poem had recently excited considerable curiosity among oriental scholars. In these expectations, I have been completely disappointed, and the accuracy of my rendering has remained altogether unchallenged, from the indifference of the public, I fear, rather than from any more flattering cause.

I learn, however, from the September Proceedings of the Society that Mr. Beames (to whom the Philological Committee have entrusted the task of editing the complete poem) has prepared a separate translation of another canto, and has published a short specimen of it. It so happens that the portion selected is contained in one of my MSS. I have referred to it in my second paper, vol. 38, page 4. So far as I can judge from the English, the text used by Mr. Beames coincides closely with mine; but our views on the interpretation of many passages are far from coincident, as I will shortly proceed to shew.

I wish in the first place to reproduce the original text. This will occupy no great amount of space, since the passage in question consists only of 40 lines; and so very little of the text has ever yet appeared in print that many to whom MSS. are inaccessible may be glad to have a further specimen of it. Mr. Beames too will thus be able to see at once where difference of rendering is due to difference of reading. To the text I will append my own translation and subjoin a few notes, more especially at the points of divergence.

I am aware that it is much easier to detect flaws in another man's work, and to avoid them in rebuilding on the same plan than it is to succeed in constructing on an independent basis; but I cannot be justly impugned for essaying only the inferior task, since two of my own attempts already published are equally open to adverse criticism, and I propose to conclude this article by adding a third to the series. It will be, I hope, by a stringent examination of them that Mr. Beames will repay me in kind for my strictures on his performance.

Here follows the text of Mr. Beames' translation, as it stands in the Mainpuri MS.

दोहा पूरवदिसिदिसिगढनिपतिसमुदसिखिरिअतिदुर्गा
 तहाविजैसुरराजपजिदिकुलमहिमाभुर्ग
 सहसनुहयगयदेशपतिपतिसाइरमरजाद
 प्रवलभूपसेवहिसकलघननिसानबहुनाद
 घननिसानबहुनादसुरसञ्जेवञ्जेदिन
 दमदजारदयचठतहेमनगजटितसजिततन
 गजअसंखिदयसंखिसमरसेनाअतिलखद
 एकककरपनरकमरजादहरखद
 दसपुनरकरकदसुरयसुरगडमरसुघर

खपे

5

	भंडारलक्ष्मिभितवहुतपदमसेंनिकुशरहसुघर	10
दोहा	पदमसेंनिकुशरहसुघरताघरनीसुसुजान	
दृष्टे	तिहिसुएकपुत्रीसुघरमनहुकलाशश्रिभान मनहुकलाशश्रिभानकलासोरहपरिमानं वालवैससिसुतासमीरआमीरसमानं	
	विगसिकमल्लधमिधमरनैनधंजनसुगोती	15
	हीरकीरअरहंसमानुहातभूपजाती	
	त्रिविधिचंगचंगहजटितहयगयरथसोसरसविय	
दोहा	पदमसेंनिसुवनहपदममनहुकामकामिभिरधिय	
	मनहुकामकामिनिस्त्रीसचोरूपकीरासि	
	पसुपत्रोसुगमोहनोसुरनरमनियरथासि	20
	सामुद्रिकलक्षणसकलचेमठिकलासुजान	
	जानुचहूदिशिअंगघटिरितुवसंतपरिमान	
	सखिनसंगखेलतितहसतिमहलनिवागनिवास	
	तहकोरदेधौमयममनअतिभयौहुलास	
दृष्टे	मनअतिभयौहुलासविगसिजनुकोककिरनिरवि	25
	अरहअधरअधरतविंफलजामिकिरनिगवि	
	वहचन्नातवहचकितलखतितवअतिउरोजउर	
	चितुचहुयौअतिलोभलयोतवगहिलुअप्युकर	
	हर्षितअनंगरअतिमनहिरहसिमहलभोतरगई	
	पिअरअनेगरतनजिअटिततामैलैराअतिभई	30
दोहा	तामैलैराअतिभईगयोखलुसवभूलि	
	चितुचहुयोअतिलोभसारासुपढावतिफंलि	
	कीरमुदिननिरखेवदनसुखीमहामनहूल	
	करताकीरिवनाइकेयहपद्मिनिरसफूल	
दृष्टे	कुंतलकेसुदेसपोकरंचकअधरदस	35
	कमलजिहवैसंधिहंसमतिचलतिमदनरस	
	नवसतसोभसरीरमनिगधतिगुथिअस	
	नैननिरधिसखुपाइमदनमरतिमानौवस	
	परमेजुउमाहरहरिहितमिलैराजप्रथोराजवव	
	इमिअपैचंदुवरद्वियामहुलताअतिकलपतव	40

NOTES.

Line 1. The second *disi* may be taken with the preceding words as a preposition meaning 'towards;' or with the following words as

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the first number of a compound, *disi-garh-nipati*, 'lord of all forts on earth': the former seems preferable.

2. *Bijai* certainly may mean 'victorious,' but I think it better to regard it as a proper name. *Bhurga* is a word I have never met elsewhere; it may be for *bhúgat*, 'spread through the world;' but more likely for the Sanskrit *bhrísa*, 'extensive.' Mr. Beames may have *Jádav* for *jihí*; but whence he obtains his epithet 'strong-armed' I cannot conceive. Is it intended as a rendering of *mahimá bhurga*?

4. *Sevahi*, which Mr. Beames takes to be a substantive, is clearly a verb. He also confuses the Hindi *nisán*, 'a kettle drum,' by no means an uncommon word, with the Persian *nishán* 'a standard.' One would have thought the epithet *bahunád*, 'loud sounding' was a sufficient guide to the true meaning. To translate *bahunád* by 'very splendid' is decidedly original.

5. Here *din* must stand either for *din prati*, 'every day,' or for *din bhur*, 'all day;' I can see no reference to 'five times a day.'

6. Nor here to 'golden hoofs;' can Mr. Beames have taken *nag* for *nakh*?

7. Mr. Beames has entirely omitted the words '*hay sankhi*.'

8. Apparently Mr. Beames has wrongly divided the words, thus getting *har* at the end of the line, and then seeing the words *kar* and *patra*, has jumped to the conclusion that some reference is intended to *Har's*, i. e. *Sivá's*, bow; the real meaning is something quite different.

9. The text speaks of ten sons only, no daughters: and the meaning is, not that *Padamsen* had ten sons, but that he was one of ten brothers.

12. 'From her breast a daughter sprung.' This is rather awkward English, and not at all required by the original, which literally translated is, 'she had one fair daughter.' Nor in the preceding line is there any mention of 'house:' apparently either *sughar* or *gharni* has been wrongly divided. The word *bhán*, 'the sun' has been totally omitted.

14. The words in this line should be divided thus: *Bál vais sisutá samir*: evidently Mr. Beames has split them up into *Bál vai sasi sutá*, but even then they cannot bear the meaning he gives them. *Vais* is for *avasthá*.

15, 16. These lines are difficult, but not corrupt. The emendation suggested by Mr. Beames, in his translation since published is quite unnecessary. Even with such emendation, the words could not yield the sense he gives them.

17-20. The first of the two couplets here omitted by Mr. Beames is certainly extremely obscure; the second is simple enough.

22. Mr. Beames's rendering can scarcely be correct; since the Hindus reckon not fourteen but only six sciences.

23, 24. These lines are somewhat remarkable, as being the only two out of the forty which Mr. Beames has translated with absolute accuracy. Certainly they are not very difficult.

26. The comparison is not between the parrot and the *bimb*, but between the *bimb* and the girl's red lips.

27. The words *uroj ur* are altogether omitted.

28. Nothing in my text about 'avoiding its beak.'

31, 32. Here Mr. Beames omits much and exactly reverses the sense of what he retains.

35. *Sudes* must mean 'well arranged,' not 'fair to see.' The latter half of the line has nothing that corresponds in the slightest with Mr. Beames's translation.

36. The difficulty here is evaded. The reading of my text '*giddh*' must I think be corrected to '*biddh*.' *Bais-sandhi* is an uncommon expression, but is thus explained in the *Sringar-saurabh*:—

Bálápan jovan duhu milat hoti jo sandhi.

Ja son kabi sab kahat haiñ Bais-sandhi anubandhi.

37. The *nava sapta sobha* form one of the standard poetical common-places, and I am surprised that Mr. Beames is not familiar with the expression. His translation is quite unwarranted by the original, and the same remark applies to his version of the next three lines.

In these observations, I have taken for granted that Mr. Beames's text is substantially the same as mine, and I have little doubt that such is really the case. If, however, this supposition is incorrect, and I have thereby done him an injustice, I feel sure that the Society will allow him to vindicate the accuracy of his scholarship by printing the forty lines as they stand in his MS. I now proceed to offer a translation of my own, which however imperfect, will be found, I am confident, rather more faithful to the original.

Translation.

Towards the eastern quarter is a princely fort, Samud-sikhari, the impregnable; its king the heroic Bijai, of highly exalted descent: lord of thousand horses, elephants and lands, of imperial dignity; all puissant chiefs do him service 'mid the din of deep-sounding kettle-drums.

'Mid the din of deep-sounding kettle-drums, there is daily equipment of heroes, mounting ten thousand horses, their bodies gleaming with gold and jewels. There too innumerable elephants, myriads of horses, a warrior host with thousands of men, each bearing the royal umbrella, all of equal dignity. Ten were his sons, all gallant and fair, comely as the dawn, with countless stores of treasure; but comeliest of all, Prince Padam-sen.

The comely prince, Padam-sen, had a noble spouse; by her one daughter, brilliant as the sun, lovely as the new moon.

Lovely as the new moon, did I say? nay, lovely as the moon in its fulness; sweet as nectar was the grace of her blooming maidenhood. As the opening lotus, or the circling bee, or the wanton wagtail, so glittered her fawn-like eyes. The pearl, the parrot and the swan lost all courage in her presence, shimmering as a fish in a stream. The horse, the elephant, and the car lent her each its own special grace; this lotus of Prince Padam-sen must have been fashioned in female form by Kamadeva himself.

Fashioned by Kamadeva himself, a form of ideal beauty, stealing the hearts alike of gods, men, saints, cattle, birds and deer. Her body had all marks of good fortune; she was familiar with the sixty-four arts; and well-formed in all her members; she was graceful as the Spring. Laughing and playing with her companions in the garden of the palace, she beheld a parrot; great delight filled her soul.

Great delight filled her soul when the swan sees the sun; as she bit her red lips, they seemed to the flock of parrots like a *bimb*. The bird flies round her; she startled, looks down to her breast; vehement desire takes her soul, she catches it in her hands. Gladly she detains the little Love, and goes with it into the palace; there in a cage studded with many jewels, she takes and places it.

There she takes and places it, forgetting all her sport, and with irrepressible delight begins teaching it to say Rám, Rám. The parrot, see-

ing her face every day, was very happy. 'Surely this charming Padmini is the perfection of the Creator's work; her wavy hair so trim, her lips and teeth red with betel juice, her form just budding into womanhood as the lotus, stately as the swan, with all the graces of Love himself, adorned by the sixteen arts of the toilette, and with strings of pearls; the eyes of all beholders are charmed, and they deem her a Venus embodied. May Siva and Uma, whom I worship, beholding my devotion, grant the union of Prithiráj (thus sings the Bard Chand) with this branch of the tree of Paradise.'

I hope scholars will do me the favour of comparing the above translation first with the Hindi text and then with Mr. Beames's transformation of it. I conclude this article with a short extract from the Benares MS., being the third of my original series.

In my former papers I have described the opening of the poem and shewn how the Mahoba war was provoked by Parmál's massacre of the fifty wounded Chauháns who had wandered off from the main body of Prithiráj's army after an engagement with the Muhammadans. From that point I continue the narrative.

When the news reached Prithiráj at Dilli, his indignation was extreme. He at once summoned a Council of State, and finding all the chiefs unanimous for war, commenced immediate preparations for the campaign. An auspicious date was fixed by the priests, after performing a *s'ákal hom*, and the army had marched into encampments outside the city, when—

Translation of the latter part of Canto IV.

An envoy from king Mahil meets Prithiráj on the road before Dilli* and tenders a letter, saying: "Alha and Udal, the king's servants, are in the battle as the angel of death to the enemy; advance no further till you have slain Mallakhán and his puny force."† This is the letter sent by the king to Prithiráj: "First put Mallakhán to death, then reconnoitre the city of Mahoba; having well reconnoitred, urge on your march thither by night and day. There is but a small force at Sarsa; you are a man of valour, ravage their land; gird on the sword for the fray, if there be any courage in you, O king of Sambhar. This is the advice I give, writing the letter with my own

* 'On the road before Dilli'—*Dilli sapathái.*

† 'Puny force'—*Chhari-bhír Mallakhán ko.*

hand. Mallakhan's army is contemptible, utterly destroy it. Sarsa borders on Mahoba, there pass the frontier. The chief of his warriors have gone indignant to Kanauj: the Chandel has lost his senses, and stays still at Mahoba. There he stays careless, leaving all to me; I support his throne, and rule the entire land. Rouse your indignation, Chauhán, answer me as a king; take Parmál a prisoner, plunder the city of Mahoba."

Such was the letter given by the messenger to Prithiráj; the king, as he read it, was more delighted than words can tell. That instant he wrote in answer to the prince: "If the Chandel Rájá be conquered, half the kingdom shall fall to your share." Again and again he repeats the same words in writing to the Parihár.* "If the land be conquered, I promise you dominion over one half of the whole realm."† Mâhil's envoy Gopál spoke and said to the king: "Should Alha and Udál by any chance return from Kanauj all our arrangements‡ will come to nought. The king has grievously outraged§ them and banished them from the city; still, remembering their duty to their lord, when they hear of his distress, they will hasten to his side." Having uttered this caution, the messenger took the letter and departed. The Chauhán army started to ravage the country of the Chandels.

In the year 1140, on a Wednesday in the month of Kúár,|| the lord of Sambhar gathered his army and set forth to wreak vengeance on Parmál. When the assembled army broke up and marched from Dilli, earth trembled.¶ In the van were 500 elephants, huge as the

* 'The Parihár'—that is, Mâhil.

† The couplet stands thus: **होई महि पक्ष
अर्धराज यकितभा अफिय राज समस**

Here *aphiya* is said to be a Márwári word signifying 'to give;' and one Pandit to whom I shewed the passage assured me that *tabhá* is also a Márwári word used in connection with *aphiya* to imply a solemn donation. Of this, however, I feel doubtful and prefer to take *tha kahat bhá* as three words, meaning 'I tell you.'

‡ 'All our arrangements'—**सां के यां के रौल सब** Here *raul* is apparently for *kaul*.

§ Grievous outrage—**दीह दुष्य**

|| The word in the text is *ikkmds*: I am not certain what month is intended.

¶ The couplet stands thus—

जब दल जुरि डिङ्गो तै बल्लिब दूटे वर द्यौनोधर हिङ्गिब, which may also be translated—When the assembled army marched from Dilli, forest trees were broken, the earth-supporter trembled.

ten guardians of the universe, and 100 exultant champions, each of whom could turn to flight 10,000 ordinary mortals. The king gave Kánh command of this advanced guard, and halted at Fort Gopáchal. Here Amarsi sent to his aid* from Chitrakút 20,000 horse and 30 elephants. When Prithiráj fixed his camp at Gopáchal, all the people deserted their homes and fled to hide in the woods and mountain caves. Then Kaímás gave this wise counsel; "Mallakhán is a strong and haughty chief; get the better of him by a pilgrimage to Batesur. By the death of Mallakhán your fame will spread through the world." As Kaimás advised, so he acted. With clash and clang of soul-stirring music the army marched; earth quivered and shook; Seshnag's thousand hooded heads trembled at the weight. The Chauhán gave heed to the stratagem Kaimas had devised; no news of the halt at Gopáchal reached the Chandel. The army lingered† on the road to Batesur; the king of Sambhar struck off apart from the main body of the host. With him were 500 elephants, breaking down forts as huge as mountains, their riders equipped with splendid‡ spears. Under each chieftain were 500,000 men; as the Chauhán army marched, the earth-supporter's head shook. From Gopáchal Prithiráj made a cross-march to visit the shrine of Mahádeva.

When his camp broke up from Gopáchal, the crowd of elephants spread over the whole face of the earth. Under the tramp of his horses' hoofs, mountains were ground into powder as small as mustard seed. A moving canopy of dust warded off the rays of the sun. The Chauhán army with its gallant array of knights made forced marches, and with loud strains of martial music all arrived at Batesur. Summoning priests and bards to join his warrior train, the king in an ecstasy of devotion adored Sankara after bathing at Brahmanál. Attended by bards and sages to the Batesur temple, he touched the feet of the deity and reverently circumambulated the image. After bathing, he made an offering of 10 elephants, 100 horses and 2000 pieces of gold; all these gifts he bestowed upon the Bráhmans. Then

* 'Aid'—कुमुष, for the Persian *kumak*.

