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Jhe Philological Secretary.
"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of $A$ sia, 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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## JOURNAL

OF THE

## ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.



## Part I.-HISTORY, LITERATURE, \&c.

No. I.-1878.

## The Mo'allaqah of Zuheyr rendered into English, with an introduction and notes.-By C. J. Lyall, C. S.

How war arose between 'Abs and Đubyân from the Race of Dâhis : who fell therein, and who slew them : what famous Days were gained by either kin : what songs were made to tell of valiant deeds done, and what dirges over brave men that died: how the heads of Đubyan were slain at the Cistern of el-Habà'ah, and how 'Abs wanaered forth thereafter through many strange lands : all this may be told at another season. What is now to be related is the manner in which peace was made, and the brother tribes reconciled together.
, There was a certain lord of Đubyân, by name el-Ḥârith son of -Auf son of Abû Heâritheh, of the house of Ghey §̀ son of Murrah son of Sa'd, great in wealth and fame among the kindred of Fezârah. He said one day to his uncle's son, Khârijeh son of Sinân-" Thinkest thou that any whose daughter I asked in marriage would deny her to me p" "Yes," he answered ; "Who ?" said el-Ḥârith. "Aus son of Ḥâritheh son of La'm of Tayyi'," said Khârijeh. Then said el-Ḥarith to his servant-"Mount with me." So they mounted one camel together, and rode until they came to Aus son of Hearritheh in his own land ; and they found him in his house. And when he saw el-Ḥârith son of "Auf, he said-" Hail to thee, 0 Ḥ̂rith :" "And to thee," said el-Hุarith. "What has brought thee hither, 0 Ḥàrith P" said Aus. "I have come a-wooing," answered he. "This is not the place for thee," said Aus, and turned his back upon him and spoke no
word more. Then Aus went in to his wife in anger. Now she was a woman of "Abs: and she said-" Who was the man who stopped at thy door, with whom thou hadst such short speoch ?" He answered-" That was el-Ḥârith son of 'Auf son of Aba Heâritheh the Murrí, the lord of the Arabs." "What befell thee that thou didst not bid him alight?" asked she. "He dealt foolishly with me," said he. "How so ?" she asked. "He came a-wooing," he answered. "Dost thou wish to wed thy daughters ?" she asked. "Yes," said he. "And if thou wilt not give one to the lord of the Arabs to wife, to whom then wilt thou wed her ?" "Nay," he answered, " the thing is done." "Nay but," said she, " make amends for what thou hast done." "How ?" he asked. " Follow after him and bring him back with thee." "How should I do so, when that has befallen which has befallen between me and him ?" She answered-" Say to him -'Thou foundest me in anger because thou didst propound to me suddenly a matter whereof thou hadst not spoken to me before, and I was not able at the time to answer thee but as thou heardest : but now return, I pray thee, and thou shalt find with me all that thou desirest' : verily he will do as thou askest." So Aus mounted and rode after those twain. "Then," (says Khârijeh son of Sinân, who was with el-Ḥârith and tells the tale,) "By God! I was journeying on our way, when I chanced to raise mine eyes, and saw Aus riding after us. And I went forward to el-Ḥârith, bat he spoke nought to me by reason of the grief that was in him ; and I said to him-'Here is Aus son of Ḥâritheh following us.' He answered- 'And what have we to do with him? pass on.' And when Aus saw that we tarried not for him, he cried after us-' $O$ Hêrith ! wait for me a moment.' So we waited for him, and he spoke to us that speech which his wife had made for him ; and el-Ḥârith returned with him in gladness. And I heard that Aus when he went into his house said to his wife-' Call to me such an one'-naming the eldest of his three daughters; and she came forth to him. And he said to her-' Omy daughter, this is el-Ḥârith son of 'Auf, a lord of the Arabs : he has come asking a boon, that I should wed to him one of my girls; and I purposed to wed thee to him: what sayest thou thereto ?' She answered-'Do it not.' 'Why ?' he asked. She said-' I am a woman uncomely in face, faulty in temper: I am not his uncle's daughter, that he should regard my kinship with him, nor is he thy neighbour in the land, that he should be ashamed before thee; and I fear lest one day he see in me something which may displease him, and divorce me, and there befall me therein what is wont to befall.' He said: 'Arise-God bless thee! Call to me such an one'-naming his second daughter : and she called her. And he spoke to her as he had spoken to her sister, and she answered him after the same fashion, saying-' I am ignorant and awkward : there is no skill in my hand. I fear lest he soe in me something to
displease him，and divorce me，and there befall me therein what thou know－ est．He is not mina uncle＇s son，that he should regard my right，nor thy neighbour in thy land，that he should be ashamed before thee．＇He said： ＇Arise－God bless thee！Call to me Buheyseh＇－naming his youngest daughter ；and she was brought to him．And he spoke to her as he had epoken to her two sisters．And she said－＇As thou wilt．＇He said －Verily I offered this to thy two sisters，and they refused．＇＇Nay but I，＇ said she（and he had not told her what the two had said），＇By God！am the fair in face，the skilful with her hands，the noble in nature，the honour－ able in her father ；and if he divorce me，God will bring no good upon him thereafter．＇And he said－＇God bless thee！＇Then he came forth to us and said－＇I wed to thee， 0 Ḥârith，Buheyseh daughter of Aus．＇＇I accept her，＇said el－Ḥarith．Then Aus bade her mother make her ready and deck her for the wedding；and he gave command that a tent should be pitched for el－HArith，and lodged him therein．And when his daughter was decked out，he sent her in to el－HA⿸广⿱一口䒑ith．And when she was brought in to him， he stayed but a little space，and came forth to me；and I said－＇Hast thon prospered ？＇＇No，＇said he．＇How was that ？＇I asked．He answered －When I put forth my hand to take her，she said＂Stay！doest thou thas before my father and my brethren $P$ No，by God！this is not fitting ！＂＇ Then he commanded that the camels should be made ready，and we atarted on our way，taking her with us．And we journeyed a space；then he said to me－＇Go on ahead ：＇and I went on ；and he turned aside with her from the road．And he had tarried but a little when be joined me again ；and I said－Hast thou prospered P＇＇No＇，he answered．＇Why ？＇said I．He answered－＇She said to me－＂Doest thou with me as with a woman－slave that is hawked about for sale，or a captive woman taken in battle？No，by God ！until thou slay the camels，and slaughter the sheep，and call the Arabs to the feast，and do all that should be done for the like of me．＂＇I answered －＇By God！I see that she is a woman of a high spirit and understanding ； and I hope that she will be to thee a wife who shall bear thee noble sons， if God will．＇And we travelled on until we came to our country．And el－Hearith made ready the camels and the sheep，and prepared a feast ；then he went in to her．And in a little while he came forth to me，and I asked him－Hast thou prospered P＇＇No，＇said he．＇How was that P＇I asked． He answered：＇I went in to her and aaid－＂Lo！I have made ready the camels and the sheep as thou seest ；＂she answered me－＂By God！I was told that thou hadst a nobleness which I do not see in thee．＂＂How so P＂ I asked．She asid－＂Hast thou a light heart to wed women while the Arabs are alaying one another $P$＂＂What wouldst thou have me do ？＂I asked．She said－＂Go forth to these thy kindred，and make peace be－ tween them ：then return to thy wife，and thou shalt not miss what thou
desirest."' 'By God !' said I, ' a noble and wise woman ! and she has spoken a goodly word!'And he said-' Come forth with me' : so we went forth, and came to the two tribes, and walked between them with peace. And the peace was made on the condition that the slain should be reckoned up, and the price of the excess taken from that tribe who had slain more of the other. And we bore the burden of the bloodwits; and they were in all three thousand camels, which were paid in the space of three years. And we returned home with the fairest of fame; and el-Ḥârith went in to his wife, and she bore him sons and daughters." So said Khârijeh; and these two, Khârijeh and el-Ḥârith, are the twain whom Zuheyr praises in his song. Such is the testimony of Mohammed son of 'Abd-el-'Aziz elJauharî.