† 'Lingered.' The word in the text is रिंम ई the precise meaning of which was doubtful, till a day or two ago when I heard it used by a rustic in Court to express the slow movement of a man whom the Police had apprehended and were dragging off to the lock-up.

‡ Splendid शशील, probably for Persian *asl* or *asíl*. 'Spears'—सङ्कार।

taking in his hand lotus and other flowers with fruits, roots, and incense, he presented them in the temple. Reclining on a couch of *kusa* grass, the king adored with clasped hands: "Grant me victory, Ahináth, then again will I visit thy shrine." The oracular lord of creation vouchsafed response and said: "The Chauhan army shall conquer, but perish in the conquest. Many wounded men shall fall in the battle, bereft of life; you shall be protected by the grace of Brahma and Gorakhnáth." The king bowed his head on hearing this, and great joy filled his soul: "Come life, come death, be victory mine, then heaven is won."

The Chauhán left the temple of the eternal Siva rejoicing; the army panted for the fray, the trumpets gave a dread sound. As they marched from Batesur, the elephants led the van; all the Chauhán forces met at the Charmavati. The trumpets gave a fierce sound; great was the gathering of kings and nobles: Seshnág was troubled by the crowd of horses and elephants, as the army passed on to Indragarh. The Chauhán princes met at the river Sindh; at dawn Mallakhán heard the news from the chief of the spies: "The Chauháns have arrived at Basavgarh."* On hearing this, Mallakhán acted prudently and summoned his counsellors, and priests, saying: "Speak, friends, and advise me; shall I keep my family with me, or send them to Mahoba? join counsel and declare what seems to you best." His kinsmen and counsellors made answer, revealing their thoughts: "Despatch your family to Mahoba." Thus spoke all the counsellors and bards: "Set your mind at ease by sending the women to Mahoba; then give your whole soul to the battle."† Mallakhán pondered the advice of his kinsmen and counsellors, and went into the seraglio to speak with the Queen.

So ends the fourth canto, entitled Mallakhan's Council.

Postscript.

While correcting the proof sheets of the above, I received a copy of the Journal containing Mr. Beames's complete translation. I have

* Bāsavgarh—i. e. Indragarh: Vāsava being a name of Indra.

† The following Persian words occur in the above passage: *vis*, *sarlár*, *gáçid*, *ráh*, *kumak*, *fauj*, *khabr*, *astl*, *pl*, and *mahall*.

read this with great interest, and congratulate the writer on his spirited reproduction of the general substance and style of the original. I only demur to its being described as a literal translation, which it really is not. However, a little looseness of rendering will make the work not a whit the less acceptable to the general reader; and any asperity of verbal criticism, into which I may have been betrayed, will, I trust, be attributed solely to the fact that I expected a work of rather severe type from a scholar who has achieved a philological reputation. Yet I must express a hope that, if Mr. Beames continues in his idea not only of translating but also of editing the poem, he will reproduce the MSS. as closely as possible, and not venture upon hasty emendations, which in the majority of cases, more mature reflection would convince him were quite unnecessary. Thus in the forty lines which we have both translated, I see no occasion to alter more than a single letter, reading in one place *biddh* for *giddh*. Mr. Beames on the other hand with a better MS. before him, proposes several sweeping alterations, which his brief notes enable me to see are based on mere misconceptions of the content. F. S. G.

Reply to Mr. Growse.

I wish to be brief, because Mr. Growse has already occupied too much space to no purpose, and because my remarks are few and simple.

1. My text differs so widely from Mr. Growse's, that on reading his, it looks to me like quite a different poem.

2. There are only four MSS. of Chand accessible to European scholars. Two of these are in my possession, the third is in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, the fourth in the Bodleian at Oxford. Mr. Growse possesses *no* copy of the poem.

3. Having no copy of Chand, but having picked up some old Hindî works which contain copious but garbled extracts from Chand mixed up with extraneous matter, Mr. Growse condemns my translation in no measured terms, because it differs from his own incorrect text!

I will first defend my own translation in those places where Mr. Growse attacks it, and then give the correct version of the original from the real MSS.

I do not criticise Mr. Growse's specimens of translation, as the Hindi from which he translates is not traceable in either of my copies of Chand, and appears not to be written by Chand at all, but by some modern author who has borrowed the poet's name.

Lines 1-4. These lines stand as follows :

पूरव दिस गढ गढन पति ।
समुद सिखर अति द्रुग ।
तथां सुविजय सुर राज पति ।
जादव कुल महाभुग ।

This shews how erroneous Mr. Growse's version is. It foists in a second दिसि in the first line, then writes *durg* for *drugg*, not knowing that Chand always throws the *r* back in such words as these, as *sarb* for *sarb*, *dhram* for *dharm*, *subran* for *subarn* and many others, and then to eke out the rhyme alters *bhug* into *bhurg* a purely imaginary word : *bhug* is a common Chand corruption for *bhuj* 'arm,' and the compound *mahābhug* means, as I have translated it 'mighty armed' like 'maha bahu' a common epithet of kings. Mr. Growse's notes on these four lines are simple nonsense ; and his mistake of supposing *suviyaya* 'very victorious' to be the name of the king is the more ridiculous because the real name Padam Sen is given a few lines further on.

4. *Sevahi*, says Mr. Growse is a verb ! If so, it would be interesting to know what part of the verb it is. Mr. Growse is, it would seem, unaware of the Prakrit form of the dative plural (Lassen Inst. B. p. 311, where it is wrongly given as an instrumental) from the Sanskrit from *सेवेभ्यः*, which in Prakrit becomes *सेवेहिं* and finally *सेवहिं*.

As to *nisán* meaning 'a kettledrum,' it may be so, but I do not find it in five of the best dictionaries ; and as the real texts read *bahusiddh* or *sádd* and not *ndd*, I prefer to retain the ordinary translation of 'standards.'

5. Here again Mr. Growse's text is absurdly wrong; a reference to my text as given below will shew that my rendering is correct. The "puissant chiefs" of Mr. Growse's translation, are evidently a creation of his own brain, or of his Pandit's, for I do not see how he gets it out of his own text even.

7. "Mr. B. has entirely omitted the words *hay sankhi*." Yes, I have, because they are not in the text.

8. "Apparently Mr. B. has wrongly divided the words." Mr. B.

has done no such thing, but has translated his own text literally; not having had Mr. Growse's fancy text to confuse him, for which he is thankful. The introduction of the words 'Siva's bow' was caused by the simple fact that '*pināka*' which is the name of that bow, occurs in my true text, though not in Mr. Growse's jumble.

9. "The text speaks of ten sons only, no daughters." The text says '*das putr putri.*' If this does not mean 'ten sons and daughters,' I wish to know what it *does* mean? As to the suggestion that Padam Sen was one of these ten sons, it is an unfounded assertion into which Mr. G. has been betrayed by his faulty text.

12. *Tā ur putri pragaṭ* says my text. I translate word for word. 'From her breast a daughter sprung.' Mr. Growse says, "this is awkward English and not required by the original." The preceding line is *ta ghari nāri sujān*, which again I have rendered literally, 'In his house was a wellborn dame.'

14. Here again Mr. Growse is blundering over a bad text. The word he reads *sisu* is really *sasi* the moon; and the word he reads *vais* and tell us is for *avasthā*, (though where he got this idea from is a puzzle), is simply *bhes*, 'dress, appearance, guise' as I have given it; '*samir*' is an error for '*samip*;' and Mr. Growse's text is quite wrong in the fourth line, which he ignorantly (or rather his Pandit again) mixes up with the third, for it wants at least a couple of feet to make it scan!

15, 16. Your text as it stands is not intelligible, and I should like to know by what process you get your English out of it. And *d propos* of your English, what do you mean by pearls, parrots and swans shimmering like fish in a stream? I see nothing about "shimmering" or 'streams' in your text. I am afraid your Pandit, in whom you trusted, has deceived you; or was it the intelligent bunnias of that village on the frontier of your district, mentioned in your former article?

22. My rendering cannot be correct since the Hindus reckon only six sciences, says Mr. Growse. To this I reply, that Chand says *chaturdas*; and Mr. Growse is perhaps thinking of the six schools of Vedic science, to the exclusion of the secular sciences.

23, 24. These lines are remarkable, it appears, as the only two which I have translated accurately! I might have been spared this sarcasm; if Mr. Growse's object had been honest criticism, nothing

need have been said of these lines. My offence in the eyes of this gentleman, who is a stranger to me and to most scholars in Europe, consists in my having dared to meddle with Chand at all, seeing that he had constituted himself interpreter in chief, and head referee on all questions connected with this author.

The rest of Mr. Growse's criticisms are founded on a text so widely differing from mine, that I cannot even find which of my lines he refers to.

In conclusion, I can only say that I will take no further notice of anything Mr. Growse may write. I cannot undertake to teach him the rudiments of old Hindi in the Society's Journal, nor can I spare the time to copy out for him my text. I am preparing an edition of the complete text for the Society much of which is ready, and will appear shortly. Mr. Growse will then know what is really in Chand and what is not. Till then I should recommend him to hold his peace, or at any rate not to accuse of want of scholarship, a man whom he does not know, on the strength of a text which he has not seen. And I would give him a further parting word of advice, namely, not to rely on his Pandit too entirely, but to try and reason out for himself the true meaning of every word, and above all, not to listen too credulously to village shopkeepers and grainsellers, however interesting and intelligent they may be !

My text, as it stands in two complete MSS.

अथ पदमावतीसम्यो लिख्यते.

दुहा ।	पूरव दिस गढ गढन पति । समुद्द सिद्धर अति दुग्ग । तद्धां सुविज्जय सुर राजपति । जादव कुल महा भुग्ग ॥ १ ॥ इसम इय गय देस अति । पतिसाय रे मर्जाद । प्रबल भूप सेवहिं सकल । धुनि निग्गान बड साद ॥ २ ॥
कवित्त	घन निग्गान बड साद । नाद सुर पंच बजत दिन । दम हजार इय चढत : इम मज अडित साज तिन ।

मज्ज अर्धम मज्जपतीय ।
 सुधर सेना तीयस लपड ।
 इक नायक कर धरि पिनाक ।
 धर भर रज रपड
 दस पुत्र पुत्रीय कश् समस्य ।
 रथ सुरंग उमड उमड ।
 भंडार लक्षीय अगनित पदम ।
 सो पदम सेन कुंवर सुधर ॥ ३ ॥
 दुहा । पदम सेन कुंवर सुधर ।
 ता धरि नारी सुजान ।
 ता उर पुत्री प्रगड ।
 मनडं कला ससि भान ॥ ४ ॥
 कविता मनडं कला ससि भान
 कला सोलह सैं वनीय ।
 बाल भेष ससि ता समीप ।
 अदत रस पिनीय ।
 विमसि कमल अदत समर ।
 नैन बंधन विम सुद्वीय ।
 कीर कीर अब विव ।
 मोती मय सिस अहि सुद्वीय ॥ ५ ॥
 इक्षपति मय केहरि हंस मति ।
 विहव माय संचै सञ्जीय ।
 पदमिनीय रूप पदमावती ।
 मनहु काम कामिनिरञ्जीय ।
 समहु काम कामिनिरञ्जीय ।
 रञ्जीय रूप की रास ।
 पछ पंही दम रूप मोहिनी ।
 सर नर मुनीय रपास ॥ ६ ॥
 सामुद्रिक लक्षण सकल ।
 चौसठि कला सुजान ।
 जानि अतुरदस अंग घट ।
 रिति बसंत परमान ॥ ७ ॥
 सधियन संमं वेसत फिरत ।
 मज्जल निवाम निवास ।
 कीर इक्ष दिष्पीय मयन ।

तव मन भयो दुलास ॥ ८ ॥
 मन अति भयो दुलास ।
 बिगसि अनु कोक किरम रवि ।
 अवन अधर तोयस धर
 बिंव फल जानि कीर हवि ।
 यह चाहत चप चक्रित ।
 वह जुत कीय भरपि भर ।
 चुंच दुहोय लोभ अति ।
 लीयो तव गहित अप्प कर ।
 हर्षत आनंद मन महि दुलास ।
 लैजु महल भोतरि गई ॥
 पंजर अनूप नग मनि जडित ।
 सो तिहि महि रषत भई ।
 दुहा तिहिं महि लै रषत भईय ।
 गई षेल सब भूल ।
 चित दुट्यौ कीर सें
 राम पढावत फूल ॥ १० ॥*
 कीर कुवरि तन मिरषि दिषि ।
 नष सिष लौं यह रूप ।
 करता करीय बनाय कै ।
 यह पदमिनी सरूप । ११ ॥
 कविच । कुटिल केस सुदेस
 पौह परचियत पिक मद् ।
 कमल गंध वयसंध ।
 हंस गति चलत मंद मंद ।
 सेत वल्ल सोचै सरीर ।
 नष खाति बुंद जैसा ।
 भसर भमहि भुजहि सुभाव ।
 मकरंद वास रस ॥

Is not this enough? If not, Mr. Growse must wait till my complete edition of the text comes out.

JOHN BEAMES.

* The preferable reading is राम राम पढती फूल ॥ she could not have been teaching the parrot as she is said in the preceding line to have forgotten all about him. I have altered my first rendering of this line, as I got the Agra MS., after I had written it.

*Some Observations on the Temples of "Razdan" or "Razdoing" in the
"Lár" Pergunnah, Cashmere. By Lieut.-Col. D. F. NEWALL, R. A.*

(With 3 Plates.)

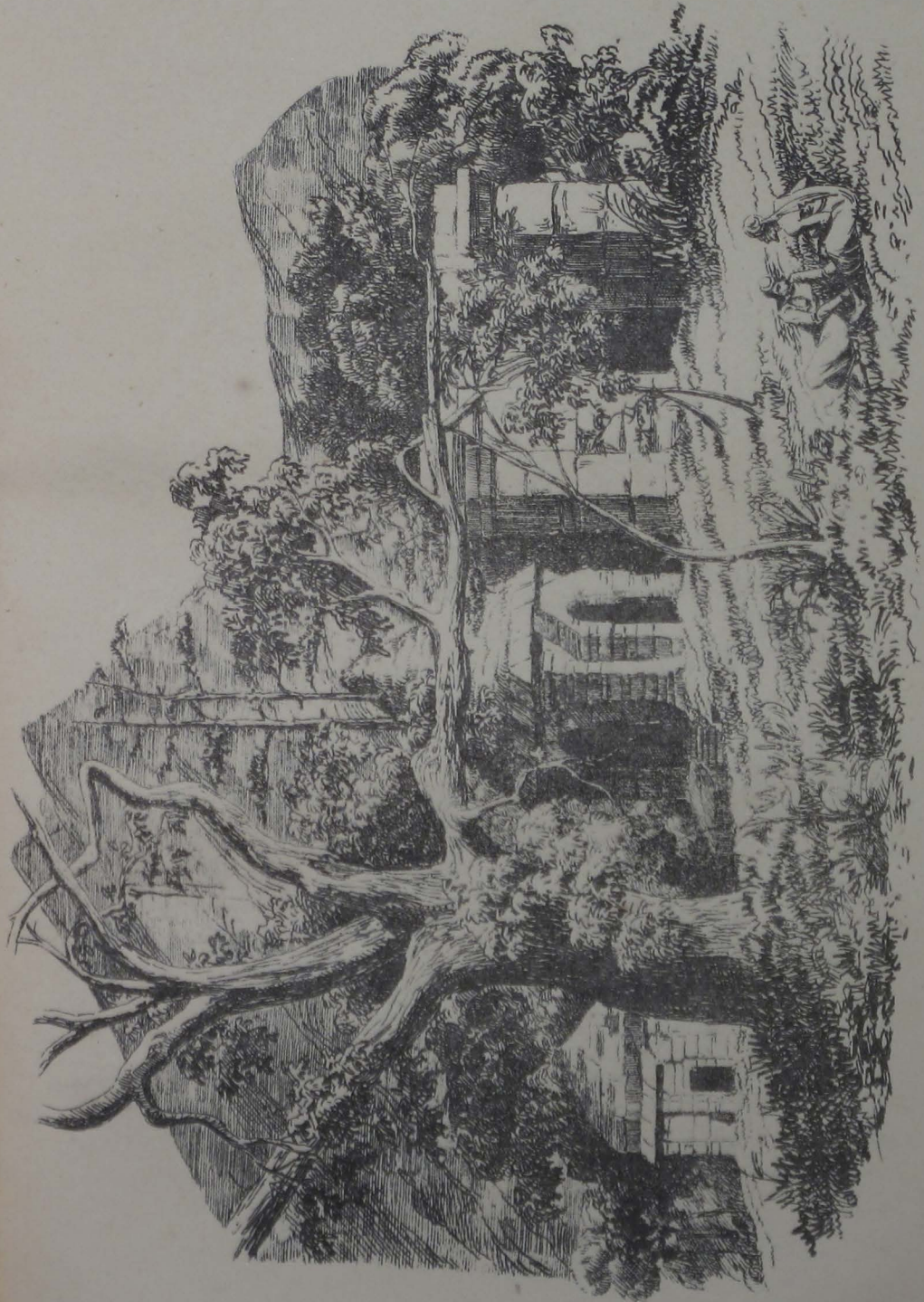
I now proceed to afford as much information as I possess of the group of temples called 'Razdán' or 'Razdoing' by the inhabitants of the Lár valley in Cashmere.

These extensive ruins, certainly the next to those of Martund in importance—if not even more extensive in the superficial space occupied by them,—are the only group not described by Cunningham in his learned and masterly essay on the Arian order of Architecture, printed in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for September, 1848. Before proceeding to put on paper my own speculations regarding them, I will transcribe *verbatim* the memorandum I find in my journal on the occasion of my visiting and measuring these ruins on the 24th, 25th, 26th September, 1852. I must premise, however, by stating that they are overgrown with dense underwood and large forest trees, and it was only after much labour and the employment of many hands in cutting away the jungle that I was able to collect the following data. I transcribe from my journal therefore, "Description of the *Razdán* or *Razdoing* ruins under the *Boodshers* Hill in the *Lár* pergunnah of Cashmere."

(1.) They consist of two principal temples connected by the remains of a paved causeway and several connecting buildings, cloisters, &c.

(2.) The Northern temple, of which the roof has fallen in, is $31\frac{1}{2}$ feet square and has been surrounded by cloisters $160' \times 120$ in measurement. The interior chamber is $14\frac{1}{2}'$ square. In its front is a stone reservoir $11' \times 6\frac{1}{2}'$ feet of a very peculiar construction, and the use of which is not quite obvious, unless it has served as one of those vats from which charitable brahmins were wont to distribute rice, &c., to the poor." (*Vide Plate III.*)

There are several small buildings grouped around it. The one sketched was probably at the entrance and is about 20 feet wide. At the north-west angle of this temple is the *Nara Nag*, a small lake or



Temple in the Lar Parganah, Kashmir.



Temple in the Lar Parganah, Kashmir.

Photographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta.



Temple in the Lar Parganah, Kashmir.

Photoincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

pool, and a place of *Snán* or religious ablution in the pilgrimage of Hurmooktur-gunga. Into this pool, the pilgrims of the present day use to cast their mountain sticks and *phoolas* (grass shoes) on their descent from the mountains whilst on their return from the holy lake of Gungadul.

(3.) About 80 yards in front due south of this temple are the remains of a large building formerly supported on pillars, parts of which still exist in the corners, and that on the pathway, which I at first mistook for a sort of "font," is peculiarly an object of veneration to the pilgrims who there make their final salaam. This* building whose exact use I find it difficult to conjecture, measures 110' \times 60'. The entrance to it has been by a massive flight of steps on the south side.

(4.) Immediately in front of the above upon the causeway are the ruins of another small building about 25' square.

(5.) The Southern temple—by far the most perfect of the group from having its roof entire—I made by measurement $31\frac{1}{2}' \times 30\frac{1}{2}'$. It may perhaps have been $31\frac{1}{2}$ feet square like the other. The interior chamber, 14' square, with dome entire about 20' high interiorly, was surrounded by an enclosure 120' \times 80'. It is situated on higher ground above the Northern temple; and, owing to the precipitous nature of the ground, the dimensions of the North and East faces of the cloisters have been curtailed. A gateway at the North-West angle of this enclosure leads out into the causeway.

There are no less than six groups of buildings immediately around this temple, in the roof of which several large fir trees have taken root, presenting a singular appearance, their knarled twisted roots grasping the loose stonework, and their height being about equal to

* On consideration I am inclined to think that this large building may have been a "masjid" or perhaps a summer house constructed at the same time as the terraced garden called the *Guláb Bāgh* immediately adjacent to it, in comparatively recent times by some Muhammadan magnate, possibly (owing to the occurrence of the name *Boodsher* or *Boodsháh* as applied to the place by the inhabitants) by "Zain-ul-'*ábidín*" to whom that title was emphatically applied. This same king also built the "Lank" or island in the Wulu Lake about the year 1443, A. D., with its *mosque* and *summer house* on the site of an ancient temple, whose summit was at that time visible about the waters of the lake. *Vide* page 8 of my sketch of Muhammadan History of Cashmere, published in the Asiatic Society's Journal, September, 1854. It was a common practice of the Muhammadans thus to turn to account existing Hindu buildings and sites.

that of the temple, which may be 50 or 60 feet. The sketch partially represents this. (*Vide Plates II. and IV.*)

(6.) The entrance of both temples, and that of the large centre building are due south. The entrance of the enclosures due west. The two temples are about 230 yards apart, have been connected by a stone causeway and a connecting chain of buildings.—Opposite to the entrance to the gateway of the southern temple is a raised plateau of land built up into what has evidently been a garden (now called the *Guláb Bigh*).

Thus far my notes conduct me, and I shall now, before closing this paper, venture to put before the Society some remarks and ideas which subsequent reading has enabled me to form on this interesting group of temples. I would remark, however, that although so extensive, they do not approach some of the other temples of Cashmere in interest of architectural detail. The two centre temples, however, are Ariostyle, and those to which they bear most affinity are those of Puttun, and I would attribute them to above the same era. I see that Cunningham assigns about the date 883—901 A. D. to the Puttun-temples which were built by Sankara Vermá. With regard, however, to some of the adjacent buildings and fragments I have spoken of as surrounding the two groups at Razdoing, I am inclined to attribute to them a very high antiquity of origin; and I even think it probable that there may have been more ancient temples than the present ones standing on the same site; and that these I have described may have been repaired or reconstructed (as was usual) in their present form. I am led to this conclusion by what I find recorded in the Raja Tarangini (Persian translation) that in the reign of Jaloka, son of Asoka (to whose reign I see the date 250 B. C. assigned), it is related that this prince (Jaloka) was wont daily by means of a *serpent** to visit daily the temples of Waramool, Bej Biharie, and *Lar*, and

* This "*serpent*" is frequently mentioned in the ancient chronicles of Cashmere, and appears to have been a mechanical machine, a propeller, or flying bridge. It is related that King *Meegwahun* having conquered Ceylon, Surat, &c., returned to Cashmere by way of Scinde, and passed his army over the river Indus (A. D. 22) by means of *serpent*; but the fabulous and the quasi-Historic are so blended in the earlier chronicles, that it is impossible to dis- sever them, and although the word is the same, the chronicle in the case quoted in the text, of Jaloka's daily visit to the three shrines seems to imply an æro- nautic element as the sloke speaks of a "flying" serpent; but Jaloka is always mentioned as a magician king possessed of supernatural powers.

I conceive that by this last we may fairly infer that the temples under consideration are alluded to, as there is no other group one-tenth so extensive to be found in the Lar or Scinde valley.

Should this conjecture be correct, they would undoubtedly possess a very high antiquity and in fact must be regarded as *the* most ancient temples in the valley of Cashmere (not excepting that on the Takht-i-Sulaimán or Sandhimána parvat) which is stated to have been built by this very king Jaloka, but seems to have been repaired and restored to its present form by Gopaditya about A. D. 250, and is generally considered the most ancient temple extant in Cashmere. I may remark that a few fragments of temples overwhelmed in the dense jungles exist to this day near Baramoola, but they have never been to my knowledge deemed of sufficient importance to merit disentanglement or description. Nevertheless I believe these, together with the group I have taken the liberty of introducing in this paper, to be the very oldest remnants of the ancient architecture of Cashmere; for as I have stated in a former paper, the temples of Bejbiharie mentioned with those of Lar and Baramoola as already existing in the time of Jaloka, were overthrown by the Muhammadan fanatic Shihábuddín about the end of the 14th century, and are out of contest for the honor, such as it is, of having survived the storms of two thousand years, the attacks of Muhammadan fury, and the overwhelming vegetation of the dense forest.

The dates of other and possibly more attractive temples, such as Martund, Pyatch, Pangethur, Puttun, &c., are much more recent, as is also that on the Takht-i-Sulaimán in its present form as stated above.

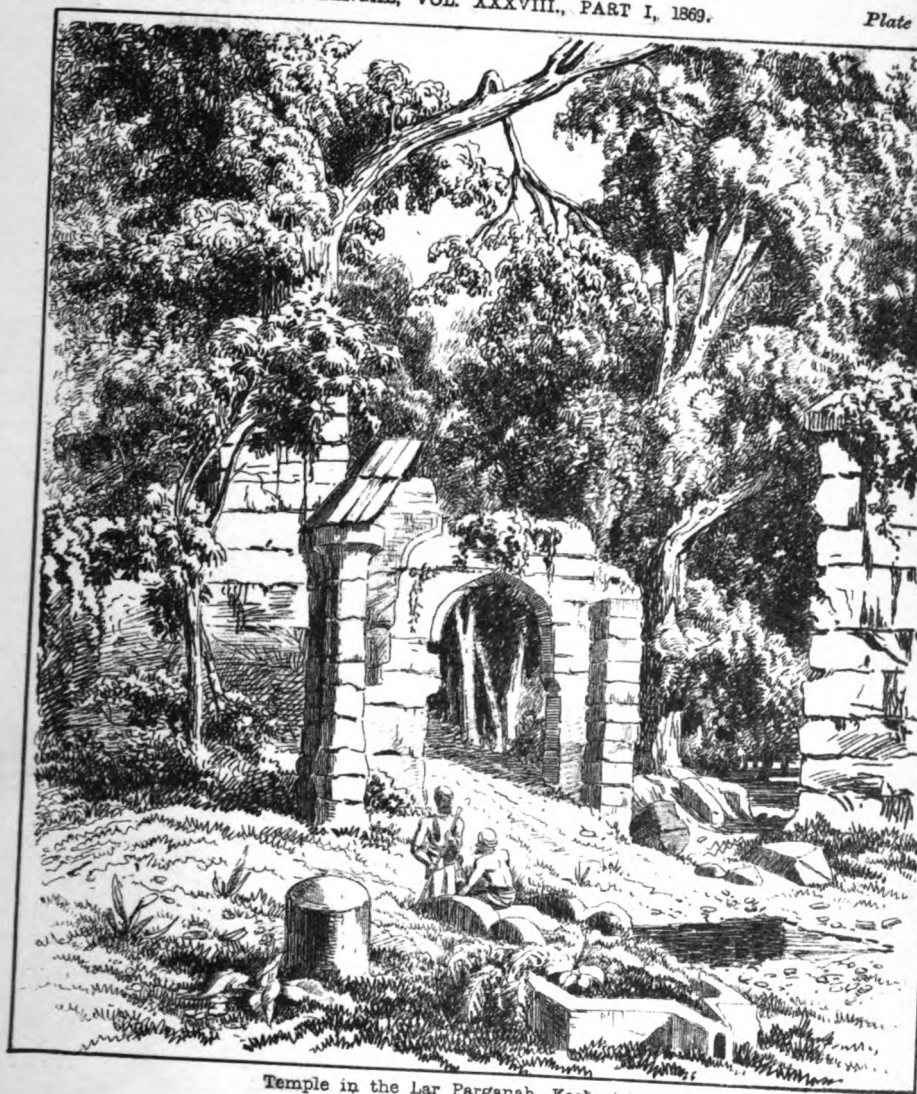
I have, I hope, said enough to attract attention to this remarkable group of temples hitherto so strangely overlooked. Situated as they are, however, in so remote a spot, and overwhelmed as they are in forest, it were no light task to undertake their entire disentanglement. I believe I have nearly exhausted this subject, or rather my slender information on it, but before finally quitting it, I would respectfully suggest to the Society that further investigation into the primitive form of worship of the Cashmere valleys and mountains seems desirable, as I have reason to think that relics* of a religion earlier

* Bhadiakal, in the Kamraj, is a sort of small Stonehenge; and elsewhere in the deep forests appear isolated monoliths, altars, &c., attesting a certain form of sylvan or Druidical worship.



Temple in the Lar Parganah, Kashmir.

Photomicrographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.



Temple in the Lar Parganah, Kashmir.

Photographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.



Temple in the Lar Pargana, Kashmir.

than the Brahminical faith are to be met with in the deep forests of Cashmere, and which I believe to be perhaps anterior to the great Aryan invasion, when Cashmere in common with the other provinces of Hindústán, was colonized by the Hindú race.

Professional occupations have long interfered in my case with the pursuit of such investigations in which I once felt much interest; and I must crave the indulgence of the Society for any crude or ill-studied points I may have noted for their consideration. I have availed myself of the first leisure I have obtained for years for such writing; and even now, having no books of reference with me, I possess nothing but my private MSS. journal, and notes to refer to for dates, &c. beyond my memory, and this I find, after so long an interval, sometimes fails me. I find myself therefore abruptly forced to bring this paper to a close.

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*Translations from the Táríkh i Firúz Sháhí, by the late MAJOR*

A. R. FULLER, *Director of Public Instruction, Panjáb.*

(Communicated by T. W. H. TOLBORT, Esq., C. S.)

*The Reign of 'Aláuddín i Khiljí.*

In the name of God the most merciful!

Praise\* be to God, the cherisher of mankind, and blessings rest upon his prophet, Muhammad, and all his offspring, as well as perfect peace and safety.

Thus says the most devout of Musalmáns, Zíá of Baran, when, during the year 695, Sultán 'Aláuddín ascended the imperial throne, he conferred on his brother the title of Ulugh Khán, on Malik Nuçrat Jalesarí that of Nuçrat Khán, on Malik Hizabruddín that of Zafar Khán, and on Sanjar, his [Mír Majlis] that of Alap Khán. He also raised his intimate friends to the rank of Amírs, and such as were already Amírs. he promoted to the grade of Maliks. He further granted every one of his old associates permission to take fresh horsemen into service, and as a countless hoard of wealth had fallen into

\* *Ed. Bibl. Indica*, by Sayyid Ahmad Khán, p. 243. Vide also *Baddont*, I, p. 182. Words in [ ], and the foot notes, are additions or slight alterations made by the Editor of this Journal.

his hands, and he had been guilty of an act condemned alike by God and man, either with a view to the expediency of the moment, or to deceive the public, or else for the purpose of glossing over the murder of Sulṭán Jaláluddín, he threw open the door of liberality and munificence before (high and low, *i. e.*) all grades. He occupied himself too in making preparations for his journey (to the capital of Delhi), but owing to the incessant fall of rain, the copious floods, and the heaviness of the sands, he continued to delay his departure and was purposing to proceed to Delhi after the rising of Canopus. He was under considerable apprehension, however, of Arkalí Khán, the second son of Sulṭán Jaláluddín, who was one of the Rustams of the age, and the most valiant man of his day. As soon therefore, as the news arrived from Delhi, that the latter had not come yet, Sulṭán 'Aláuddín conceiving his non-arrival to be favourable to his own fortunes, and knowing that the throne of Delhi could not be upheld by Sulṭán Ruknuddín Ibráhím, and that there was not sufficient coin in the Jaláli treasury to raise and enrol fresh levies, he took advantage of the opportunity, and in the very height of the rainy season, set out for Dehli. From the excess of rain that year, the Ganges and Jamna had become vast rivers, and every (paltry) stream was as a Ganges or a Jamna, and from the depth of mud and mire, the roads remained (almost impassable). At a season like this, Sulṭán 'Aláuddín set forth from Karah with his elephants and his wealth and his army; and he exhorted his Kháns and Maliks to use their best endeavours towards raising fresh horsemen, (bidding them) not to be particular or scrupulous in fixing the amount of their pay, nor to take into account the exact year and month (of enlistment,) but to scatter about gold without stint, so that vast hosts might be collected by such bountiful largess. About the time Sulṭán 'Aláuddín was proceeding towards Dehli, they had constructed some small light moveable machines [*manjantiq*], and at every halting-place where his pavilion was erected, just at the time of his alighting there, they daily placed in front of his portico five maunds of gold coin in one of these waggons, and scattered them among the spectators; whereupon the soldiery and the neighbouring population used to congregate all round, and carry off the coin. The concourse in front of the royal portico thus increased day by day, and by the end of two or three

weeks the news spread, throughout the whole of the districts [*khiṭaṭ*] and towns of Hindústán, that Sultán 'Aláuddín was on his way to take possession of Delhi, and was scattering gold profusely among the populace, and was entertaining countless levies of horse and foot. On this, the population, whether military or non-military, all hurried towards the Sultán's camp; so that by the time 'Aláuddín reached Badáon, fifty or sixty thousand horse and foot had congregated in this royal camp during a rainy season like this, and had formed a vast multitude. When Sultán 'Aláuddín arrived at Baran, [in the open space of the Masjid of the town] Nuṣrat Khán began taking the inhabitants of the place into service whether they were nobles, men of note, or common soldiers, and paid no heed to fixing the amount of their wages, or taking security from them. In a loud tone he proclaimed: "If Delhi fall into my hands, I shall be able to acquire on the first year a hundred times as much wealth as what I now disburse; and should the kingdom not come into my possession, it is better that the wealth which I have brought away from Deogír with such infinite trouble, should fall into the hands of the people rather than into those of my foes and adversaries.