2 Now while 'Abs and Đubyân were covenanting together for peace, a thing befell that came nigh to setting them at war again. 'Abs had pitched their tents in esh-Sharabbeh at a place called Qațan, and near them were many tents of Đubyân. Now there was a man of Đubyân, Hoseyn son of Damdam by name, whose father Damdam had been slain in the war by 'Antarah son of Sheddâd, and his brother Herim by Ward son of Heâbis, both of the house of Ghâlib, of 'Abs; and Ḥoseyn swore that he would not wash his head until he had slain Ward or some other man of the line of Ghâlib: but none knew of this oath of his. And el-Ḥârith son of 'Auf son of Abû Heâritheh and his cousin Khârijeh son of Sinân had already taken upon themselves the burden of the price of blood, and 'Abs and Đubyân mised freely together. And a man of 'Abs, of the house of Makhzûm, came to the tent of Ḥoseyn son of Damdam and entered therein. "Who art thou, O Man ?" said Hoseyn. "Of "Abs," said he; and Hoseyn did not cease to ask his lineage until he found that he was of the house of Ghâlib; and he slew him. And news of this came to el-Ḥârith son of 'Auf and Herim son of Sinân his cousin, and it was grievous to them. And the news came also to the men of 'Abs, and they mounted and rode in a body towards el-Heârith's tent. And when el-Ḥârith heard of the anger that was in their hearts, and how they purposed to slay him in requital for the death of their brother, (for Hoseyn son of Damdam was also of the line of Murrah, as was el-Hearrith son of 'Auf,) he sent to meet them a hundred camels, and with them his son, and said to the messenger-" Say to them - 'Are the camels dearer to you, or your own lives ?' " And the messenger went forth to meet them, and spoke after this wise. And erRabi' son of Ziyâd, who was the leader of 'Abs in that day (-' for Qeys son of Zuheyr, their chief in the war, though he counselled the peace, yet took no part therein himself, but withdrew from his kin and went away to 'Oman, where he became a Christian and spent the remainder of his days in prayer and repentance : for he said-" By God! never again can I look
in the face a woman of Ghatafân : for verily I have slain her father or her brother or some other dear to her") -er-Rabî‘ cried to his following -"O my people! your brother has sent you this message- Are the camels dearer to you, or will ye rather take my son and slay him in the stead of your slain?" And they said-" We will take the camels and be reconciled, and conclude our covenant of peace." So peace was made, and el-Hârith and Herm gained the more praise.

4 And Zuheyr made this song to tell of the noble deeds of el-Hârith and Khârijeh, and the rest of the house of Ghey $\grave{\text { a }}$ son of Murrah : for all shared in the peace-making, though the leaders therein were el. Hâarith and Khârijeh.











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## Argugart.

In Vr. 1-15 the poet, after the fashion of his fellows, strives to touch the hearts of his hearers and to prepare them to receive kindly what he has to say on his real theme by the mention of women and the desarted pasture-grounds which the tribesman leave at the end of Spring; Umm Aufa was his wife: she bore him, we learn, many children, who all died young, and one day in an angry mood he divorced her. Afterwards he repented of his deed, and prayed her to return to him, bat she would not.

Then he turns to praise the two who made the peace and bore the burden of the price of blood (ov. 16-25). After that he exhorts the two tribes (vo. 26-33) to keep faithfully their pact of peace, and aftor what they have known of War, to stir her not up again. Then he tells of the deed of Hoseyn son of Damdam, how he slew his enemy while the two peoples were making ready the peace (vo. 34-39). Then by a figure he relates how the senseless war broke out afresh, and more blood was spilt ; for which again the House of Ghey\$ paid from their herde, though themselves without blame (vo. 40-46).

What follows would seem to be a store of maxims of life and conduct, some of which are wanting in certain recensions of the poem, and all do not appear to be here appropriate; nevertheless many of them seem clearly to touch upon the generous deed of the Peace-makers, and to be meant to praise them and to set them as an example to men. In the last verse he warns those who heard him that though noble men may pay for misdoers once and again, the time will come when the thankless shall find none to bear the burden of his guilt.

## I.

1 Are they of Umm Aufà's tents-these black lines that speak no word in the stony plain of el-Mutathellem and ed-Darrâj?
2 Yea, and the place where her camp stood in er-Raqmatân is now like the tracery drawn afresh by the veins of the inner wrist.
3 The wild kine roam there large-eyed, and the deer pass to and fro, and their younglings rise up to suck from the spots where they lie all round.
4 I stood there and gazed : since I saw it last twenty years had flown, and much I pondered thereon : hard was it to know again-
5 The black stones in order laid in the place where the pot was set, and the trench like a cistern's root with its sides unbroken still.
6 And when I knew it at last for her resting-place, I cried-
' Good greeting to thee, $\mathbf{O}$ House-fair peace in the morn to thee!'
7 Look forth, 0 Friend-canst thou see aught of ladies camel-borne that journey along the upland there above Jurthum well?
8 Their litters are hung with precious stuffs, and thin veils thereon cast loosely, their borders rose, as though they were dyed in blood.
9 Sideways they sat as their beasts clomb the ridge of es-Sûban
-in them were the sweetness and grace of one nourished in wealth and ease.

## B

10 They went on their way at dawn-they started before sunrise: straight did they make for the vale of er-Rass as hand for mouth.
11 Dainty and playful their mood to one who should try its worth, and faces fair to an eye skilled to trace out loveliness.
12 And the tassels of scarlet wool in the spots where they gat them down glowed red like to 'ishriq seeds, fresh-fallen, unbroken, bright.
13 And when they reached the wells where the deep blue water lies, they cast down their staves and set them to pitch the tents for rest.
14 On their right hand rose el-Qanân and the rugged skirts thereofand in el-Qanán how many are foes and friends of mine!
15 At eve they left es-Sabban : then they crossed its ridge again borne on the fair-fashioned litters, all new and builded broad.

## II.

16 I swear by the Holy House which worshippers circle roundthe men by whose hands it rose, of Jurhum and of Qureysh-
17 How goodly are ye, our Lords, ye twain who are found by men good helpers in every case, be it easy to loose or hard!
18 Busily wrought they for peace, those two of Gheyす̧, Murrah's son, when the kin had been rent in twain and its friendship. sunk in blood.
19 Ye healed 'Abs and Đubyân's breach when the twain were well-nigh spent, and between them the deadly perfume of Menshim was working hate.
20 Ye said-' If we set our hands to Peace, base it broad and firm by the giving of gifts and fair words of friendship, all will be well.'
21 And ye steadfastly took your stand thereon in the best of steads, far away from unbrotherliness and the bitter result of wrong.
22 Yea, glory ye gained in Ma'add, the highest-God guide you right! who gains without blame a treasure of glory, how great is he!
23 The wounds of the kindred were healed with hundreds of camels good: he paid them forth troop by troop who had no part in the crime;
24 Kin paid them forth to kin as a debt due from friend to friend, and they spilt not between them so much as a cupper's cup full of blood.
25 Among them went forth, your gift, of the best of your fathers' store, fair spoils, young camels a many, slit-eared, of goodly breed.
III.

26 Ho ! carry my message true to the tribesmen together leagued and Đubyân-Have ye sworn all that ye took upon you to swear?
27 It boots not to hide from God aught evil within your breasts: it will not be hid-what men would hold back from God, He knows.
28 It may be its meed comes late : in the Book is the wrong set down for the Reckoning Day; it may be that vengeance is swift and stern.
29 And War is not aught but what ye know well and have tasted oft : not of her are the tales ye tell a doubtful or idle thing.
30 When ye set her on foot, ye start her with words of little praise; but the mind for her grows with her growth, till she bursts into blazing flame.
31 She will grind you as grist of the mill that falls on the skin beneath; year by year shall her womb conceive, and the fruit thereof shall
32 Yea, boys shall she bear you, all of ill omen, eviller [be twins : than Ahmar of 'Âd : then suckling and weaning shall bring their
33 Such harvest of bitter grain shall spring as their lords reap not [gain : from acres in el-'Irâq of bushels of corn and gold.