On Sultán 'Aláuddín's arrival at Baran, as he had made over a force to Zafar Khán, he directed him to proceed by way of Kol, and march along that road at a rate corresponding to that at which he himself (the Sultán) marched along the Badáon and Baran roads. The Maliks and Amírs of Jaláluddín's party who had been nominated to oppose the advance of Sultán 'Aláuddín and Zafar Khán, such as Malik Tájuddín Kúchí, Malik Abájí Akhurbak, Malik Amír 'Alí Dívánah, Malik 'Usmán Amír Ákhur, Malik Amíri Kalán, Malik 'Umar Sarkhah, and Malik Hiran-már, all came into Baran, and joined the Sultán. They each received 20 or 30, and some even 50 maunds of gold; and to every one of the force which accompanied those Maliks and Amírs, a present of 300 tankahs was distributed. The Jaláli army being thus totally broken up, the Amírs that had stayed behind at Delhi began to waver in their allegiance and the maliks who had gone over to Sultán 'Aláuddín used to say publicly, "The inhabitants of the city certainly find fault with us, and declare that we have been guilty of base ingratitude in turning our backs on our master's son and going over to the

enemy, but these misguided individuals do not perceive that in reality the kingdom of Jalāluddīn came to an end the day he set out from the palace of Kilokhari,\* and of his own free will went in hot haste to Karah, and there of his own accord and with his eyes open, put his neck and those of his intimate associates in jeopardy. What can we do therefore but join Sultān 'Alāuddīn?"

At this juncture when the Maliks had all gone over to Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and the Jalālī army was completely broken up, Malikah Jahān, who was one of the most weak-minded of weak minded women, sent to call Arkalī Khān from Multān, writing to this effect: "I was wrong in placing your younger brother on the throne, while you are still in existence; for none of the Maliks and Amīrs stand in any awe of him, and most of them have gone over to Sultān 'Alāuddīn, so that the sovereignty is passing out of our hands. Make post haste therefore, if you can, and come to me, and mount the throne of your father, and redress my wrong. As for the son who now occupies the throne, you are his elder brother, and more worthy and better fitted for the sovereignty; he shall therefore serve you as an obedient vassal. As for me, I am a woman, and females are (proverbially) deficient in intellect; (I confess) I have been in error, but pardon the fault of your mother, and take possession of your father's kingdom. Should you give way to your resentment and fail to come, Sultān 'Alāuddīn is advancing in such strength and grandeur that he will assuredly seize upon Delhi, and will spare neither me nor you."

Arkalī Khān would not come at his mother's bidding, however, but sent her an excuse (saying): As the nobles and their retainers have all gone over to the enemy, what would be the good of my coming? Sultān 'Alāuddīn no sooner heard that Arkalī Khān would not comply with his mother's invitation than he ordered the drum of rejoicing to be sounded.

Some delay occurred to Sultān 'Alāuddīn in the vicinity of the fords of the Jamnah, owing to the vast volume of water in that river, and his having no boat in his possession; but while he tarried at

\* Kilok'hari lies about eight miles south of Dihli, on the Jamnah. "Six months after his accession, Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kai Qubād left Dihli, and founded Fort Kilok'hari, the ruins of which may even now [A. H. 1004] be seen on the [right] bank of the Jamnah near Khwājah Khizr's ford." *Badāonī I.*, p. 137, where the spelling *کیلوگھڑی* is to be corrected to *کیلوکھڑی*.



various places along its bank, [Canopus rose above the horizon,] the stream decreased, and he was thus enabled to cross with the whole of his forces at the ford of Bághpat, after which he encamped in the plain of Júd.\*

Sultán Ruknuddín Ibráhim then issued forth from the city with the royal insignia, attended by such force as he still had with him, and pitched his camp opposite to Sultán 'Aláuddín's, with the intention of bringing on an early engagement. After night had come on, however, the entire left wing of Sultán Ruknuddín's army having mounted their horses about midnight, a tremendous uproar arose, and they all went bodily over to Sultán 'Aláuddín. Sultán Ruknuddín was thus rendered utterly powerless, but towards the close of the night they managed to open the Badáon gate; and he having taken some gold tankahs out of the treasury, and a few horses out of the stable, placed his mother and other females of his household in front, and issuing forth under cover of the darkness from the Ghaznín gate, took the road to Multán. Malik Quṭbuddín 'Alawi together with his children and Malik Ahmad Chap also abandoned their homes, and accompanied Malikah Jahán and Sultán Ruknuddín towards Multán.

Next day Sultán 'Aláuddín set out with regal pomp and splendour, and entered the plain of Sirí (سیری) where he alighted, and the sovereignty was there delivered over to him. He also pitched his camp at Sirí, and the díwáns, the custodians of the elephants with the animals in their charge, the governors (*kotwáls*) with the keys of their forts, the justices and judges, and all the other persons of note and respectability in the city waited upon him; whereupon the earth assumed a totally different aspect, and a state of affairs altogether new arose throughout the world. By the immensity of his wealth, and the vast number of his adherents, no matter whether an individual (here and there) took the oath of allegiance to him or not, the public prayers were offered in his behalf, and the coinage of the mint was struck in his name.

\* Bághpat (باغپت) lies north of Dihlí on the Jamnah. Opposite to it on the right side, our maps give a place Joondhpúr, which appears to be the Júdh (جوڈھ, or with a nasal *n*, جوڑد) mentioned by Baraní. For Bághpat, the Society's Edition, p. 246, l. 2 has كاتھه Kát'h (?). Regarding Sirí, *vide* Journal A. S. Bengal for 1847, p. 974; but in the whole article Sirí is wrongly spelt *Secree*, for Seeree; also J. A. S. B. 1866, p. 199.

Towards the end\* of the year 695, Sulṭán 'Aláuddín entered into the city with a most wonderful retinue and a countless multitude, and took his seat on the throne of Delhi in the Daulat Khánah, after which he repaired to the Koshak i la'l, (*i. e.*, crimson palace) and made that the royal residence. As there was a countless hoard of wealth accumulated in his treasury, and vast sums had been distributed in largess among the people, whereby their purses and money bags had been replenished with coin [*tankahs* and *jetals*,] they gave themselves up to gaiety and pleasure, and indulged in wine and all kinds of revelry. Within the city they erected several wondrous pavilions, where wine, sherbet, and betel were distributed gratis; and in almost every house an entertainment was held. The Maliks, Amírs, and all the other men of note and respectability invited one another to feasts; and wine and beauty, music and mirth, became the order of the day.

Sulṭán 'Aláuddín also, under the excitement of youth and prosperity, and the pride of his countless treasures, his servants and domestics, and his numerous elephants and horses, was immersed in festivity and pleasure, and from the extent of his generosity and munificence, he made the populace ardent supporters of his rule and government. From motives of state expediency moreover, he bestowed offices and estates [*aqṭá'*] upon the Jaláli Maliks and Amírs who had gone over to his side. To Khwájah Khaṭír who was one of the most celebrated Wazírs, he gave the dignity of prime minister; to Qází Çadr i jahán Çadrúddín 'Arif, the father of Dáwar Malik, the Kazá i Mamálik; and [the offices of] Sayyid Ajall, Shaikh Islám, and Khaṭíb he left to the former Sayyid Ajall, Shaikh Islám and Khaṭíb, respectively. The Díwán i inshá too he conferred on the former 'Umdatalmulk, father of Malik Hamíduddín† and A'azzuddín, and he sent for Malik Hamíduddín and Malik A'azzuddín, the sons of 'Umdatalmulk, who in wisdom, virtue, and a thorough knowledge of mankind, as well as in their high and noble birth, and all kinds of excellencies, possessed no equals; one of whom became a confidential officer of the royal household, and the other was entrusted with the management of the Díwán i inshá.

\* The 22nd Zí Hajjah 695, or 20th October 1296.

† The *Bibl. Indica*, Edition, p. 248, has *Amíruddín* (?), and immediately after *Hamíduddín*. For *Díwán i Inshá* we find under the Mughuls the title of *Mír Munshí*.

Although Nuçrat Khán was Náib i mulk, during the first year he was made Kotwál, while Malik Fakhruddin Kúchí obtained the post of Dálbeg i hazrat,\* Zafar Khán became the 'Arzimamálik,† Malik 'Abáji Jalálí [*i. e.*, who had served under Jaláluddin] the Akhurbeg, and Malik Hiranmár, the Náib Bárbeg. Such an assemblage of Kháns and Maliks both of the Jalálí and 'Alái party was thus congregated at the Sultán's Court, as could never have been witnessed in former times.

Malik 'Aláulmulk, the compiler's uncle, was appointed to Karah and Audh during the first year of his reign, and Malik Júná received his old post of Náib Vakildar, while Muayyidulmulk the compiler's father, was given the place of Náib and Khwájahship of Baran. Thus were all the onerous duties and important situations committed to the charge of able, eminent, and experienced persons, and Delhi as well as all other parts of the country became a rose garden and a pasture.

Estates were then bestowed on each Malik,‡ grants made to religious communities, and lauds, pensions, and gratuities lavished on all such as had just claims to them ; while a considerable increase was added to those already in existence.

[To the people he gave new employments.] The people consequently grew so enamoured of gold, that the mention of Sultán 'Aláuddin's base deed, and his ungrateful treachery never crossed any one's lips, and naught was left to mankind but to revel in gaiety.

In the first year of this reign moreover, the retainers of 'Aláuddin, both new and old, had reached a vast number, yet all of them received donations of [twelve and] six months' salary in hard cash ; and during that year folks of all classes both high and low lived in such ease and affluence, that I never recollect seeing in any age or period such perfect happiness and contentment, nor can those who are of much riper years than I recal such to remembrance.

\* *I. e.*, the *Dádbeg* of the residence of the emperor, as opposed to the office of *qázi i lashkar*. The office corresponds to that of the *Mír 'Adl* under the Mughuls. For *Kúchí* the list of grandees (Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 240) has the more usual *Júná*.

† The *'Arz i Mamálik* corresponds to the *Mír 'Arz* of the Mughuls, whose office is defined in the *Aín Akbarí*, p. 257.

‡ Perhaps it would be correcter to say—*Milks* and *Waqfs* were bestowed on such as were worthy of *waqfs*. The word *amlák* is the pl. of *milk*, not of *malik*. Vide *Aín i Akbarí*, p. 271. Soon after 'Aláuddin resumed the *milks* and *waqfs*, as Akbar did with the *Sayúgháls* of his times.

At the very outset, directly Sulṭán 'Aláuddín had settled himself on the throne of Dehli, he first of all set about the Multán business, and applied himself to the overthrow of Sulṭán Jaláluddín's sons. He forthwith nominated Ulugh Khán and Zafar Khán with a party of Maliks and Amírs and [30 or] 40,000 horse to Multán, whither they proceeded, and at once invested the fortress. After the siege had continued for a month or two, the Kotwál and inhabitants of Multán turned away from their allegiance to Sulṭán Jaláluddín's sons, and some of the nobles came out from the fort to Ulugh Khán and Zafar Khán.

The Sulṭán's sons then made use of Shaikhul Islám Ruknuddín as their envoy, and through him asked quarter of Ulugh Khán, and after entering into a compact and treaty, they took the Shaikh along with them and accompanied by the Maliks and Amírs who still adhered to them, repaired to the presence of Ulugh Khán. He treated them with great respect on that occasion, and gave them quarters alongside his own pavilion. He then forwarded a despatch announcing his success to Delhi; whereupon they immediately erected festive canopies, and sounded the drum of rejoicing, published the news of the victory [*Fathnámah*] from the pulpits (of all the mosques), and sent the good tidings in all directions. Thus the Kingdom of Hindústán had been fully and completely consigned to the care of Sulṭán 'Aláuddín, and no rival or competitor for the Government was now left.

Ulugh Khán and Zafar Khán taking the captive sons of Sulṭán Jaláluddín, both of whom were scions of royalty [*Çáhib i chatr*], as well as their Maliks and Amírs, along with them, set out from Multán towards Dehli, crowned with victory and success. Nuçrat Khán being deputed from the latter place, met Ulugh Khán in the midst of his journey, and put out the eyes of Sulṭán Jaláluddín's sons, of his son-in-law Ulghú, and of Ahmad Chap Náib Amír Hájb, and then separated their families from them. All their goods and chattels too, provisions,\* and slaves, both male and female, together with all that they had, did Nuçrat Khán seize upon. He confined Sulṭán Jalálud-

\* Major Fuller's MS. appears to have had *rozínah*. The Ed. Bibl. Indica (p. 249) has *zarínah*, gold vessels, which seems preferable.

The place where Nuçrat Khán met Ulugh Khán is called in Badáóni (I, 183) Abhohar, a *manza'* near Hánsí, and the Lucknow Edition of Badáóni (p. 47) has *Wahr*, neither of which names I can trace on our Trig. Survey maps.

dīn's younger\* son in the stronghold of Hānsī, while he put to death altogether the sons of Arkalī Khān. As for Malikah Jahān and the other ladies of the household, as well as Ahmad Chap, he brought them all into Delhi, and shut them up in his own mansion.

In the second year of this reign [697, *Badāonī*], Nuḡrat Khān was made Wazīr. As Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn had sent for Malik 'Alāulmulk, the compiler's uncle, he came to Court attended by the Maliks and Amīrs, and brought in elephants and treasure that had been left with him at Kaḡah by the Sulṭān. In consequence of 'Alāulmalik's having grown excessively obese, and incapable of active duty, he gave him the post of Kotwāl instead of his former place of Malikulumarā, whereby all the able-bodied convicts [*? bandiyān i tāzak*] were put under his charge. They also laid hands on the estates [free-holds, *amlūk*] and possessions of all the Jalālī Maliks and Amīrs, Nuḡrat Khān himself making extraordinary exertions to get hold of their property, and so collecting thousands upon thousands. In fact he brought wealth into the treasury by every means that he could.

In this year moreover, *viz.* 696, A. H., † an inroad of the Mughuls took place, some of them having crossed the river Sind and entered the country. Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān with a host of the 'Alāī and Jalālī Amīrs, and immense forces were nominated to repel their attack; and on the confines of Jarīmanjūr the army of Islām had a severe engagement with the miscreants; in which the standard of the true faith proved victorious, many of the enemy being slain or captured, and their heads despatched to Delhi.

After the Multān success, and the capture of Sulṭān Jalāluddīn's

\* The Ed. Bibl. Indica and Firishtah have merely *son* (Arkalī?). If Major Fuller's MS. had *younger son* [Ruknuddīn] what became of *Arkalī*? *Badāonī* says, both were handed over to the Kotwāl of Hānsī, and 'killed together with the two sons of Arkalī. The women of the late emperor, and his remaining children (*farzandān*) were imprisoned in Dilhī. Ahmad Chap [the Lucknow Edition of Firishtah reads *Habīb*], and Alghū Mughul were sent to Gwalīār.'

† So also the Ed. Bibl. Indica. *Badāonī* and Firishtah have 698. The leader of the Mughuls is called چنڊلی (Badaoni, Ed. B. I.), صلدی (Lucknow *Badāonī*), and Dawā Khān, ruler of Māwaralnahr, by Firishtah (Lucknow Ed.) who adds that he came with nearly 100,000 Mughuls. They were heathens. The place of the battle is called *Jarīmanjūr* (Major Fuller), *dar hudūd i Jāran Manjhūr* (both editions of *Badāonī*), *dar hudūd i Lāhūr* (Firishtah, Lucknow Ed.), and *dar hudūd i Jālīndhar* (Ed. Bibl. Indica).

*Badāonī* seems to have carelessly copied, as a Mughul چنڊلی is mentioned below. He has left out the attack on Siwistān.

sons, the coinage of the 'Aláí government had become (to a certain degree) established ; but it was now still further confirmed by this victory over the Mughuls, and the Sultán's power and authority were vastly augmented. Proclamations of the victory were published throughout the city, drums beaten, pavilions erected, rejoicings made, and festivities celebrated. Now that the 'Aláí Government had been thus consolidated, the whole of the Jaláí Maliks, in each town and throughout the army, who had turned their backs upon their master, and gone over to Sultán 'Aláuddín, for which they had received maunds of gold, and obtained various employments and estates, were seized, and while some of them were cast into prison, and kept in confinement, others were [blinded and] executed forthwith. All the wealth that they had received from Sultán 'Aláuddín was confiscated together with their household goods, and property ; their dwelling-houses being converted to the royal use, and their estates annexed to the crown lands, so that nought was left for their children. Their servants and domestics too were placed under the control of the 'Aláí Amírs, and their [military] establishments were completely subverted.

Out of the whole of the Jaláí Maliks and Amírs, three persons only were spared by Sultán 'Aláuddín, and suffered no hurt from him until the close of his reign. First, Malik Qutbuddín 'Alawí ; second, Malik Nasíruddín Ránah, custodian of the elephants, and third, Amír Jamál,\* father of Qadr Khán. These three individuals did not desert Sultán Jaláluddín and his sons, nor would they take any money from Sultán 'Aláuddín, and they alone remained safe in consequence, while the rest of the Jaláí Amírs were exterminated root and branch.

In the course of this year, Nuçrat Khan collected by fines and taxes a crore (of money), and lodged it in the treasury.

In the third year of his reign, Ulugh Khán and Nuçrat Khán were deputed to Gujrát ; whither they accordingly led their army, accompanied by several Amírs and Maliks, and a host of retainers, and commenced ravaging and plundering Nahrwálah [Patan] and the whole territory of Gujrát. Karan Rái of Gujrát thereupon fled from Nahrwálah, and repaired to Rám Deo at Deogír, leaving his wives and daughters† as well as his treasure and elephants to fall into

\* Badáoní has Amír Jamáílí i Khiljí.

† ' Among them was *Dawal Ráni*, with whom later Khizr Khán, 'Aláuddín's

the hands of the orthodox army, who now pillaged the entire country. The idol, which subsequently to Sultán Mahmúd's victory and the destruction of the Manát, had been named Somnát by the Brahmins, and had become a popular object of worship among the Hindús, was also dragged from thence and forwarded to Delhi, where it was trampled under foot by the populace.

Nuçrat Khán next proceeded to Kambáit, from the Khwájahs of which place, who had grown excessively opulent, he exacted bullion, jewels, and other valuables to a vast extent. He also took Káfúr Hazár Dinári, who became Malik Náib, and with whose beauty Sultán 'Aláuddín was captivated, forcibly from the Khwájah, his master, and sent him to the Sultán.

After thoroughly ravaging and plundering Gujrát, Ulugh Khán and Nuçrat Khán set out on their return loaded with immense spoils, and on the way back, in order to collect their fifth share of the booty, and in searching after and scrutinizing the amount of the spoils, they inflicted various penalties and punishments, and carried their investigation to the extreme; for they placed no credence whatever on what the soldiery put down in writing, but persisted in calling for more. By dint of persecution [*banamak-áb*] they endeavoured to exact the gold, silver, jewels, and all other valuables and used to put the troops to all kinds of torture, till at last the soldiery were unable to bear such tyranny and ill-usage any longer.

The number of newly converted Amírs and horsemen in the army was very considerable; so having entered into a combination, some two or three thousand horsemen assembled together, and mutinied.\* They first slew Malik A'azzuddín, the brother of Nuçrat Khán, who was Amír Hájb to Ulugh Khán; and with a great uproar forced their way into Ulugh Khán's pavilion; but the Khán dreading their fury, escaped out of his tent, and conveyed himself by stratagem to Nuçrat

son, fell in love. When the poet Khusrau of Dihlí was told by the prince of his deep attachment, he composed his '*Ashíqah*, (often wrongly spelt '*ishqiyah*,) which he dedicated to Khizr Khán.' *Badáoní*.

The Lucknow Edition of Firishtah calls the princess *Kanvlá Dí*. Cowell suggests *Kamalá Deví*.

Karan, according to Firishtah, went from Deogír to Baglánah, 'which lies on the frontier of the Dak'hin, but was then attached to Gujrát.' For *Rám Deo*, the Ed. B. I. of *Badáoní* has *Bíramdeo* (?).

\* Firishtah calls the leader of the rebels Muhammad Sháh. He says, the mutiny took place at *Jálor* (Jodhpur); but the editions of *Badáoní* have *Alwar*, which lies nearer to Rantanbhúr and Jháyin to the chief of which place, Hamír Deo [Ed. Bibl. Indica, *Hambar Deo*], the mutineers ultimately retreated.

Khán's quarters. The nephew (sister's son) of Sultán 'Aláuddín, however, happened to be sleeping below Ulugh Khán's quarters; and the mutineers imagining that he might possibly be the Khán, put him to death under this misapprehension. The mutiny extended at length throughout the army, and the camp was very nearly becoming the scene of indiscriminate riot and pillage; but as the good fortune of 'Aláuddín was in the ascendant, such a tumult as this even was speedily quelled. The cavalry and infantry of the army formed up in front of Nuçrat Khán's pavilion, and the recently converted Amírs and horsemen dispersed, such of them as had been the chief actors and confederates in the mutiny fleeing away and gaining the disaffected and rebellious Ráis. After this, the search after the booty in the army was abandoned, and Ulugh Khán and Nuçrat Khán reached Delhi with all the wealth, elephants, slaves, and other spoils they had got possession of from the pillage of Gujráat.

As soon as the news of the mutiny among the new converts reached Delhi, Sultán 'Aláuddín, under the influence of the haughty pride which had now inflated his brain, directed that the wives and children of all the mutineers, both high and low, should be seized and imprisoned. This system of seizing upon the wives and children for the fault of the men dates its commencement from this period; for previous to this at Delhi, they never laid hands on women and children on account of the crimes of their male relatives, nor used they to seize and incarcerate the families of any delinquents.

Besides this tyrannical system of seizing women and children, a still more glaring piece of injustice was committed in those days by Nuçrat Khán, who was the originator of numerous acts of oppression at Delhi; for it was publicly witnessed that in revenge for his brother's death, he brought infamy and dishonour on the wives of those who had pierced his brother with arrows, by delivering them over to sweepers to be violated like helpless victims, while the infant children were ordered to be cut in pieces in presence of their mothers.\*

Such cruelty as this that he was guilty of, has never been allowed by any code of religion; and at every fresh act of this description

\* Historians call this wholesale slaughter of women and children *gharīb-khushí*, or killing of the poor. Badsoni (p. 190) says that many historians relate the event before mentioning the return of Ulugh Khán from Gujráat, 'without paying regard to proper chronological order; but God knows best.'



he committed, the people of Delhi were the more struck with profound wonder and amazement [and trembling came over the hearts of the people].

In the same year that Ulugh Khán and Nuçrat Khán were sent into Gujrat, Zafar Khán was deputed to Siwistán, which (province) had been seized upon by Çaldí, and his brother with a party of Mughuls.

Zafar Khán accordingly marched thither with a large force, and having invested the fort of Siwistán, succeeded in capturing the stronghold with the aid only of sword and arrow, and dagger and spear, without having recourse to war engines and projecting machines of a larger kind. The Mughuls, moreover, from the interior of the fort shot arrows in every direction, in so much that it was not possible for a bird ever to approach it; yet in spite of all this Zafar Khán came off victorious by the use of sword and arrow only, and having captured Çaldí and his brother, as well as all the Mughuls with their wives and children, he sent the whole party bound, collared, and chained into Delhi.

In consequence of this success, a profound dread of Zafar Khán was established at Delhi, and Sultán 'Aláuddín began to regard him with a malignant eye on account of the hardihood, valour, and gallantry which he had displayed in a manner before unknown in Hindústán. Ulugh Khán, the Sultán's brother, also conceived a feeling of malice and enmity towards him, owing to his consummate generalship, and bravery, which had quite eclipsed his own.

In that year, he (*i. e.*, Zafar Khán) held the territory of Samánah, and as he had become so famous, Sultán 'Aláuddín, who was deeply impregnated with jealousy, was under considerable apprehension regarding him, and anxiously desired one or other of these two alternatives, either that the Khán should be in constant attendance upon him, or else that he should give the Khán some thousand horse, and despatch him towards Lakhnautí to subdue the country, after which he should stay there, and send off the elephants together with his resignation of office\* from thence to Court. Otherwise the Sultán thought of ridding himself of him by administering poison, or putting out his eyes somehow or other.

\* Or rather *with his tribute*, which is the meaning of *khidmatí*. Even in later times transfers to Bengal or to Bhakkar were looked upon as punishments.

Towards the close of the aforesaid year, Qutlugh Khwājah, son of Dūdul'ain,\* invaded Hindūstān with 20 "Tumans" of Mughuls. Starting from Māwaru-n-nahr fully equipped and prepared for a severe engagement, he crossed the river Sind, and proceeded by regular stages until he reached the vicinity of Delhi.

As the Mughuls this year had determined to attack Delhi, they did not plunder and lay waste the provinces bordering on their line of march, nor do any injury to the strong holds they met with. At the advance of these Mughuls, therefore, with an army as numerous as a multitude of ants or locusts, violent apprehensions were felt throughout Delhi, more especially as the enemy had fixed on that as the main object of their attack, and had abstained in consequence from laying waste the provinces (they passed), and from carrying off plunder. The people of the adjoining districts all flocked into the fortress of Delhi, and the old fortifications had not yet been built up, so that such consternation among men has never been witnessed, nor even heard of; for all the inhabitants of the city both great and small were completely overpowered with terror.

At last such a crowd was congregated in the city, that the people could not find room in the streets, the market places, or the mosques. Everything became excessively dear within the town, and the approach of caravans, and merchants being stopped, the people were reduced to the most pressing want.

Sultān 'Alāuddīn then went from the city with great pomp and magnificence, and pitched the imperial Camp at Sirī. The Maliks, Amīrs, and other retainers, were next summoned from all quarters to Delhi.

The compiler's uncle, Malik 'Alāulmulk, who was one of the Sultān's confidential advisers, in those days held the office of Kotwal at the Metropolis of Delhi, and the Sultān had entrusted the town, together with the ladies of the royal family and the treasure, to his custody. The Sultān having gone forth from the city with the intention of engaging in a general action, Malik 'Alāulmulk came out to Sirī to bid him farewell, and there, at a private audience, addressed him thus—

\* So Major Fuller's MS. The Ed. Bibl. Indica (p. 254) calls him ذود العین *Zūd ul'ain* (?); Badāonī (Ed. B. I.) *Dūdūl*; Badāonī (Lucknow Edition), and *Firishtah* p. 103 (Lucknow Ed.) *Dawā*, in accordance with the note on p. 189.

A *tuman*, or *tumán* is from 10000 to 12000.

“ Ancient Monarchs and former Prime Ministers, who have held  
 “ sway and sovereignty over the world, have invariably abstained and  
 “ refrained altogether from tremendous conflicts, in which it is im-  
 “ possible to decide what may happen at any precise moment, as to  
 “ what side victory is likely to incline ; and with respect to encounters  
 “ between equally powerful chiefs, whereby the state and prosperity  
 “ of the Sovereign as well as the whole population of the Kingdom  
 “ are placed in jeopardy, they have recommended that they should be  
 “ avoided to the utmost extent of one’s power and ability. It is  
 “ further recorded among the injunctions of ancient Monarchs, that  
 “ a battle resembles the scales of a balance ; for by the prevailing force  
 “ of a scanty number of men, one scale becomes heavy, while the  
 “ other gets light. Thus in an instant the affair slips out of one’s  
 “ hand, passing away so entirely that there is no hope left in one’s  
 “ heart of its ultimate return or recovery ; for although in contests be-  
 “ tween the Commanders of an army merely, there is not so much  
 “ danger to be apprehended from a defeat, as the hope of a re-  
 “ trieval is not totally cut off ; yet in the case of conflicts between  
 “ equally powerful chiefs, when a kingdom is staked on a single  
 “ throw of the dice, Monarchs have always exercised the utmost dis-  
 “ cretion, and have warded off the event as long as they could by sound  
 “ judgment and clever diplomacy. Why does your Majesty then pur-  
 “ posely and wilfully, and without paying any heed or attention, enter  
 “ into a perilous crisis, that has ever been avoided by other monarchs  
 “ as far as possible ; when you can push forward Khál Sitari [?]\* who has  
 “ been authorized to raise a lakh of horse on account of this invasion  
 “ and encamp with your forces (in the rear) ? You may thus delay a  
 “ few days from engaging these Mughuls, who have poured down  
 “ upon us like swarms of ants and locusts, and keep procrastinat-

\* Here Major Fuller’s MS. seems to be at fault, though otherwise his MS. would appear to have been as excellent as his translation. The *Bibl. Indica* edition, p. 256, l. 3, has—

*Khudāwand i ’ālam mītuwānād kih kohān i shūture (not khāl sitārī) az barāe dārāmad i mughul, kih hukm i yak lak suwār dārād, dar pīsh andāzād, ubā lashkarhā farūdāyād.* ‘Your Majesty can place the hump of a camel (*kohān i shūture*) before yourself on account of the arrival of the Mughuls who muster a lakh of horse, and you can place your forces into a fortified camp (*bā lashkarhā farūdmādan*).’

‘Alāuddīn’s reply will shew that this reading is the correct one. Of course, ‘Alā ulmuluk advised the emperor to act the part of a *Cunctator*. Placing the hump of a camel before oneself means to have recourse to a place of safety.

“ing, until we discover what they purpose doing, what is going on,  
 “and how matters are likely to turn out; when if there appear to be  
 “no help for it but fighting, you can do so. As they do not lay their  
 “hands on plunder you might gather together your subjects, and  
 “place them in security within the fortress. Meanwhile how long  
 “can so vast an army as they possess, continue to exist without forage,  
 “considering that they never detach ten horsemen even away from  
 “their main body, and how will it be possible for them to stand  
 “their ground? Or if a few days are passed in sending envoys back-  
 “wards and forwards, until we have clearly ascertained their precise  
 “aim and object, it will be as well; so that they may come to want,  
 “and set out on their return, and devote themselves to pillage. If at  
 “that juncture, your Majesty were to march after them a few stages  
 “by way of pursuit, how excellent it would be!”

After making this address, 'Aláulmulk went on to say, “I am an  
 “old servant, and have always been in the habit of stating to you  
 “whatever crosses my mind respecting current events, and I have  
 “heretofore ever met with kindness in return. I have therefore,  
 “in the present emergency also, stated all that has occurred to my  
 “mind; but that alone is right and proper which may have struck  
 “your Majesty's discerning intellect; for the illustrious sentiments of  
 “a King are superior to those of all his subjects.

“Several ideas have also passed through my mind, relating to the  
 “prevention of all invasions of the Mughuls, which I purpose pouring  
 “into your auspicious ear at a fitting opportunity. On the present  
 “occasion of these miscreants advancing in such formidable array,  
 “we have, by God's grace, numerous forces equipped and ready to  
 “oppose them. Our army, however, is composed principally of the  
 “soldiery of Hindústán, who have spent their lives in warfare with  
 “Hindús only, and have never yet joined in battle with the Mughuls,  
 “and are consequently ignorant of their cunning system of tactics,  
 “their sallies, their ambuscades, and other stratagems. If the Mu-  
 “ghuls then through good management on our part retire defeated  
 “this time, the soldiery of Delhi will be able to pursue and follow  
 “after them, so that (in future) our troops will long with ardour for an  
 “engagement with these Mughuls.”

Sultán 'Aláuddín on hearing this address from the faithful Malik

'Aláulmulk praised him highly ; and having summoned all the great Kháns and Maliks into his presence, he made the following speech to the assembled throng.

“ You are all well aware, that 'Aláulmulk is both a 'wazír' and “ the son of a 'wazír', as well as a true and loyal servant to me, “ and that from the first days of my assuming the government up to “ the present time, he has been in the habit of giving me the benefit “ of his advices ; and that it was only his obesity which caused me “ to appoint him Kotwál ; for otherwise he was entitled to the office “ of wazír. At this juncture he has expressed some sound opinions, “ and brought forward arguments to induce me to refrain from “ engaging the Mughuls, and now I purpose giving him my reply in “ the presence of all of you, who are the pillars of my State, so that “ you may all hear it.”