## IV.

34 Yea, verily good is the kin, and unmeet the deed of wrong Hopeyn son of Damdam wrought against them, a murder foul!
35 He hid deep within his heart his bloody intent, nor told to any his purpose, till the moment to do was come.
36 He said-' I will work my will, and then shall there gird me round and shield me from those I hate a thousand stout cavalry.'
37 So he slew : no alarm he raised where the tents stood peacefully, though there in their midst the Vulture-mother had entered in
38 To dwell with a lion fierce, a bulwark for men in fight, a lion with angry mane upbristled, sharp tooth and claw,
39 Fearless : when one him wrongs, he sets him to vengeance straight, unfaltering : when no wrong lights on him, 'tis he that wrongs.
V.

40 They pastured their camels athirst, until when the time was ripe they drove them to pools all cloven with weapons and plashed with blood;

41 They led through their midst the Dooms: then they drove them forth again to the pasture rank and heary, till their thirst should grow anew.
42 But their lances-by thy life! were guilty of none that fell :
Nehik's son died not by them, nor by them el-Muthellem's slain ;
43 Nor had they in Naufal's death part or share, nor by their hand did Wahab lie slain, nor by them fell el-Mukhazzem's son.
44 Yet for each of those that died did they pay the price of bloodgood camels unblemished that climb in a row by the upland road
45 To where dwells a kin great of heart, whose word is enough to shield whom they shelter when peril comes in a night of fierce strife and storm;
46 Yea, noble are they! the seeker of vengeance gains not from them the blood of his foe, nor is he that wrongs them left without help.

## VI.

47 Aweary am I of life's toil and travail : he who like me has seen pass of years fourscore, well may he be sick of life !
48 I know what To-day unfolds, what before it was Yesterday ;
but blind do I stand before the knowledge To-morrow brings.
49 I have seen the Dooms trample men as a blind beast at random treads -whom they smote, he died : whom they missed, he lived on to strengthless eld.
50 Who gathers not friends by help in many a case of need is torn by the blind beast's teeth, or trodden beneath its foot.
51 And he who his honour shields by the doing of kindly deed grows richer : who shuts not the mouth of reviling, it lights on him.
52 And he who is lord of wealth and is niggardly with his hoard alone is he left by his kin : nought have they for him but blame.
53 Who keeps faith, no blame he earns : and that man whose heart is led to goodness unmixed with guile gains freedom and peace of soul.
54 Who trembles before the Dooms, yea, him shall they surely seize, albeit he set in his dread a ladder to climb the sky.
55 Who spends on unworthy men his kindness with lavish hand, no praise does he earn, but blame, and repentance the end thereof.
56 Who will not yield to the spears when their feet turn to him in peace shall yield to the points thereof, and the long flashing blades of steel.
57 Who holds not his foe away from his cistern with sword and spear, it is broken and spoiled: who uses not roughness, him shall men

58 Who seeks far away from his kin for housing, takes foe for friend : who honours himself not well, no honour gains he from men.
59 Who makes of his soul a beast of burden to bear men's loads, nor shields it one day from shame, yea, sorrow shall be his lot.
60 Whatso be the shaping of mind that a man is born withal, though he think it lies hid from men, it shall surely one day be known.
61 How many a man seemed goodly to thee while he held his peace, whereof thou didst learn the more or less when he turned to
62 The tongue is a man's one half, the other his valiant heart : [speech ! besides these two nought is left but a semblance of flesh and blood.
63 If a man be old and a fool, his folly is past all cure:
but a young man may yet grow wise and cast off his foolishness.

## VII.

64 We asked, and ye gave : we asked once more, and ye gave again ; but the end of much asking must be that no giving shall follow it.


#### Abstract

Notes to the Introduction. ${ }^{2}$ This story is taken from the Aghdin̂, ix. pp. 149-150; it rests on the following isndd:-el-Hasan ibn 'All, who heard it from Mohammed ibn el-Qasim ibn Mabraweyh, who heard it from 'Abdallâh ibn Abî Sa‘d, who heard it from Mobammed ibn Ishâq el-Museyyibl', who heard it from Ibrahîm ibn Mohammed ibn 'Abd-el-'Aziz ibn COmar ibn 'Abd-er-Rahpmân ibn 'Auf, who had it from his father. 'Abd-er-Rahmân son of 'Auf was one of the first converts to el-Islâm, and must have known well elHArith son of 'Auf of Đubyân, who in his old age became a Muslim. There is some uncertainty as to the names of those who bore the bloodwit at the peace between 'Abs and Đubyân: but the great majority of the authorities recognize el-Hârith as the leader in the peace ; some join with him Kharijeh son of Sinân, his first cousin, and others Kharijeh's brother Herim. That two were foremost in the noble work is apparent from $\mathbf{v} .18$ of the Mo'allaqah, as also that they were of the house of Ghey ${ }^{\circ}$ son of Marrah. If Herim had been one, it seems probable that this glory would have been claimed for him by name by Zuheyr, whose chief patron he was; but though Herim is praised in a large number of poems by Zubeyr, this particular deed is never claimed for him. It is observable that, while two are spoken of in $\mathbf{~ v o . ~ 1 7 - 2 2 ~ o f ~ t h e ~ p o e m ~}$ (where the dual number is used throughout), afterwards, when speaking of the second payment made necessary by the murder committed by Hoseyn (vv. 42-44), Zuheyr uses the plural, as if many of the family of Ghey ${ }^{\circ}$ had taken part in it.


- This tale rests on the authority of the famous Abu 'Obeydeh, and is also in the Aghânì (ix. pp. 148-9). It is told in substantially the same terms by et-Tebrizi and Ibn Nubâteh. In el-Meydâni's Proverbs (Freytag's edn., ii. pp. 275 sqq.) it is said that it was Khârijeh son of Sinân who offered his son and two hundred camels to the men of 'Abs in satisfaction for the murder of the man slain by Hoseyn; and the corious fact is added that of the two hundred camels only one hundred were paid, for ob-Islam camo and diminished the amount of the bloodwit to that number. If this were
true, it would be an important datum for fixing the year in which the peace was made; but it is not consistent with the other facts of the history. The date of the peace is fixed by M. Caussin de Perceval, on grounds of great probability, at from 608 to. 610 A. D. (Essai, ii. p. 499) ; it was not till the 8th year of the Hijrah (629-639 A. D.) that 'Abs and Đubyân embraced el-Islâm (id. iii, p. 218). According to the Tqd el-Ferid of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, quoted by M. Fresnel (Journ. Assiatique, 8me série, iv. p. 20), the two persons whom Zuheyr praises in his Mo'allaqah are 'Auf and Ma'qil, sons of Subey' son of 'Amr, of the line of Tha'lebeh ibn Sa'd. These two did indeed, according to el-MeydAnî, make peace between 'Abs and their own tribe of the Bend Tha'lebeh, who at first refused to join the rest of $Đ u b y d n$ in the engagement; but it is impossible to regard them as the two praised by Zuheyr if $\mathbf{v}$. 18 is genuine, inasmuch as they were not of the line of Ghey ${ }^{\circ}$ son of Murrah.

The name of the man who was slain by Hoseyn son of Damdam is given by elMeydânî and the 'Iqd as Tijan. 'Antarah alew Damdam, Hopeyn's father, on the Day of el-Mureyqib, one of the earliest battles of the war (Fresnel, loc. cit. p. 6), and Ward son of Hâbis slew Herim, Hossoyn's brother, on the Day of el-Ya'muriyyeh, immediately after the slaying of the hostages by Ho才eyfeh (Aghânî, xvi. 30). Between these two dates 'Antarah composed his Mo'allaqah, in vv. 73-75 of which he mentions Damdam as slain by his hand, and the two sons as still alive.

It is worthy of notice that the Mo'allaqah, in vv. 40-46, (if those verses are rightly placed,) seems to tell of a graver dissension as having arisen out of Hoseyn's violent deed than that which this tradition relates; for it would appear that the renewal of strife which followed it was the occasion when the slain men named in vv. 42 and 43 (said in the commentary to be all of ' Abs ) met their death; and that some bloodshed ensued seems certain from the metaphor in v. 40-41, where the camels, (that is, the fighting men,) after a țim', or period of thirst, are said to have boen led down again to drink of the pools of Death. The dim' was probably the truce during which peace was being arranged.