The Sultán then turned towards 'Aláulmulk alone in that assembly and said :

“ O 'Aláulmulk, thou art my confidential servant and ancient sup- “ porter, and hast claims to the office of wazír, and to a large stock “ of wisdom ; hear now from me these clear and distinct truths. “ Long before both you and I (were born), this proverb was in vogue, “ ‘ It is nonsense crouching down (to hide yourself from detection) when “ stealing a camel (as the animal's tall body must necessarily be visible);’ “ and in like manner to hold the sovereignty of Delhi and yet hide behind “ Khál Sitári's [a camel's] back as you suggest ; and to assume a menac- “ ing attitude towards the Mughuls, and yet refrain from an engagement “ with them, is altogether impossible ; nor is it feasible to prevent a “ contest with the Mughuls by the vain and idle talking of poltroons. “ Were I to shelter myself in the way you propose, my cotemporaries “ and those men who shall be born after my time will laugh at my beard, “ and will tax me with cowardice ; more especially my foes and advers- “ aries, who may have travelled some 2000 kos from their own land, and “ have come under the minarets of Delhi to offer battle. What say you ? “ Shall I under these circumstances be guilty of backwardness and co- “ wardice, and send Khál Sitári to the front [hide behind the camel's back], “ whilst I remain inert like a goose or a hen seated on her eggs, and en- “ deavour to repel them by diplomacy and negotiation. And if I should “ do as you say, to whom could I shew this countenance, or how could I

“enter the apartments of my own female relatives? Of what account  
 “too would my subjects esteem me, and what daring and boldness  
 “would the rebellious and disaffected see in me to make them pre-  
 “serve their allegiance to me? Come what may, I am bent upon  
 “marching to-morrow from Sirí into the plain of Kílí, where I pur-  
 “pose joining battle with Qutlugh Khwájah and his army; so that in  
 “the course of this mighty conflict, it may be proved between him  
 “and me, to which of us God intends to grant the victory, and to  
 “which success is to present itself.

“O 'Aláulmulk! to thee have I confided the post of Kotwál, and  
 “the charge of my seraglio, and treasures, together with the whole  
 “town. Whichever of us two, whether he or I, prove the conqueror,  
 “salute the victor with the keys of the gates, and of the treasures, and  
 “lay them before him, and become his obedient servant and vassal.

“Do not you with all your wisdom and ability know this much,  
 “that prudence and judgment can only ward off hostilities so long  
 “as the enemy be not close at hand. Now that he has come  
 “up in hot haste however, no mode of thought or action is left  
 “to me, but to make haste in falling upon him, and to dash out  
 “the brains of my foes with the stroke of battle-axe, sword, and arrow.  
 “You propose pacific measures, but pacific measures are incompatible  
 “with the turmoil of this busy world. The refined and elegant ex-  
 “pressions that you can use (when seated) on the four square yard  
 “carpet of your house, are never taken into the wide world, and would  
 “ill become the field of carnage, where streams of blood shall flow  
 “from either side.

“As for what you say about the ideas you entertain on the subject  
 “of preventing these invasions of the Mughuls, as soon as I am at  
 “leisure from this war, and have fulfilled all the duties attending it,  
 “I will listen to these ideas of your's. You are a literary character  
 “and the son of a literary man, and doubtless your mind sted-  
 “fastly contemplates all these matters, of which you speak to me.”

'Aláulmulk humbly submitted that he was indeed an old servant, and  
 invariably mentioned any suggestion that happened to cross his mind.

The Sultán exclaimed: “You are a truly loyal subject, and I have  
 “always had a high regard for your opinion. Now, however, a crisis  
 “has occurred, in which it is necessary to set wisdom aside, and not

“ a thought or deed is requisite beyond carnage and bloodshed, the  
 “ sacrifices of one’s head and life, unsheathing of swords, and the  
 “ combating with our foes.”

’Aláulmulk then took leave by kissing the royal hand, and having returned into the city, secured all the gates, except the Badáon one, which was left open ; and all the town people, both great and small, were in great dismay, and lifted up their hands in prayer.

*Account of the battle between Sulṭán ’Alíuddín and Qutlugh Khán, with the (ultimate) defeat of the Mughuls and martyrdom of Zafar Khán and other Amírs.*

Sulṭán ’Alauddín marched with the army of Islám from Siri to Kili, and pitched his camp there ; while Qutlugh Khwájah encamped with the Mughul forces right opposite ; and as two such armies had never been seen in any age or era confronting each other with hostile intent, the people were struck with wonder and dismay. Both armies were then drawn up in line, and stood anxious confronting each other in the coming struggle.

Zafar Khán was in command of the right wing, and he and the Amírs belonging to his division having drawn their swords, made a furious assault on the Mughul force, and fought hand to hand with them. The Mughuls could not withstand the attack, and were immediately broken and routed, whereupon the army of Islám set off in pursuit of them. Zafar Khán, who was the Rustam of his day, and the [hero] of his age, never ceased from the pursuit, but kept following close upon them, and driving them before him [eighteen *kos*] with the [sword, cutting off their heads]. The Mughuls consequently had no opportunity of rallying, and fled in such consternation that they scarcely knew their bridles from their cruppers.

Ulugh Khán, who was in command of the left wing of the army and had several great Amírs, and a numerous host of troops in his division, did not stir from his position, on account of the animosity he entertained towards Zafar Khán, nor would he advance to his support. The accursed Turghí\* meanwhile had laid an ambuscade with his *tuman* [along the Búrúji road?]† and as soon as he saw that

\* He commanded the left wing of the Mughuls. *Firishtah.*

† This is doubtful. The text (p. 260) has *bar tariq i búrújí*, which is opposed to *bar tariq i halqah*, a few lines lower down ; hence *búrújí* must be the Turkish name of a stratagem. *Firishtah* has merely, ‘ he had laid an ambuscade on the

Zafar Khán had pressed well forward in pursuit, and no force was coming up behind to his support, he came in rear of him, and the Khán was surrounded on all sides as if in a ring by the Mughul army. While thus hemmed in by the enemy, who kept firing showers of arrows upon him, Zafar Khán fell from his horse, and thus was that hero of the age, and the Rustam of his time, obliged to fight on foot. Emptying the arrows out of his quiver before him, he overthrew one of the Mughul horsemen with every shaft, till at length in the (middle of the) conflict Qutlugh Khwájah sent him a message saying : " Come over to me, that I may take you to my father, who will treat you with higher honor than the Emperor of Dihlí has done. Zafar Khán paid no attention to his words however, and the Mughuls seeing that he could not be captured alive, pressed upon him from all sides, and caused him to suffer martyrdom ; after which the Amírs of his division also suffered the like. They then wounded the Khán's elephants, and slew the drivers of the animals.

That day, under cover of night, the Mughuls managed to make a stand (or recover themselves), but such an astounding dread had been imprinted on their breasts from Zafar Khán's fierce assault, that they retreated from their position towards the close of the night, and departed to a distance of 30 *kos* from Dihlí, where they encamped. From thence they made [daily marches of about] 20 *kos*, and until they reached the confines of their own country, they never once halted at any stage.

The dread of this attack of Zafar Khán's remained in their hearts for years ; and if a horse of their's would not drink water at any time, they used to say : " What, have you seen Zafar Khán that you will not drink water ? " and never again after this did so vast an army advance to the environs of Dihli with hostile intentions.

Sultán 'Aláuddín now returned from Kílí, estimating this defeat of the Mughuls by the peerless Zafar Khán, and such a loyal sacrifice of life as his, a most glorious triumph.

In the third year of his reign, Sultán 'Aláuddín did nought but indulge in pleasure and gaiety, giving full scope to the bent of his inclinations, and convoking festive assemblies. His national under-

road.' The position of Kílí is not given on the Maps ; it could not have been far away from modern Dihlí, *i. e.*, north of Sirí. The Society's Edition of Badáoní has *Gílí* (?).



takings all turned out well, one after another, and despatches announcing victories were pouring in from all quarters. Every year two or three sons were born to him, and pavilions were erected and festivities held to celebrate the events.

The whole of his state affairs in short were satisfactorily managed agreeably to the utmost wish of his heart. In his magazines he beheld vast treasures, and daily did he enjoy the spectacle of his jewels and pearls, of which he possessed chests and caskets full ; while his eye likewise fell on numerous elephants and 70,000 horses in the sheds and stables in and around the city. He also found two or three vast countries firmly bound under his rule, and the idea of any adversary or rival in the kingdom never crossed his mind.

Intoxicated under all these varied incentives to pride, he began to brood over in his head the grandest projects and most extraordinary schemes, which were neither suited to his capacity, nor indeed to the capacity of a hundred thousand like him ; and such ideas came into his mind, as had never entered the imagination of any other monarch. From his utter intoxication and senselessness, his supreme arrogance and self-conceit, his intense ignorance and infatuation, and his excessive folly and stupidity, he lost all control over himself, and began to conceive impossibilities and absurdities. He was a man who had not a smattering even of education, and had never associated with men of learning ; for he neither knew how to read nor write.

In disposition he was ill-natured, and in temper harsh ; and in his heart was lodged a mass of cruelty. The more frequently the world went well with him, the oftener his enterprizes were crowned with success ; and the more fortune favoured him, so much the more senseless and intoxicated he became.

The object of my (bringing forward) the above peroration is this, that Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn during these periods of senselessness and intoxication used to say in the presence of his assembled guests, that he had two projects before him, and he used to consult his friends, boon companions, and associates about the furtherance of these two projects, and to ask the Maliks he was intimate with, what he had better do, so as to carry out his plans most effectually.

One of these two projects, which he was always talking about carrying out, was this. He used to say : " God Almighty gave to the

Prophet, on whom be peace, four companions, by means of whose power and influence, he originated the orthodox faith, and owing to the institution of the orthodox faith, the fame of the Prophet has lasted and will continue to last till the day of judgment; and since the time of the Prophet, on whom be peace! whosoever has acknowledged and called himself a Musalmán, has considered himself belonging to his faith and sect. Now, God Almighty has also granted to me four companions; first Ulugh Khán, secondly Zafar Khán, thirdly Nuçrat Khán, and fourthly Alap Khán, who through my favour have attained to princely power and influence. If I like, therefore, I can with the aid of these companions institute a new religious faith, and by the force of my arms and those of my companions, cause all the people to adopt it as the clear way (to salvation); and thus my fame and that of my companions would continue to last among the people, just as that of the Prophet and his companions has lasted."

Impelled by youthful arrogance, and folly, want of judgment, thoughtlessness and audacity, he used to utter the above sentiments at convivial assemblies openly and without reserve, and consult with the chief men of the party regarding the institution of a new and separate religion. He would likewise enquire of such as were present, how he should manage matters, so that his name might continue for ever, and the people adopt the faith that he originated.

Respecting the second project, he used personally to inform those present, that the wealth, elephants, horses, and retainers that he had gathered together were innumerable; and that he would therefore make over charge of Dihlí to some one, and starting like Alexander in quest of territorial aggrandizement, would bring the four quarters of the inhabited globe under his dominion.

Another piece of presumption was this. Some of his enterprizes having turned out satisfactorily, he caused himself to be styled "Alexander the Second," in the public prayers and on the coinages. In the midst of his wine-bibbing too, he would boastfully exclaim, "Every country that I conquer, I will give in charge to one of my confidential ministers, and set out myself in pursuit of further acquisitions; for who is there to stand up against me?" The bystanders although well aware that he was perfectly intoxicated, and

demented from the possession of vast wealth, elephants, horses, followers and dependents, as well as from his innate folly, and that he only discussed both these projects out of arrogance, incapacity, and stupidity; yet they were obliged to have a regard for his hasty temper and evil disposition. Through fear of his irascibility therefore, they commended his sentiments, and bringing forward false dogmas and similes as true, they made the application of them conformable to his vile disposition; so that he fell into the idea at last that these impossible propositions that had issued from his senseless heart and tongue, might perhaps be accomplished. The above absurdities, that escaped from his lips at convivial assemblies, were gradually disseminated throughout the city; and while some respectable men laughed, and attributed them to his folly and ignorance, other intelligent persons were sore afraid and said among themselves, "This fellow has the very pride of Pharaoh without possessing a particle of sense; and such immense treasures, as would blind the eye of the wise even, not to mention the foolish and unwary, having fallen into the hands of this idiot, if Satan instil into his mind a mode of faith opposed to true religion, and he, in enforcing its false doctrines, should slay sixty or seventy thousand individuals, what would become of us Musalmáns and our religion."

The author's uncle, 'Aláulmulk, the Kotwál of Dihli, on account of his extreme obesity used to go and pay his respects to the Sultán 'Aláuddín on the first day of every month only. On the first of one month, when he had come according to his usual custom, and had joined the Sultán's wine-party, the latter asked his advice regarding his two insane projects. 'Aláulmulk had heard from others that the Sultán was in the habit of expressing these sentiments in public, and that the bystanders always corroborated his opinions, and were unable to speak the real truth for fear of his violent and hasty temper. On this occasion however, when 'Aláulmulk heard the Sultán express these sentiments, and demand his advice on the matter, he replied: "If your Majesty will order the wine to be removed from this assembly, and will permit no one to stay with him, but four Maliks, I will lay clearly and explicitly before the throne my views and the conclusion that I have arrived at with respect to these two schemes of your Majesty."

The Sultán accordingly directed the wine to be removed from the assembly, and no one was permitted to remain in it, but Ulugh Khán, Zafar Khán, Nuçrat Khán and Alap Khán, all the other nobles being called upon to retire. The Sultán then said to 'Aláulmulk, "Whatever plan or designs has occurred to your mind for the execution of these two projects, do you now in the presence of these my four companions and of myself explain it, in order that I may proceed to carry it out."

'Aláulmulk prefacing his speech with an apology (for his boldness) spoke as follows: "The subject of religion with its tenets and doctrines should certainly never be discussed and commented on by your Majesty; for that is the duty of the prophets, not of kings. Religion springs from divine inspiration, and cannot be founded on human intellect and wisdom. From the time of Ádam to the present day, has religion been instituted by the prophets, while kings have exercised worldly sway and sovereignty; and since the world began, is now and ever shall be, the spirit of prophecy has never been exercised by kings, although prophets have sometimes held kingly sway. Your humble servant's petition at the throne therefore is this: That henceforth your Majesty will never either under the influence of wine or without it, speak a word about founding any form of faith or religion, or such matters as are within the especial province of the prophets, and which have been finally determined by our own (last and greatest) Prophet. For, should expressions of this kind reach the ears of the public generally, the whole of them will turn from their allegiance, not a Musalmán will approach your royal person, tumult and sedition will arise on every side, and vast dangers assail the State, arising solely from such sentiments as these. Your Majesty may have heard too, how, notwithstanding the torrents of blood that Changiz Khán caused to flow from all the cities of the Musalmáns, he was unable to implant among them the civil and religious institutions of the Mughuls. Most of the latter in fact turned Musalmáns, and professed the Muhammadan creed; while not a single Musalmán turned Mughul, nor adopted their faith. As for myself, I am your loyal servant, and my life and soul is bound up in your Majesty's existence. Should sedition arise in the royal dominions, I should neither be

“ left alive, nor would my wife and children, my followers and dependents be allowed to exist on the face of the earth. If then I see a means of averting danger from the royal dominions, and I fail to report it explicitly, I should be destitute of feeling for my own life as well as that of my children and family retainers. From these expressions, that have issued from your Majesty’s tongue, moreover, such a tumult is sure to arise, as could not be repressed by the sagacity of a hundred Buzurjmihrs ; and those who, professing the utmost loyalty and good will towards your royal person, have heard the above sentiments expressed in various assemblies by your Majesty, and have both confirmed and commended them, have only done so by way of flattery, and have not fulfilled their duty honestly.”

On hearing these words of ‘Alāulmulk, Sultān ‘Alāuddīn bent down his head, and became absorbed in reflection. The Sultān’s four companions too were excessively pleased with ‘Alāulmulk’s speech, and anxiously waited to see what would escape from the Sultān’s lips. After a minute or two, the Sultān addressed ‘Alāulmulk thus : “ The reason why I have made you my confidential adviser, and shew such regard for you is, that I know you to be a truly loyal subject of mine, and frequently have I perceived and become fully convinced by experience, that in giving an opinion, you always speak the whole truth before me, and never conceal the real state of the case. I have just this minute reflected, and see that everything is as you say. I ought not to discuss these subjects, and henceforward no one shall hear me utter such expressions in any assembly. A hundred mercies rest on you, and on your father and mother, inasmuch as you have spoken the truth before me, and have duly fulfilled the rights of loyalty. In respect to the second project, what say you ; is that likewise wrong, or is it proper ?”

‘Alāulmulk then addressed the Sultān thus on the subject of his second project, which was that of territorial aggrandizement.

“ Your second project is one that high-minded monarchs are often bent upon ; and it is the custom and habit of these conquerors to desire that they should subjugate the whole world, and bring it under their dominion. Your Majesty likewise with all these vast hoards of treasure, as well as retainers, elephants, and horses, can set forth from your capital

fully equipped and arrayed, and will (doubtless) achieve the greatest feats of conquest. I do not therefore object to the execution of this design, and I am well aware that your Majesty possesses sufficient wealth to enable you to enlist two or three lakhs of horsemen, and conquer the whole world. It would be right, however, for your Majesty to reflect as to whom you could consign the charge of Dehli and its empire, which you have gained at the cost of such vast sums of money, and so much bloodshed, and what force you would give him ; while you yourself departed in pursuit of territorial aggrandizement, and proceeded like Alexander to conquer the habitable globe. For, no matter whom your Majesty might appoint in Dehli or in any other country ; by the time you thought of returning to your own capital again, how could those officers, or those countries have secured peace and safety in these times of sedition and rebellion. The age of Alexander was a totally different era from the present one ; for it was the established usage, and settled habit of the men of that period to adhere strictly and conscientiously to the engagements they entered into, even after the lapse of many years ; and consequently excuses and frauds, falsehood and deceit, and the violation of contracts and agreements were much less frequent in those days. If the nobles and plebeians of any clime or country therefore entered into any contract or agreement with Alexander or any other sovereign, they neither, during his presence nor in his absence, ever swerved from their promise or engagement. Where too, could you find a prime minister like Aristotle ? for all the Greeks, both high and low, notwithstanding their vast amount of population, immense extent of cavalry, and great wealth and affluence, were so attached, faithful, and obedient to Aristotle, placed such confidence in his spoken or written promise, and his strict virtue and probity, and were so well pleased and contented with his administration and rule, unaided and unsupported by considerable forces, that during Alexander's absence not a soul swerved a needle's point from his express order and mandate, nor joined in any revolt or rebellion. When Alexander therefore ceased from his conquest after an interval of two and thirty years, and returned again to his pristine capital, he found the land of Greece tranquil, obedient, and secure ; nor in the course of a generation (*qaran*) moreover, had any disturbance occurred within his ancient kingdom. Very different are

the men of the present time and age, more especially the Hindús, in whom there is not the slightest respect for treaties, and agreements. If they see not a mighty and successful sovereign at their head, nor behold crowds of horse and foot with drawn swords and arrows threatening their lives and property, they fail in their allegiance, refuse payment of revenue, and excite a hundred tumults and revolts. Now your Majesty's territories are the territories of Hindústán ; how then will your absence, especially an absence that may continue for years, suit such men as these, who have neither any respect for treaties and engagements, nor any regard for the due fulfilment of promises?"

Sultán 'Aláuddín observed : " Since so much wealth as well as elephants and horses has come into my hands, if I make no conquests, and subdue no new territories, but content myself with the kingdom of Dihli merely, of what use will it be to me, and how shall I acquire a reputation for victorious achievements?"

'Aláulmulk replied : " I am an old servant, and it appears most expedient to me, that your Majesty should commence upon the two following undertakings before all others ; and subsequently set out after the rest."

The Sultán asked, what these two undertakings were, which he ought to commence upon first ; to which 'Aláulmulk replied : " One of them is, the bringing under proper subjection of the entire country of Hindústán ; so that Rantambhúr, Chitor, Chanderi, Málwah, Dhár, and Ujain, and from the East to the banks of the Sarw, and the Sawálik to Jálúr, Multán, to Damrilah [?], and from Pálam to Láhaur and Dípálpur\* might all become so tranquil and obedient, that the name of rebel should never pass from any body's tongue.

\* *Sarw* (سرو *sarw*, or سارو *saro*) is the name of the Western and Eastern Surjoo in the N. E. of Ondh. The Eastern Surjoo is often distinguished as *Ab i Bahráich* or *Sarw i Bahráich*, the Sarw on which the town of Bahráich lies. The Western Surjoo is merely called *Sarw* ; but the name is also given to the Ghogra. The Ghogra again is often called *Ab i Narhan* (آب نرهن), as it falls into the Ganges a little below the town and Parganah of Narhan in Sárán, (North Bihar). In the Kin and older books Ghogra is spelt *G'hag'har* گهاگھر ; the modern spelling is گهاگھر *G'hág'har*, or گهاگھرا *G'hág'hrá*. " The Ghogra joins the Sarw at a distance of one *kos* from Awadh (Faizábád) and passes below the Fort of that town." *Aín*. Abulfazi mentions the *Sarw* among the rivers of the Cúbah of Iláhábád, together with the *Arand* آرنده, or آرنده *Arand* (*anglica*

“ The second undertaking, which is far more important, is the prevention of the inroads of the Mughuls by strengthening the strongholds in their direction, by the appointment of trustworthy commanders, and the repair of the fortifications, and excavation of the ditches as well as the formation of magazines for arms and depôts for grain and fodder, and the organization of projectile engines of war, with skilful and experienced marksmen to serve them. To this end, a commander should be stationed at Samánah with a large force, another at Deopálpúr, and another at Multán with a body of horse; for in order that the Mughals may be entirely restrained from any hostile attempt on Hindústán, military commanders of loyalty and experience, and a picked and chosen body of troops well mounted, must be depended on.

“ As soon as these two objects, *viz.* the extinction of the rebellious spirit of the Hindús from the realms of Hindústán, and the appointment of famous and illustrious nobles to the quarters, whence the incursions of the Mughuls take place, have been satisfactorily attained, your Majesty should stay perfectly at ease in the metropolis of Dihlí, which is the centre of the kingdom, and employ yourself with a tranquil mind in state affairs; for the stability of the sovereign in the centre produces stability in the government of the provinces. After the establishment of the paramount power in the centre, and the consolidation of the provinces of the Empire, your Majesty can proceed to territorial aggrandizement without stirring from your throne, by deputing your loyal and confidential servants with well equipped and organized forces, and the faithful nobles of the state, to

Urrunde or Rind), the *Ken* كين (Cane, a tributary of the Jamnah, left bank), and the نربة *Bárnah* (near Banáras).

*Láhúr*, لاهور, and لهور *Luháwar* are archaistic forms for لاهور *Láhor*, just as نوديه *Núdíh* for نديا *Naddiá* (Nuddeah in Bengal, even now vulgarly called *Noodee*); گالديور *Gálewár*, گليور *Galewar*, and گليوار *Gálewár*, for گواليار *Gwáliár*.

Dipálpúr lies on the old bed of the Biáh, between Lat. 30° and 31°, and must not be confounded with the Dipálpúr in Málwah, S. W. of Ujain. *Dípálpúr* (Deopálpúr), Samánah (in Patiálá), and Multán lie almost in a straight line; hence 'Aláulmulk's advice.

*Pálam* lies S. W. of Dihlí, about eleven miles from it. Under Sultán Mahmúd Sháh (795 to 815, A. H.), people used to say ironically, *Hukm i khuláwánd i 'álam az Dihlí tá Pálam*.

For *Damrtlah* (?) the Society's Edition has *Marflah* (?). Perhaps, *Narflah*, near Dihlí. What we call *Rintambore* is spelt in all good MSS. *Rantanbhúr* رنتنبهور, not *Ranfl handbúr* رنتنبهور. *Dhár* is in Málwah.



march into distant countries and wage war there ; bidding them plunder and lay waste all the territories of Hind, and spare neither the wealth, elephants, nor horses of its kings and princes, but bring them all under the royal subjection, after which their lands and principalities can be restored to them, on condition that they agree to furnish an annual tribute to your Majesty in money, horses, and elephants.”

After giving vent to the above opinions, 'Aláulmulk made obeisance and continued thus : “ What your humble servant has recommended can never be brought about, unless your Majesty will refrain from drinking wine to excess, from holding constant convivial and festive assemblies, and from indulging both day and night in the pleasures of the chase, nor until you take up your permanent residence in the centre of the kingdom and allow the affairs of the state, and measures of government to be transacted agreeably to the advice of your faithful and sagacious councillors. Your Majesty's excessive indulgence in wine occasions delay and detriment to all measures, and nothing can be effected conformably to the true spirit of good government ; while from your constant pursuit of field sports, there is danger of treason and sedition from deceitful and treacherous individuals, and the royal life is in jeopardy. As soon as it becomes well-known among the populace both high and low, that the Sovereign is absorbed day and night in the pleasures of wine, and of the chase, the due reverence of royalty will no longer remain implanted in their hearts, and the gates of sedition will be thrown open to traitors. If you cannot do without indulging in wine and in the chase altogether, you should drink only after the hour appointed for the second prayers, when you are alone without any party of boon companions, nor should you take so much as to get intoxicated ; and for sport, you ought to have a villa erected at Sirí, on all sides of which spacious and extensive plain there should be, where you could take your hawks and fly them. In this manner you should satisfy your longing for field sports, so that the disaffected and ill-disposed characters in the kingdom may not have the opportunity for malevolent designs against you. Your Majesty's life, and the stability of your government are most dear to me ; for my own life and that of my whole family and household depends upon the royal existence ; and should this kingdom fall into the hand of another, which God forbid, myself, my wife and

children, and my followers and dependants would never be permitted to live."

When Sultán 'Aláuddin had heard 'Aláulmulk's opinions, he was highly pleased with him and said—"The views that you have expressed are decidedly correct, and I will do exactly according to what God has brought forth from your lips." He then presented 'Aláulmulk with a garment wrought in gold with pictures of tigers, a woven waist belt, 15,000 tankahs, two caparisoned horses, and a couple of landed estates. Out of the four Kháns too, in whose presence 'Aláulmulk had continued from early morn till midday explaining his views, as given above before the throne, every one of them sent to his house three or four thousand tankahs, and two or three caparisoned horses. As soon as the above opinions reached the ears of the ministers, officials, and other wise men of the city, they also highly lauded and commended 'Aláulmulk's sagacity and good advice.

This event occurred in the days, when Zafar Khán had returned from the Siwistán expedition, and had not yet suffered martyrdom in the engagement with the miscreant Qutlugh Khwájah.

Sultán 'Aláuddin resolved in the first place to capture the fort of Rantambhúr, as it was not only somewhat near the capital of Dihlí, but was already encompassed with a besieging force under Hamír Deo, the son of Pathorá Rái. He accordingly despatched thither Ulugh Khán, who held the Biánah district; and directed Nuçrat Khán, who was then Jágirdár of Karah, to move likewise with the whole forces of Karah and the troops of the districts on that side of Hindústán, to Rantambhúr, and cooperate with Ulugh Khán in taking the fortress. Ulugh Khán and Nuçrat Khán having captured Jháyin,\* invested the stronghold of Rantambhúr, and exerted themselves to the utmost in the construction of entrenchments and batteries, while a constant shower of projectiles was kept up from the fort. One of these missiles happened to strike Nuçrat Khán, whereby he was seriously wounded, and after two or three days he expired.

As soon as intelligence of this event reached Sultán 'Aláuddin, he

\* *Jháyin* (جهانین) lies near Rantambhúr. "It is known under the name of *Naushahr*." *Bnd. I*, p. 190. The Society's Editions of *Badáoní* and *Ziá i Baraní* have invariably, but wrongly, جهانین *Jhábin*. *Vide Elliot's Index* (First Edition), p. 193.

came out of the city with the imperial forces and marched in the direction of Rantambhūr.

*Description of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn's march towards Rantambhūr, his arrival at Tilpat, and Ikit Khān's insurrection at that place.\**

When Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn set out from Dihlī with the view of capturing the fort of Rantambhūr, and had arrived at Tilpat,† he halted there for some time, riding out every day to the chase, and indulging in field sports. On one occasion having gone out as usual to the chase, he was benighted, and obliged to take up his quarters in the village of Bādah, where he passed the night. Next day before sunrise he gave orders for a [manœuvre, *nargah*], so the officers of the household, and all the retinue occupied themselves in making the necessary preparations for it, while the Sulṭān himself took up a position in the open country, when he sat dawn upon a cane stool (*morah*) with only a few attendants standing round him. The Sulṭān was thus sitting in expectation of seeing the arrangements for the battle completed, when meanwhile Ikit Khān, his nephew (brother's son), who held the appointment of *Vakīlidārī*, raised an insurrection, under the idea and impression that just as Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn had slain his uncle, and seated himself on his throne, he would likewise be able to slay 'Alāuddīn and ascend his

\* I have written *Ikit Khān*, instead of *Ukat*, which Major Fuller's translation has. *Ikit* is Turkish, and means *jawān*, young, and *Ikit Khān* would thus be the opposite of *Ulugh Khān*, as *Ulugh* means *kalān*, old, senior. *Khān i Kalān* also was a title in use before the times of Akbar. The usual *scriptio plena* also occurs, viz., ایتک for ایتک، الوغ for الوغ، قتلغ and قونلوغ Qutlugh (the same as *Mubārīk*), or تغلق and توغلوغ Tughlugh (the same as '*alamdār*, standard bearer), or مغل and موغول Mughul (a simple hearted man). Having accidentally mentioned the word *Mubārīk*, which occurs so often in names, I may remark that it should be spelt *Mubārīk* with an *i*, as it is the Part. Active, asking God to bless some one; but inasmuch as the Persians change the final *i* of such Arabic forms to *a*, we may write *Mubārak*. In India the pronunciation *Mubarik* is preferred.

Firishtah calls Ikit Khān *Sulaimān Shāh*. In Briggs and Elphinstone's History the name of *Ulugh Khān* is wrongly given *Alaf Khān*.

† *Tilpat* formed the South Eastern frontier of the Parganah of Dihlī; vide Beames's Edition of Elliot's Glossary, II. 123. The Nawāb Farīd Khān mentioned by Elliot is Farīd i Bukhārī (Murtazā Khān) who defeated Khusrau. Farīdābād in Balabgarh, south of Dihlī, is named after him, and formed part of *Tilpat*.

For *Tilpat*, the Society's Edition of Badāoni has *Panhīt* (?), and in a foot note *Sānpāt*, which is a town and Parganah forming the northern boundary of the Parganah of Dihlī; but Firishtah has likewise *Tilpat*.

The place *Bādah* mentioned a few lines lower down, may be the *Mausa'* of Bādah, S. W. of the town of Jhārsah. The Parganah of Jhārsah forms the S. W. boundary of the Parganah of Dihlī.

throne. With this design, Ikit Khán, accompanied by several newly converted horsemen of great skill, who were old retainers of his, came headlong upon Sultán 'Aláuddín shouting out, "the tiger," "the tiger," and several arrows were fired by those expert marksmen upon him. It being winter time, the Sultán had on a thick wadded garment [and a *daglah\**], and when they began to pour down a shower of arrows on him, he got off the stool, and made use of it as a shield to defend himself. Two arrows, however, struck the Sultán, and wounded him in the arm, but neither of them was fatal. There was a servant with him called Nának [Ed. Bibl. Indica, *Mánik*], who at the time when the new converts were showering arrows on the Sultán, made a shield of his own body for him, and received three or four wounds. The Páik soldiery (foot soldiers) who were standing behind the Sultán also protected him with their bucklers, and when Ikit Khán came up with his horsemen, and they wished to dismount, and cut off the Sultán's head, they perceived that the Páiks had drawn their swords, and were fully prepared to receive them. Notwithstanding the vast tumult and revolt that they had raised, they were thus unable to dismount and lay hands on the Sultán. At this juncture moreover the Páiks called out that the Sultán was dead, and Ikit Khán, being a stupid, foolish, senseless youth, devoid of all tact and intelligence, in spite of the great superiority he had gained in coming upon the Sultán with so many expert horsemen, was unable to give stability to his revolt by severing the Sultán's head from his body, previous to engaging in other affairs; but through his consummate folly, he was too premature and contented himself with the word of the Páiks. [Then he returned and hastened to Tilpat, and rode to the Imperial pavilion.] He then seated himself on Sultán 'Aláuddín's throne, and called out in a loud tone to the royal door-keepers, that he had slain the Sultán. The people also began to reflect, that if he had not put the Sultán to death (as he said), how could he have entered the royal pavilion mounted (*i. e.* in state), or by the aid of what force could he have seated himself on the throne of 'Aláuddín and given audience there. A great tumult and uproar consequently

\* The word *daglah* is not to be found in native Dictionaries, and is but rarely used now-a-days. From the words *qabá wa daglah dar bar dásht*, we may infer that *daglah* is the short ornamented jacket which natives put over the long *qabá*. It has often short sleeves.

arose throughout the camp, and everything began to be turned topsyturvy. The elephants were caparisoned with *haudahs* and brought before the royal pavilion ; the household servants came out, and every one stood in waiting at his proper post ; the sentries kept shouting and bawling out ; the clergy read the Qorán ; the minstrels breathed forth music ; the aristocracy on paying homage offered their congratulations and tendered their services ; and the door-keepers raised the continual cry of "Bismillah" (in the name of God).