[^0]Notbs to the Mo'allaqah.
The measure of the poem is the noble cadence called the Tawil, most loved of all by the ancient poets. Each hamistich consists of four feet, arranged thus-

(In the second foot the third syllable is occasionally, but rarely, short: the only instances of a short third syllable in the 128 hemistichs of this poem are v. 14, a and $b, \nabla .28, b$, and $\nabla .33, b$; it is observable that it most frequently occurs with proper names.)

In the English an attempt has been made to imitate the metre of the original. The measure adopted is not absolutely unknown in our language; it is to be found in many lines of that wonderful organ-swell, Browning's Abt Fogler; the seventh stanza of that poem in particular is almost entirely in the Tatofl. The following lines are exactly the Arabic cadence-
"Existent behind all laws, that made them and, lo, they are!"
"And, there! Ye have heard and seen : consider and bow the head !"
Other verses of the same stanza exhibit the licences which I have found it necessary to take with the metre to adapt it to the English ; these are chiefly the following : -
(1.) Dropping the first short syllable, as in v. 10, $b, 11$, a.

This is a licence which the Arabs themselves allow, bnt only (except in a few donbtful instances) at the commencement of a poem. It is matahed by Browning's-
"Give it to me to use ! I mix it with two in my thought."
(8.) Addition of a short syllable at the beginning of a foot, as in v. 12, a; so in Browning-
"And I know not if, save in this, such gift be allowed to man."
(3.) Exchanging the one lang third syllable of the second foot for two short, as in $\nabla .4, a$ and $b$; so Browning-
"But here is the finger of God, a flash of the Will that can."
(4.) Changing $\cup \ldots$ into $\bar{\cup} \cup$ - in the third foot, as in v. 9, a, v. 11, b; compare Browning's-
"That out of three sounds he frame, not a fourth sound, but a Star."

The text above given and translated is that of Arnold (Leiprig, 1850), with two alight amendments in the vocalization of $\nabla .3 \mathrm{~b}$ and $\nabla .69 \mathrm{~b}$, and the substitution of law for in in V. 64 b; of these the last two are indicated in Arnold's notes, pp. 23 and 24, and the first is adopted from ez-Zauzenî. Arnold's recension agreas in the toxt and arrangement of the verses with ez-Zauseni's, except in v. 69, which the latter entirely omits.

- Another recension is to be found in Ahlwardt, Six Poets, pp. 94 sqq. ; this is based on the MSS. of Gotha and Paris : it differs from Arnold's chiefly in the arrangement of the verses in the teshbib describing the journey of the ladies, and in the omission of several of the maxims which follow $\nabla .49$ and the arrangement of those which it retains. The following is the oder of the verses in Ahlwardt's recension as compared with Arnold's, the numbers of the vernes being those of the latter and the arrangement that of the former:-

1-8, (9 omitted) 11, 10, 14-15, 12-13, 18, 16-17, 19-22, 25, 23-24, 26-44 a, (after which Ahlwardt inserts a second hemistich which is not in Arnold, and commences the next verse with a first hemistich which is also wanting in the latter. Arnold's $44 b$ agrees with Ahlwardt's 44 b:) $45-47,49,48,50,52,51,57,54,56,53,58,60,59$. vF. 55 and 61-64 are omitted ; they will be found in the Appendix, p. 192.

Of the two main differences above mentioned, it must be admitted that the arrangement of the verses describing the journey reads more smoothly and consecutively in Ahlwardt's text than in Arnold's ; perhaps this is rather a reason for suspecting the hand of a later adjuster than for rejecting the more difficult order : in such a matter however no critical judgment is worth much. The second difference, the omission of $\nabla \mathbf{V}$. 55 and 61-64 among the sententious utterances which close the poem, seems to be also generally in favour of Ahlwardt; v. 55 might, as he suggests (Bemerkungen uiber die Aechtheit \&c., p. 64), find its proper place after v. 51. Of the last four verses of Arnold I would retain v. 64, which seems a fitting close of the poem, and appropriate to the tradition (of two payments by the Peace-makers) with which it is connected; the other three are clearly out of place where they stand, and belong to another poem (perhaps two others), whether by Zuheyr or some other poet.

Among the minor differences of arrangement, Ahlwardt's text seems to err in placing $v .18$ before vv. 16-17; v. 16 appears clearly to be the opening of the real theme, and the change of person in $v .18$ (called iltifat) is of frequent occurrence in the old poetry and offers no difficulty. Of the transposition of $\nabla .25$ there is little to be said one way or the other. The additions in Ahlwardt after v. 44 a are evidently to be rejected, the second inserted hemistich being a mere echo of $\mathbf{v}$. 24 a.

Of textual differences thereare few of much importance; in $\nabla .11 a$, Ahlwardt reads li-f-padiqi for li-l-latifi : in $\nabla .14 b$, wa man for wa kam: in $\mathbf{V}$. 15 b, mufa"ami for wa muf'ami : in $\nabla .20 \mathrm{~b}$, mina-l-'amri for mina-l-qauli : in $\mathrm{v} .22 a$, wa ghoyriha for hudttuma : in $\nabla .25 b$, ifali-l-Musennemi for ifalin muzennemi (see note below on this verse): in v .26 a, faman mublighu for ald 'ablighi : in v .27 a, tektumenna (wrongly) for tektw. munna, and nufusikum for sudurikum (last better) : in v. 31 b , tahmil for tuntej (last better) : in $\nabla .35 b$, yetejomjomi for yetaqaddomi : in $\nabla .37 a$, tefza' buyitun kethiretun for yufzi' buyûtan kethiretan (last preferable): in $\nabla .40$ a, ra'au ma ra'au min túim'ihim thumma for ra'au đ̣im'ahum hatta iđ́a temma, and b, tesilu bir-rimahi for tefarrd bis-silahi (last preferable metrically) : in $\nabla .43 a$, shârakû fi-l-qaumi for shâraket fi-l-mauti : in v. 45 b , fala'at for faraqet (last preferable, since the former unnecessarily repeats the (tali'atin of $\nabla .44$ b) : in $\nabla .46 a$, tu-b-witri yudriku witrahu for tu-d-dighni yudriku toblahes : in v. 54 a, el-meniyyeti yelqahd for ol-menayd yonelnahu, and $b$, rama for yorga : in จ. $53 a, y u f d i$ for $y$ uhda : in $\nabla .60, b$, wa lau for woa in : in $\nabla$. 59 , for our reading Ahlwardt has the following-

## wa man lam yozel yestahmilu-n-ndsa nefsahu, wald yughnihd yauman mina-d-dahri, yus'ami :

in $\nabla .63$, (Appendix p. 192,) yahlumu (right : see note below) for yahlumi : in $\nabla .64 \mathrm{~b}$, sayohramu for sayohrami (both are equally right grammatically, but the former would be an iqwa if the verse really belongs to this poem).

The verses of the Mo'allaqah quoted in the Aghani are the following :-
together on p. 146, Vol. ix, —VF. 1, 3, 4, 6, 56, 54 (in the last verse Ahlwardt's reading, not Arnold's, is given) :
on p. 148, จ. 18 :
on p. 150, vr. 18, 25 (ifali-l-Nuzennemi, in accordance with Abu 'Oboydeh's reading), 24 :
on p. 154, $\mathbf{\nabla} .60$ (with the story of this verse having been quoted by 'Othmân son of "Affân).