The wretched Ikit Khán then out of intense folly and stupidity, wished to enter into the interior of the haram among the females, but Malik Dínár, the custodian of those apartments would not permit him ; for arming himself together with his comrades, he took his stand before the door, and kept it securely, saying to the ill-fated Ikit Khán, "You must shew me the head of Sultán 'Aláuddín before I can let you enter the haram."

At the time when the Sultán had been wounded by the arrows, all the horsemen engaged in the manœuvre dispersed, and a great disturbance arose among them, every one going off in a different direction, until there were only some sixty or seventy men left with the Sultán. When he recovered his senses after Ikit Khán's departure, they found that he had received two wounds in the arm, and had lost a good deal of blood ; so they washed and bound up the wounds, and slung the arm from his neck in handkerchiefs.

On coming to himself, the Sultán made certain, that the Maliks and Amirs and a vast body of the soldiery in the Camp must be in confederacy with Ikit Khán, or he would never without their support have been able to make such an outbreak.

He accordingly thought of abandoning his Camp and proceeding at once from the spot to gain Ulugh Khán at Jháyin, purposing to march night and day until he reached his brother, when he could adopt any plan that might seem most conducive to the recovery of his kingdom, or could flee from thence to some distant quarter, which ever plan might prove most expedient hereafter.

With this idea, he was about to start forthwith for Jháyin, had not Malik Hamíduddín, the Vakílidar, son of 'Umdatulmulk, senior, who was the Aristotle and the Buzurjmíhr of the age, dissuaded him from the measure and said, "Your Majesty should proceed

this instant to the imperial pavilion ; for all the people in the city and the camp are your loyal slaves and subjects ; and no sooner will the insignia of loyalty come into their view, and the safety of your august person become known to them, than they will repair to your threshold, and bring the elephants before you, and in a moment the head of the traitor, Ikit Khán, will be cut off and fixed on the point of a spear. Should the night, however, elapse without it being made known to the people, that your Majesty is safe and sound, it is probable that some one may join the wretch, and the insurrection become much more formidable than at present ; and after the people have once made themselves his confederates, and pledged their allegiance to him, the dread of your Majesty will compel them to stick to him.”

Sultán 'Aláuddín approved of Hamid's suggestions, and having mounted at once he set out for the camp. On the way, such horsemen as saw that the Sultán was in safety, joined him ; so that by the time he reached the encampment, about 600 horse had collected in his train. As soon as the Sultán arrived near the camp, he ascended an eminence, and shewed himself conspicuously, so that the umbrella of the Sultán was seen by a considerable number. The concourse at the royal pavilion immediately broke up, and the household with the whole of the elephants repaired to the imperial presence ; whereupon Ikit Khán made his escape through an opening in the tent, and mounting a horse, took the road to Afghánpúr. The Sultán then coming down from the eminence with regal pomp and splendour, proceeded to his own pavilion, and took his seat upon the throne, and gave a public audience.

Malik A'azzuddín Yighán Khán and Malik Naçiruddín Búr Khán [Ed. B. I., *Núr Khán*] undertook the pursuit of Ikit Khán, and overtaking him in the vicinity of Afghánpúr,\* they cut off his head, and presented it before the royal pavilion. By the Sultán's order, the miscreant's head was fastened on a spear, and carried round the whole camp ; after which it was carried publicly through the city of Dehli, and from thence despatched to Ulugh Khán at Jháyin with an announcement of

\* *Badáoní* (I, p. 193) says : “ *Ikit Khán fled towards Afghánpúr, and a detachment which in forced marches (elghár) pursued him, caught him, and sent him to the Sultán.*” Afghánpúr is either the town and Parganah in Sambhal, or the *mauza* of that name, ‘ which lies three kos from Tughluqhábád’ (*Badáoní* I, p. 224), where Tughluq Sháh died from the fall of the pavilion. *Vide also* Mr. Cowell's paper in J. A. S. B. for 1860, p. 231.

his victory. The rebel's younger brother, whose title was Qutlugh Khán, was also instantly sacrificed. Sultán 'Aláuddín stayed some days at this encampment, during which he used the utmost rigour and severity in tracing out and apprehending all the agents and horsemen, and those who had had any knowledge of, or connection with, Ikit Khán's revolt. He put them to death under the torture of the iron scourge, confiscated their property to the royal use, and sent their wives and children as captives into various forts.

After having concluded his search after the conspirators engaged in Ikit Khán's revolt, Sultán 'Aláuddín proceeded by continuous marches to Rantambhúr, and pitched his camp at Ran,\* where he executed the surviving portion of the rebels. The siege of the fort had been going on for some time previous to this, on the Sultán's arrival it was prosecuted with still greater vigour. From all quarters of the country, they collected leather skins and bags, and served them out among the soldiery, who used to fill the bags with sand, and throw them into the [ravine] of the Ran. They also made trenches and approaches, raised batteries, and kept up a constant fire of projectiles, with which they harassed and annoyed the garrison, who used to throw down fire from the top of the fort in return, and thus vast numbers were slaughtered on both sides. The army moreover had overrun the district of Jháyin as far as the frontier of Dhár, and brought it all under subjection.

*Description of the revolt of 'Umar and Mangú Khán, the nephews (sister's sons) of Sultán 'Aláuddín, in Badaon and Audh, and receipt of the intelligence at Rantambhúr.*

Just about the time when the Sultán had finished with the conspi-

\* Or rather, *on the Ran*. Major Fuller's MS. has correctly دران, instead of the absurd دران of the Ed. Bibl. Indica. Akbar also attacked Rantambhúr from the Ran (Bad. II, 107). "On Monday, I inspected the Fort of Rantambhúr. There are two mountains opposite to each other, one is called *Ran*, and the other *Tanbhúr*. Though the Fort is on the latter, people call it '*Rantambhúr*.' It is very strong, and has plenty of water. The Ran also is a strong position, *in fact the only one from which the Fort can be taken*. Hence my father [Akbar] ordered guns to be carried to the top of the Ran [Rajab, 976], and had them pointed to the houses in the Fort. The first shot hit the Chauhándí Mahall of Rái Surjun, which made his heart so tremble, that he surrendered. \*\*\* The houses in the Fort are just as Hindús will build them, narrow and without ventilation; hence I was not pleased and did not stay." *Tuzuk i Jahángírí*, p. 256. During the reign of Akbar, Rustam Khán commanded the Fort for a long time.

racy of Ikit Khán, and had turned his attention to the siege, making his whole army engage zealously therein, news reached him that Amír 'Umar and Mangú Khán had taken advantage of his absence, and having heard of his zealous attention to the siege of Rantambhúr, and the extreme difficulty of capturing it, had broken out into rebellion, and were now collecting an army from the people of Hindústán.

The Sultán immediately appointed certain of the great nobles of Hindústán to coerce them; so that before the rebels had time to do any mischief, they seized both the brothers, and brought them in captive to the Sultán at Rantambhúr. Sultán 'Aláuddín was of an extremely harsh and severe temper, so that he even executed both his nephews himself, and scraped out their eyes with a knife just as he would a piece of a melon, and exterminated their followers and dependents. As for the horse and foot, who had taken service with them, some fled away, and suffered great hardships, while others fell into the hands of the nobles of Hindústán, and were taken prisoners.

*Description of the revolt of Hájí Maulá, (servant of) Malik ul Umará Fakhruddín Kotwál.*

The Sultán was still engaged in this siege of Rantambhúr, and had his whole army zealously employed in it, when Hájí Maulá i Malik Fakhruddín,\* the former Kotwál, raised a revolt in (Dihlí), and caused a very considerable commotion; intelligence of which reached the Sultán at Rantambhúr on the third day. In the course of this insurrection, the people of Dihlí, and of the royal camp, were completely upset; for the above mentioned Hájí was a man of the most sanguinary, audacious, and depraved disposition. In these days, while the Sultán with his whole army was occupied at Rantambhúr, where a large number were being constantly killed, and the soldiery in consequence were sorely distressed, Hájí Maulá held the office of superintendent of the crown lands of Ratol.† A person of the name of Tirmidí was the Kotwál, and he was engaged in building the Badáon gate, and near this gate on the inside he had erected a private domicile, in which he resided, while for the transaction of the official business of the vizárat, sheds [*chhapparhá*] had been put up in the plain of Sirí, where all public

\* The final *i* in *Maulá i* is the *Izáfat*. Firishtah and Badáoní call him a *servant* of Fakhruddín, which his name *Maulá* (freed slave) also implies.

† Perhaps correcter *Tol* or *Bartol*. Major Fuller takes the first letter as the Persian preposition *ba*, though we expect *bar*, which the Ed. B. I. has. The place is not known to me.



affairs were settled. 'Aláuddín Ayáz, the father of Ahmad Ayáz, held the post of Kotwál to the New Fort [*Hicár i nau*]. The aforesaid Hájí Maulá then saw that the city was thus left vacant, and that the people were grumbling and complaining of the tyranny and oppression of Tirmidí the Kotwál, while constant reports were coming in of the distress of the soldiery employed in the siege of Rantambhúr, and the numbers of them that were being killed, so that the mass of them were reduced to the greatest extremity, though for fear of the Sultán's laying a fine of three years' pay upon them, it was impossible for any one to get away from the Camp—Hájí Maulá therefore, fancying, that in their distress the people of the Camp as well as of the city would stand by him, made friends of all the former Kotwáls, raised a very considerable insurrection, and kindled a conflagration, the flames of which blazed up to the skies. About midday in the month of Ramazán, during which Ramazán the sun was in Gemini, and people to avoid the heat of the weather had retired into the interior of their domiciles and were enjoying a siesta, and the number of people passing to and fro in the streets was consequently but few; Hájí Maula entered the Badáon gate with a forged warrant under his arm, and accompanied by several foot soldiers with drawn swords, took his stand in front of the Kotwál Tirmidí's private dwelling. On pretence that he had come from the Sultán and brought a warrant from him, he summoned the Kotwál, who was taking a nap, and had none of his guards or others about him, to come out of his house to the doorway. The Kotwál accordingly rose from his couch, and slipping on his shoes, came out to the door; but no sooner did Hájí Maulá catch sight of him, than he he ordered the páiks to sever his neck and cut off his head from his body. He then took the *Tughrá* warrant from under his arm, and exhibiting it to the bystanders, he exclaimed, "By virtue of this warrant have I put the Kotwál to death," at which the people remained silent. He next ordered all the gates, that were under the Kotwál Tirmidí's charge, and the guards of which had espoused his wretched cause, to be shut, and the door of every house throughout the city was kept closed.

After slaying the Kotwál Tirmidí, the above named Hájí sent for 'Aláuddín Ayáz, the Kotwál of the New Fort, with the intention of killing him as well. The message he sent him was this: "I have

brought a warrant from the Sultán; come over and hear its contents." A confidential friend of this Kotwál's, however, among the conspirators, gave him warning and informed him of the intended reachery, so he refused to come, and keeping vigilantly on his guard, had the gates of the new fort strongly secured.

Hájí Maulá with the other conspirators then repaired to the palace, and having seated himself in the raised balcony of state, he released the whole of the 'Alái prisoners, some of whom joined his cause. He also took out bags of money from the treasury, and begun to squander it among the populace. He likewise presented the rebels with arms from the magazine, and horses from the stud; and whoever became his ally, had his lap filled with gold.

There was a Sayyid, who used to be called the son of Sháh Najaf, and on his mother's side was descended from Sultán Shams-uddín. To this poor wretch's house, Hájí Maulá proceeded on horseback with a large retinue, and bringing him by force to the palace, placed him on the throne. He also compelled all the grandees and nobles to come from their homes, and do homage to their Sayyid, and offer him their allegiance.

Thus from time to time he kept kindling the flame of turbulence, and some ill-fated wretches, whose hour of death had arrived near at hand, used from avaricious motives to come willingly and cheerfully to him, and he conferred on these rebels all the royal appointments, and paid homage himself. From fear of Sultán 'Aláuddín, and their dread of this miscreant, the people abandoned both sleep and food, and passed their days and nights in the deepest anxiety.

During the week that Hájí Maulá excited this revolt, news of it was several times received by Sultán 'Aláuddín; but the intelligence was never explicitly divulged throughout the camp, and no tumult arose from it.

On the third or fourth day of the Hájí's insurrection, Malik Hamíduddín Amír Koh, attended by his sons and relatives, every one of whom was a roaring lion, forced open the Ghaznín gate, and entering the city, made for the Bhandarkal gate, whereupon a distant conflict with arrows was commenced between them and the rebels. On such an occasion, the covetous and avaricious naturally set their lives on the palms of their hands (*i. e.*, recklessly exposed themselves to

danger), and received large donations of money from the Hájí; but after two or three days Malik Hamiduddín Amír Koh, and his sons, who were a most loyal, true, and faithful crew, got the better of the rebels. Some of Zafar Khán's comrades too, who had come into the city from Amrohah for the purpose of presenting a petition, joined the Malik Amír Koh and his sons. The latter then entered from the Bhandarkal gate, and a close combat ensued between him and Hájí Maulá in the shoemaker's quarter.\* The Amír koh having dismounted from his horse, and thrown Hájí Maulá down, sat himself on his chest, and notwithstanding all the cuts that the Hájí's retainers showered upon this valiant and loyal hero, and the number of places in which they sorely wounded him, he would not stir from his place on the Hájí's chest until he had slain him.

After his death, the supporters of 'Aláuddín repaired to the Lál palace, and having severed the head of that senseless Sayyid from his body, and carried it round the city on the point of a spear, they forwarded it to the Sultán at Rantambhúr with a despatch announcing the victory and Hájí Maulá's demise.

Notwithstanding the many tumults and revolts that were reported to Sultán 'Aláuddín as having taken place at Delhi, and completely subverted that city; inasmuch as he had fixed his imperial mind upon the capture of the fort of Rantambhúr, he would not stir from this place, nor turn his face towards Delhi. Notwithstanding the large army too, that was engaged in the siege, and reduced to such distress in every way, not a single horseman or footman through fear and dread of Sultán 'Aláuddín, dared turn his face towards Delhi, or go elsewhere.

In short, in the course of five or six days, whosoever in the city had been a confederate of Hájí Maulá, and had taken money of him, was seized and imprisoned; and all the money that he had taken out of the treasury and distributed among the populace was fully recovered and replaced in the treasury. At the end of a week, Ulugh Khán arrived by express from Rantambhúr, and entering Delhi took up his quarter at the palace of Mu'izzí. They then brought all the rebels before him and he executed the whole of them, making a torrent of blood to flow.

\* The Society's text has *dar miyán i morahdozán o miyán i ú o miyán i Hájí Maulá*. Major Fuller's MS. has no *and* before the second *miyán*.

On account of these rebels too, he put mercilessly to the sword, as a warning to others, the sons and grandsons of Malikulumarā, the former Kotwāl, who had no knowledge at all of the insurrection, together with every surviving member of his family and his attendants, and would not permit their name even to exist in the world. (Ed. Bibl. Ind., p. 242 to p. 282.)\*

\* The Persian text of this portion of the translation of 'Alāuddīn's reign has four doubtful words, viz., اخترزر Ed. Bibl. Ind. p. 243, l. 8 from below ; تازک p. 250, l. 3 ; اصرج p. 252, l. 12 ; بوروجي p. 260, l. 9 from below.

*Addenda.* P. 200, note. Regarding *Kílā*, vide also Bad. I., p. 233, l. 7.

P. 187, first note. There is some confusion regarding the word *Kúchī*. Badāonī (I., p. 180, l. 3) says that Fakhruddīn i Kúchī, who was Dádbeg under Jalāl, was killed with Jalāl at Karāh ; and Júná cannot well be the son of Gházī Malik (Tughluq Shāh).

The misprints in the Society's edition of the *Tārīkh i Firúz Shāhī* are rather numerous in the lists of office-bearers prefixed to each reign, though the edition is on the whole good. Gházī Malik is especially ill-treated. Thus on p. 240, l. 3 from below, the asterisk is to be put after غازي, and for *Shaikmak* (?) we have to read *Shihnah beg* شهنهنگ ; and on p. 379, l. 6, the same correction is to be applied to *Shihnak* (?). *Shihnah Beg i Bārgāh* is the same as *Bārbeg* باربگ, i. e. the Beg of the Court. That *Beg* was formerly pronounced *bak* or *bik* is clear from the names of towns, as *Bārbikpūr*, *Bārbikābād* (cf. Wazirābād, Khānpūr.)

(To be continued.)

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