The translation offered is as literal as I have found it possible to make it consistently with English idiom and the rhythm; where it seemed necessary, I have explained devistions from absolute literalness in the notes: where the change of phrase was slight, I have not thought it needful to notice it. Thus in v. 3, a, khilfetan is not "to and fro," but "one after another: in v. 32, "Boys shall she boar you, of ill omen, all of them like Ahmar of "Âd," is the word-for-word rendering. I have not however consciously anywhere departed from the sense of the original, and but seldom from the phrase. Of other translations, the only ones I have seen are that by M. Caussin de Perceval, at pp. 531-536 of Vol. ii of his Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant ${ }^{C}$ ' Islamisme, and that by Rückert (which omits the teshbib) at pp. 147-150 of the first volume of his tranalation of the Hamaseh; the translation by Sir W. Jones, which I believe to be the only one before published in English, I have not been able to consult.
v. 1. Ex-Mutathellem (according to the Marâsid, el-Mutathellim) is a hill in the high land stretching East of the northern Hijâz, in the country of the Benu Murrah of Ghatafan ; it is mentioned in 'Antarah's Mo'allaqah, v. 4, in connection with elHarn and es-Sammàn. Of ed-Darrâj no particular information is given in the Maraṣid.
v. 2. "Er-Raqmatân" : according to ez-Zauzenî two places are meant by this name, which is the dual of er-raqmeh, a word meaning "the meadow" (raudah); he says that one village called er-Raqmeh is near el-Başrah, and another of the same name near el-Medineh : they are thus far distant one from another. Raqmeh however means, besides a meadow, the side of a valley, or the place in it where water colleets; it seems more probable from the way in which the name is used that one place, not two, is intended ; the same name, in the same dual form, occurs in a lament by a woman of Ghatafân over the death of Malik son of Bedr given in the Aghanî (xvi, p. 30)-

"So long as a turtle moans in the groves of er-Raqmatân or er-Rass, so long weep thou for him that rode el-Ketefân."

The second hemistich of this verse gives concisely a simile for the water-worn traces of the tents which is found in a more expanded form in Lebîd's Mo'allaqah, vv. 8 and 9, q. v. The tattooing over the veins of the inner wrist is said to be renewed, because the torrents have scored deeply certain of the trenches dug round the tents, while others that did not lie in the path of the flood have become only faintly marked, like the veins beneath the tracery.
v. 3. "The wild kine," the antilope defassa, a species of bovine antelope. "The deer," aram (for ar'am), plural of ri'm. $\quad R i^{\prime} m$ is the white antelope (antilope leucoryx); though identical in form with the Hebrew r'ém (rêym), it is very doubtful whether the latter word means the same : the LXX translate it by movoceposs (A. V. " unicorn'). The Assyrian is, like the Arabic, ri'mu, and there is a good discussion of the meaning of this word in an article on the Animals of the Assyrian Sculptures in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology for 1877; it appears certain that it is not the antilope leucoryx, but some larger and robuster animal, perhaps the wild buffalo (see Job xxxix, 9-12).
v. 5. "Trench" : round the tent a trench is dug to receive the rain from the roof and prevent the water from flooding the interior.
v. 6. "In the morn" : the morning was the time when raids were made, and the word sabah thus itself is used in the sense of a sudden attack. Ya sabahdh was the battle-cry (shi'ar) of Temîm in the Day of el-Kulab. To wish peace in the morning to a place is therefore an appropriate greeting.
V. 7-15. The journey here described would take the wanderers along the southern skirt of the tract called by Palgrave (Cent. and East. Arabia, Vol. I, chap. vi) "the Upper Kaseem;" er-Rass is still a place of some importance, and will be found marked on Palgrave's map some distance to the North of 'Oneyzeh. In the days of Zuheyr the country was in the possession of the Benu Asad, who were not always on the friendliest terms with the Benû Đubyan, among whom the poet lived.
v. 12. Tassels of scarlet wool decorated the haudaj in which ladies rode. "'Ishriq seeds" : habbu-L-fena; the exact nature of this plant with a scarlet seed or fruit is very doubtful : see Lane, s. vv. عشوت and
v. 16. "The Holy House" is the Ka'beh. The mention of its building by the Qureysh and the men of Jurhum must not be understood of the same time. Jurhum was the name of two Arab stocks: the first the ancient race who peopled the lower Hijâz and Tihàmeh at the time of the legendary settlement of Ishmael among them, with whom he is said to have intermarried ; the second (whom M. de Perceval regards as alone having had a historical existence) a tribe who ruled in Mokkeh from about 70 B. C. to 200 A. D. They were expelled from Mekkeh and dispersed so that no momorial of them remained by an Azdite stock from el-Yemen called the Khuzd'ah (C. de Perceval, Essai, i, 218. Aghannî, xiii, 108-111.). The second Jurhum are said (Agh. id., p. 109) to have rebuilt the Ka'beh on the foundations laid by Abraham after it had been overthrown by a flood : the architect was one 'Omar el-Jarud, whose descendants were known as the Jedarah, or masons. The Qureysh settled in Mekkeh during its occupation by the Khuzâ'ah, and gained possession of the Ka'beh in the time of Qusayy, whose mother was of the race of the Jedarah, about 440 A. D. (O. de Perceval). Qusayy, in the year 450 A. D. or thereabout, caused the building erected by the Jurhum to be demolished, and rebuilt the Ka'beh on a grander scale. It was rebuilt a third time in the year 605 A. D., very shortly before the Mo'allaqah was composed. Mohammed, then 35 years old, assisted in the work. These three occasions are probably those to which Zuheyr refers.
"Circle round," tafa haulahu; the tawaf, or going round seven times, was one of the most ancient rites of the religion of the Arabs; it was the mode of worship used not only for the Kabeh, but also for the other objects of reverence among the pagan Arabs : see Lane, s. v. Duvodr.
v. 18. In this verse ma beyna-l-'ashireti must be understood as meaning the friendship of the two houses of the family. Beyn ("that which is between") has two contrary significations : disunion, that which parts or separates, and concord, that which joins; so $\#$ Atu-l-beyn means both enmity and friendship.
'Ashlreh here means the stock of Baghld son of Reyth son of Ghatafin, the common father of 'Abs and Đubydn; according to the dictionaries 'ashireh is the smallest sub-division of the tribe, but its use here is clearly opposed to that view. The various words meaning tribe and family are very loosely applied in the old poetry, and the distinctions drawn between them by lexicographers (see Lane s. v. sha'b) do not seem to be bornc out by usage. In v. 24 'Abs and Đubyàn are each called qaum, and in v. 34 ' Abs is a hayy.
v. 19. The literal translation of this verse is-
"Ye two repaired the condition of 'Abs and ¥uby\&n (by peace), after that they had shared one with anothor in destruction, and had brayed between them the perfume of Menshim." The second hemistich is said to refer to a custom which existed among the Arabs of plunging their hands into a bowl of perfume as they took an oath together to fight for a cause until the last of them was slain. Menshim, the commentators say, was a woman in Mekkeh who sold perfume. Such an oath was followod by war to the bitter end, and so "he brayed the perfume of Menshim" became a proverb for entering on deadly strife. That oaths so taken were counted of special force may be seen from the tale of "the Oath of the Perfumed ones," hilf el-Mutayyabin, taken by the sons of 'Abd-Menâf and their partisans in or about 490 A. D. (seo C. de Perceval, Essai, i. 254. Ibn-el-Athîr, Kâmil, i. pp. 329-30.)
v. 22. Ma'add was the forefathor of all those Arabs (generally called musta'ribeh or insititions) who traced their descent from 'Adnân, whose son he was. The name is thus used to denote the Central stocks, settled for the most part in Nejd and el-Hijaza, as oppoeed to the Arabs of el-Yemen or of Yemenic origin by whom they were bordered on the North and South. The name of Ma'add's son Nizar is also used in the same way. Nizar was the father of Mudar, Rabi'ah, and Anmar; the last-named and his descendants joined themselves to the people of el-Yemen; and "Rabi'ah and Mudar" is again a comprehensive tarm used to designate the tribes of Nejd and the Hijiz.
v. 25. "Slit-eared, of goodly breed": min 'ifalin muzennemi. There are two ways of taking this phrase: the first is that here adopted, whereby muzennem is rendered as an adjective attached to 'iffl, meaning "slit-eared." Camels of good breed had a alit made in the ear, and the piece of skin thus detached (called zenemeh) left to hang down. The ordinary grammatical construction would require the feminine, mucennemeh, to agree with 'ifal; but the masculine is used by a poctic license. The other, resting on the authority of Aba 'Obeydeh, reads 'ifali Muzennemi, "young camels (the offspring) of Muzennem" (or el-Muzennem) : Muzennem, he says, being the name of a famous stalion-camel whose breed was much renowned among the Arabs.

It is worth remarking that this line seems to contradict the assertion of et-Tebrîzî, in his commentary on the Hamaseh, p. 107, that the young camels (seven or eight months old) called 'ifal (plural of 'afil) were not given in payment of bloodwits. Perhaps there was an exception in the case of tho better breeds. The passage, however, on which et-Tebrîzî makes this remark does not necessarily bear him out.
v. 26. "Tribesmen together leagued," el-Ahláf, plural of hilf. The commentary says that these confederates were Ghatafann, Asad and Tayyi' ; other authorities quoted by Lane (s. v. hilf) restrict the appellation to Asad and Ghatafan, Asad and Tayyi', or Fezarah (a branch of Đubyan) and Asad. Since Đubyân, a division of Ghatafan, is named separately from the Ahlaf, it would seem probable that the word here means only Asad and Tayyi'. I do not, however, find that these confederates took any part in the War of Dahis, except at the battle of Shi'b Jebeleh, when Asad joined Đubyân and Temîm against 'Âmir and 'Abs; their presence at the oath-taking between the various branches of Ghatafân would, however, render the engagement more formal and solemn : they were a sort of "Guaranteeing Power."
vv. 27-28. Herr von Kremer (Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen, Vol. ii., p. 358, note*) regards these verses as interpolated, and alien from the spirit of the poetry of the Ignorance. He says, moreover, that they are inconsistent with v. 48, which expresses the true feeling of that age, that of the Future no man knows anything. Certainly their spirit is more religious than is usual in the old poetry, and the mention of the Book and the Reckoning Day points to a body of doctrine which we are accustomed to think was first planted among the Arabs by Mohammed. But it is to be remarked that the passage where the verses come (vv. 26-33) seems thoroughly consecutive and complete in sense : that the same number of verses is given, in the same order, in all the recensions of the poem; and that $\mathbf{v}$. 28 exhibits a very curious construction, easily intelligible indeed, but unlikely to be used in an interpolation : this is the carrying on of the mejz $\hat{u} m$ imperfect from the apodosis of the conditional sentence in $\nabla .27 b$ into the unconditional proposition of v. 28.

As regards the possibility of such an exhortation being addressed to the tribes settled in the country East of Yethrib and South of the mountains of Tayyi' in 610 A. D., I do not think that it should be hastily rejected. Few subjects are more obscure than the real nature of the religion of the pagan Arabs. It would seem that at the time whon the Prophet arose there was extremely little religious faith in the people of any sort: that their old divinities were held by them in much the same estimation as that in which our own forefathers in Norway and Iceland held Odin and Thor when Christianity first overspread the North. But beyond the reverence, such as it was, paid to

* His words are-" Das Gedicht, Zohair XVI, wird man wegon v. 27 (28), der von der Abrechnung am jüngsten Tage spricht, für unecht oder interpolirt erklären müssen. Ich entscheide mich für das Letztere, denn v. 49 (48) spricht dio echte, alte Ideo aus, dass man von dem Zukünftigen nichts wisse." In the same note, H. von Kremer sees traces of Mohammedan recension in the name 'Abd-ullah in a poem of 'Antarah's. I presume that he considers the occurrence of that name as belonging to the father of Mohammed, the son of Jud'ân, and the brother of Dureyd son of es-Șimmeh, as well as to the tribe-fathers 'Abd-allah ibn el-Azd (Ma'arif, p. 54), 'Abd-allah ibn Ghatafân (id. p. 39), and 'Abd-allah ibn $\mathrm{Ka}_{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{b}$ and 'Abd-allah ibn Kilab, sub-divisions of 'Âmir ibn Sa‘sa‘ah (id. pp. 42 and 43), to be insufficiently vouched for.


5. 

ARIANS (DARDS) OF T'HE UPPER INDUS.

1. and 2. People of Dárchik Village.3. Awoman from Dáh 4. A man from the Rüshen, or husbandman caste from Daik 5.Aman from the Rüxmat or artisan caste from Dáh
el-Lat, el-Cozzà, Menât, Fuls, Wedd, and the rest, there was certainly a back-ground of faith in The God, Allah, whose name was, as it still is, in the mouth of every Bedawî as his most frequent ejaculation. Without assuming such a faith as already well known to the people, a great portion of the Qur'an would be impossible: that revelation is addressed to men who join other gods with God, not those who deny Him. Some tribes may have had more of this belief in the One God, and been accustomed to look more immediately to Him, others (especially those who, like the Qureysh, possessed famous shrines of idolatrous worship which brought them in much profit,) less: probably contact with Judaism and Christianity determined in some measure the greater or less degree of it. Now among the neighbours of the tribes of Ghatafan were the Jews settled from Yethrib to Kheybar and Teymâ ; to the North was Kelb in the Daumat (or Dûmat) el-Jendel, almost entirely Christian; Christianity had made some progress in Tayyi', nearer still ; and we have seen how, according to a fairly vouched for story, Qeys son of Zuheyr, the chief of 'Abs, spent the last years of his life as a Christian anchorite in 'Omân. To the West was Yethrib, in constant relations with the Kings of Ghaseân, who were Christian, together with their people; and to the North-east was el-Ĥireh, whose King, en-No'man Abû Qabûs, had long been a Christian, and where Christianity had spread among the people long before his day. En-Nàbighah of Đubyân, Zuheyr's famous contemporary, had dwolt long at the Courts both of el-Hireh and Ghassân; and in a well-known passage* (much contested, it is true, but in favour of the genuineness of which much may be said,) he refers to a Rabbinical legend of Solomon's power over the Jinn, and how they built for him Tedmur. At the fair of 'Okà Quss son of Sa'ideh had preached Christianity long before Zuheyr made this poem. And to 'Abs itself belonged one of the Hanifs, Khalid son of Sinan son of Gheyth (see Tbn Quteybeh, Ma'arif, p. 30). These things seem to me to make it not impossible that the lines may be genuine. The objection that they are inconsistent with $v .48$ appears wholly groundless; the latter refers to the vicissitudes of this world and the chances of life: the former to the reckoning of God in the world after death. (See note on V . 32 for a further argument in favour of the authenticity of these verses.)
v. 29. War, el-Harb, is feminine in Arabic ; as in vo. 31 and 32 it is personifiod as a woman, it seemed best to use in the translation the feminine pronoun in vv. 29 and 30.
v. 31. "Skin," thifal, is the mat of skin that is placed beneath the mill to receive the flour. The comparison of War to a mill and the slain to ground grain is common in the old poetry ; so says 'Amr son of Kulthûm (Mo'all. vv. 30, 31) 一


[^1]" When our War-mill is set against a people as grain they fall thereunder ground to powder;
Eastward in Nejd is set the skin bencath it, and the grain cast therein is all Qudd'ah."


#### Abstract

"Year by year shall her womb conceive": telqah kishafan; kishaf is said of a she-camel that conceives in two following years. Another word used in a like sense of War is 'awdn, which is applied to an animal with a hard hoof (as a cow or mare), that after bringing forth her first-born (bikr) conceives again forthwith and bears another young one; so harbun 'awon is said of a war the fury of which is perpetually renewed (see Hamdseh, p. 180). Again, had'il, plural hiyal, is used of a war which lies long dormant; ity meaning is a she-camel that does not conceive for two years, or some ycars, and it is therefore the opposite of kishaf. El-Harith son of 'Obad said of the War of Basus after the slaying of his son Bujoyr by Muhelhil-



"The War of Wa'il has conceived at last, having long been barren."
v. 32. "Alpmar of "Âd." According to the received story of the Muslims, it was to Thamûd, not to ' $\hat{A} d$, that the prophet Şalih was sent to warn them of their wickedness. The sign that he gave them was a gigantic she-camel that issued forth at his bidding from a rock (Qur'an vii. 71): "Then said those among them that were filled with pride-'Verily we reject that in which ye believed.' And they slew the she-camel and rebelled against their Lord, and said-'O Şâlih! bring upon us that wherewith thou didst threaten us, if thou art indeed of the Sent of God!' Then the carthquake seized them, and they lay on their faces in their dwellings, dead." (Qur. l.c. vo. 74-73. The story is also told in Surah xi, vv. 64-71.) The leader in the slaying of the Camel was Qudarr el-Ahmar, "Qudar the Red"; and thas "More ynlucky than Ahmar of Thamuld" and "More unlucky than the Slayer of the She-camel," became proverbs. The people of Thamâd (-who are mentionod* by Diodorus Siculus and Ptolemy, and as late as 450 A. D. in the Notitia dignitatum utriusque imperii: see C. de Perceval, Essai i., p. 27-) dwelt in Hijr, a valloy on the road Northwards from the Hijêz into Syria. The raco of 'Âd, on the contrary, were settled in the South of Arabia, in the Ahqdf, now a vast desert of sand: Ibn Quteybeh (Ma'Arif, p. 15) places them "in ed-Daww, and ed-Dahna, and 'Âlij, and Yebrîn, and Webbâr, from 'Oman to Hadramaut and el-Yemen." To thom was sent Hûd (Qur. vii. 63 and xi). They were thus separated by the whole distance of Arabia from Thamûd, and, it is probable, also by a vast space of time, if the Thamudeni of the Notitia dignitatum are the same as the latter people. The commentators give two reasons to explain why Zuheyr said, "Ahmar of "Âd" instead of "Ahmar of Thamûd" : the first is the necessity of the rhythm, which would not permit him to say Thamûd; the second is that some of the gonealogists say that Thamûd was a cousin of 'Âd, and after the destruction of the

[^2]ancient race of "Âd the people of Thamûd inherited their possessions and were called "Ad cl-Akhireh, "the later 'Âd." The first reason must be rejected, for it would have been easy to the poet so to frame the verse that Thamud might have been used instead of 'Âd: for instance, he might have said-

> Fatuntgi lakum ghilmâna, kullun ka'annahu QudAru Thamúdin: thumma turdi' fạteftimi.

Moreover other poets also speak of Ahmar of 'Âd: e. g., Abu Jundab el-Huðalî, quoted by et-Tebrízî in the Hamâseh, p. 421. The second is more probable, though the Biblical genealogies framed for 'Âd and Thamûd by later Muslim writers can hardly have been known to Zuheyr. According to these, the following was the descent of these two tribes-


A third hypothesis is possible-that some version of the legend of Salih and his Camel, and the judgment which followed its slaying, was current in the days of Zuheyr which dropped out of mind when el-Islam overspread the land.

If this verse is genuine, it would seem strongly to sapport the opinion that vv. 27-28 may also be genuine; for it refers plainly to a legend (mentioned in the Qur'an in a way which shows that it was well known. to those addressed) of God's judgment on the wicked. That it is genuine and not a Muslim interpolation appears highly probable from the mention of 'Âd rather than Thamûd: the latter would have been named by a Muslim following the version of the legend embodied in the Qur'an.
v. 33. "Of bushels of corn and gold," min qafizin wa dirhemi : the coinage called dirhem was silver, not gold; but the latter is here used (like the word dirhem in the original) in the general sense of money. The gafiz was a measure of capacity containing eight mekkûks or twelve pa's of el-'Irâq : one sáa' of Baghdad is $5 \frac{1}{3}$ ritls, or pints : the qaftz is thus 64 pints. The word is originally Persian, karoizh (كويز).
V. 37. "Though there in their midst the Vulture-mother had entered in," leda heythe 'alqet rahlaha' 'Cmmu qash'ami: literally, "In that place where the Vulturemother cast down her camel-saddle." "To cast down one's saddle" (as "to lay down one's staff" in $\mathbf{~} .18$ ) means to halt in a place. "The Vulture-mother" is a name of Death, or Calamity; qash'am means an old vultures, and is used in that sense in the last verse of 'Antarah's Mo'allaqah.
v. 38. "A bulwark for men in fight," muqatitaf: literally, " one whom men cast before them (in battle)," to shield themselves or to do a desperate deed.
v. 40. As explained at the end of the second note to the Introduction, this verse appears to refer to the breaking out again of strife which followed the deed of Hoseyn. "They pastured their camels athirst," ra'au đim'ahum: literally, "They pastured (their camels) for their $t i m$ ', or period between two drinkings." Camels in Arabia are not taken down to drink every day; in the greatest heat they are watered every alternate day : this is called ghibb; as the weather gets colder, they pass two days without water, and come down on the fourth : this is called rib' ; then follow khims, sids, and so on to 'ishr, when the țim' is cight days, and they are watered on the tenth. The camels are the warriors, and the pools the pools of Death. The image seems intended to figure the senselessness of the strife, and its want of object and aim.
v. 41. "Till their thirst should grow anow": these words have been added in the translation to complete the sense; they follow from the description of the pasture (kela') as unwholosome, heavy (mustaubal), and indigestible (mutatoakhkham) : such, that is, as to stir their thirst again in a short time. The unwholesome pasture is the brooding over wrong in the intervals of combat. In like manner Qeys son of Zuheyr says, of the bitter results of wrong in this same War of Dâhis (Hamâseh, p. 210. Aghânî xvi., 32) -

" But the stout warrior Hamal son of Bedr wrought wrong : and wrong is a surfeiting pasturage."
v. 44. The commentary on this verse seems to me to err in taking kullan as equivalent to kulla wâhidin mina-l-‘dqilin; it is, I think, equivalent to kulla woahidin mina-loqatld : this follows from the hu in yáqilûnahu at the end of the hemistich. I have translated accordingly.
v. 45. This verse contains a difficult word which the dictionaries do not satisfactorily explain, viz. hilal in lihayyin hilalin. In form it is the plural of hall, "alighting or abiding in one place"; but it seems always to be used, as here, as an epithet of praise. Lane (s. v. hall) says that it means "a numerous tribe alighting or abiding in one place." I have not found it in the Hamaseh, though hayyun holálun (another plural of hadl) occurs in a poem on p. 171 ; but it is used in a poem by 'Amr son of Kulthûm given in the Aghânî, vol. ix., p. 183-


Which seems to mean-
"Ho ! carry my message to the sons of Jusham son of Bekr, and Toghlib, (that they may know) as often as thoy come to the great tribe,
How that the glorious warrior, the son of ' Amr , on the morn of Naté bore himself stoutly in battle."

[^3]It may poseibly mean numerous, and hence strong, this sense being derived from that of a body of men halting together in a compact host, on the alert and prepared for all attacks.
v. 46. This verse is in praise of ' Abs , and is in continuation of $\mathbf{v}$. 45. The second hemistich offers some difficulty : one does not expect to find their protection of "him that wrongs them" set down to their credit; but the words ol-jant 'aleyhim cannot be otherwise rendered. Probably the wronger spoken of is the man who by slaying a member of another tribe involves his own in difficulties. It sometimes happened that such an one found himself unsupported by his kinsmen, and turned out from among them as a khali', or outcast: for instance, el-HArith son of Dalim, who alew Khalid eon of Ja'far of 'Âmir while the latter was under the protection of en-Noman son of el-Mun才ir, King of el-Hireh, was so treated by his tribe of Murrah, the same as that to which the men whom Zuheyr praises in this poem belonged. Such a desertion, unless for the gravest possible cause, was held to be disgraceful; and 'Abs are accordingly praised because they would not give up the wrongdoer, though he brought evil apon them.
v. 47. Zuheyr was eighty years old when he composed his Mo'allaqah; if this was in 608 or 610 A. D., as M. de Perceval supposes, he may well have been a hundred, as the Aghanî relates (ix. 148), when he was seen by Mohammed, who said-"O God! grant me a refuge from his Devil!"一that is, his cunning in song; it is added that he made no more poems from that day till his death, which ensued shortly after. This would be about 628 or 630 A. D. ; and we know that his son Kabb gave in his adhesion to the Prophet in 631 (the latter part of the ninth year of the Hijrah), after Zuheyr's other surviving son Bujeyr, together with the greater part of his tribe, the Muzeyneh, had already embraced el-Islam.
v. 49. "Blind beast," "athwod: literally," a weak-eyed she-camel"-one that sees not well where she is going, and therefore strikes everything with her forefeet, not paying attention to the places where she sets down her feet (Lane). The word is used proverbially: you say-Bekiba fulanuni-l-'ashwd, "Such an one rides the weakeyed she-camel"; that is, he prosecutes his affair without due deliberation; and -Khabata khabta-l-'ashwd, "He trod with the careless tread of a weak-eyed shecamel," he acted at random.
V. 50. If this verse is rightly placed next after v . 49, the conding by the teeth and the treading ander foot should refer to the weak-eyed she-camel spoken of in that verse ; and so I have taken it, the camel being blind Chance.
v. 63. I am far from satisfled with the translation given of this verse, in which, however, I have scrupulously followed the commentary. The doubtful words are mu\{ma'innu-L-birri and yetejemjem; the former is explained as meaning birrun khalipun, that is, "pare goodness"; and the latter as the same as yetaradded, that is, "he is distorbed, confounded, perplexed." But Lane renders mufma'innu-l-birri as "quiet, at rest, in heart or mind" (s. v. birr, end) ; for tejemjema, he gives-" he spoke indistinctly, he concealed a thing in his bosom, he held back from the thing, not daring to.
do it"; the sense of "being disturbed in mind" does not occur, though it may, perhaps, fairly be gathered from the last of those given by Lane. I should be inclined to render man yuhda qalbuhu, \$o-" He whose heart is guided to quietness and rest of soul is not disturbed in his doings, but acts without fear or trouble of spirit."
v. 56. Among the Arabs, when two parties of men met, if they meant peace, they turned towards each other the iron feet (xijdj, plural of auji) of their spears: if they meant war, they turned towards each other the pointa.
v. 67. The "cistern", hawd, is a man's home and family.
v. 60. This verse, the commentary tells us, was quoted by 'Othman son of ${ }^{\prime}$ Affin, the third Khalifeh.
v. 62. This accords with the proverb-innama-l-mar'u bi"a\&gharcyhi-"A man is accounted of according to his two smallest things"-his heart and his tongue.
v. 60-62 seem consecutive in sense, and probably belong to the same poem; but it is very difficult to see how they cohere with the rest of this. $v .68$, on the other hand, seems separate not only from the rest of the poem, but also from the three verses that precede it; grammar would require that the verb at the end of it should be marfí; not mejuam-yahlumu, not yahlum: but to read it so would disturb the rhyme, and be a fault of the kind called iqua. The commentary says that the mim of yahlum is originally mauquf (quiescent in a pause), and is read with kesr, because that is the appropriate vowel for making a quiescent letter moveable; but this reason is very lame. On the whole, it seems certain that v. 63 does not properly belong to the piece, and it is probable that vv. 60-62 are also intrusions. No other poem of those by Zuheyr that remain has the same metre and rhyme as his Mo'allaqah, and it is most likely that fragments of other poems, now lost, in this measure and rhyme that have survived have been included in it, because there was no other piece into which they could be put. The rest of the maxims forming the conclusion of the poem can be understood as arising, some more, some less closely, out of its subject; but the different order in which they occur in different recensions, and the fact that some recensions omit some of them which others supply, make it doubtful whether even they all properly belong to the Mo'allaqah.

## Stray Arians in Tibet.-By. R. B. SHaw, Political Agont.

## (With one plate.)

The line which divides the Musalmàn from the Buddhist populations of Asia, where it crosses the valley of the Upper Indus, passes through the villages of a small tribe which is worthy of some attention. It is Arian in blood though surrounded on all sides but one by Turanians of the Tibetan branch. The people of this tribe are proved by their language and their customs, which are supported by their traditions of former migrations, to
belong to the Dard* race, although they themselves are not aware of the kinship. They are known simply as Bròk-pa (or highlanders). While isolated among strangers they have preserved themselves with a caste-like feeling from amalgamating with them, and seem to have only recently and very superficially accepted the religious beliefs of their neighbours. The greater part of the tribe is thus nominally Buddhist, while two or three of their north-westernmost villages bordering on Baltistan have become Musalmàn.

This tribe presents therefore, to the student of early institutions, the interesting sight of a people of pure Arian race, isolated in the semibarbarous stage, and who enjoy the rare distinction of being practically unaffected by the action of any of the great philosophising or methodising religions; although in some of their customs they have not altogether escaped being influenced by contact with neighbours of another race.

I paid a visit to the Dah-Hanu district (the home of these so-called Buddhist Dàrds) on my way down to India from Ladak (Western Tibet) last winter (1876). In a wild gorge through which the narrow Indus rushes, and where the grand masses of granite seemingly piled in confusion on both banks scarce leave room for the passage of the river and conceal the higher mountains behind them, my first camp was pitched. Close by, the Hanu Ravine, which in its upper part expands into a wide inhabited valley, escapes through a rocky chasm into the Indus. Here, on a little triangular plain a few yards in extent between the cliffs and the river, the only flat spot around, the people of Hanu were waiting to receive me. The sun was setting ; the gorge was already in deep shade; a line of women in dark attire was drawn up along the side of the pathway, each holding in her hand a sancer full of burning juniper-wood from which columns of smoke ascended in the still air, uniting overhead in a kind of canopy and giving out a pungent incense-like odour. A wild music of drums and screaming pipes was playing. As I approached, the women bent down and placed on the ground at their feet the smoking bowls which screened them as in a clond, while they greeted me in the peculiar manner of their tribe by waving the two hands rapidly in front of their faces with fingers closed as if holding something.

My attention was chiefly attracted by some witch-like old hags of the number, with faces begrimed by juniper smoke, whose sharp haggard features and deep sunk eyes were in marked contrast with the flat Tibetan countenances to which one is accustomed in Ladak. These were unmis-

[^4]takeably of a different race. They wore long straight woollen smocks, square flat caps poised on their heads with one of the corners projecting over the forehead, the hair done up into numberless slender plaits hanging loose and straight, and sheep skins suspended like cloaks over the shoulders, the only part of their dress resembling that of Tibetan women, excepting the mocassin-like boots. The men were clothed just like Tibetans* with oaps, like black nosebags, falling over one ear.

These people were inhabitants of the Hanu side-valley, whose villages lie some distance up it, but who had come down to the gorge of the main river (Indus) to receive me. They have lost their own tribal dialect and speak Tibetan; but otherwise in dress and customs they resemble the rest of their people.

My next day's march led through similar scenery, the path now rising up the side of the cliff supported on frail-looking scaffoldings of tree-trunks resting on projecting rocks or on wooden trestles, now plunging precipitously down to the river-side where a stone could be thrown to strike the opposite cliff across the Indus. We saw a village or two on the other side at the mouths of lateral valleys, inhabited not by Bròkpàs but by Musalmàn Tibetans from beyond the mountain-range on the west. At length we came to a succession of isolated villages on our own (north-east) side of the river, mostly placed on high alluvial plateaux near the mouths of side ravines (whence they obtain their water for irrigation), and divided by vertical cliffs into terraces rising in successive steps. Here the warmth in summer is great, the rays of the sun being thrown off from the granite sides of the confined valley, so that where water is available the vegetation is luxuriant. Vines trail from the overhanging cliffs and from the splendid walnut trees, and two crops ripen each year on the same ground during the summer season, nothing being grown in winter. The apricots, mulberries, and apples of the district are celebrated. Between the villages there is nothing but the most arid wastes of granite without a green thing to cheer the eye. In this part the villages that occur in the other side of the river are inhabited by Bròkpàs as well as those on this.

Dàh is the principal village in this part. Situated on a long sloping alluvial terrace about a hundred yards wide and at the highest part perhaps a couple of hundred feet above the river, it is separated from a still higher terrace by a wall of cliff which culminates in a point immediately above the village. On this point a cairn surmounted by thin staves with fluttering rags attached, marks the supposed abode of a local demon or deity. The howling waste behind, invisible from the village on account of its higher level, but rising into still higher mountain masses which tower above, affords a fitting scene for all the supernatural doings of the

[^5]mountain spirits. The scenery which inspires awe in a passing traveller, has made its mark on the minds of the inhabitants. These lofty solitudes are, from their earliest years, connected with ideas of dread, which shape themselves into myths. The priest affirms that sometimes in the early dawn while performing the annual worship, he perceives a white indistinct shape hovering over the cairn; and this, he says, is the goddess of the spot revealing herself to her worshipper. The people believe that this demon keeps a special watch over all their actions, and in a country where frequent accidents by flood or fell are almost inevitable, and where a false step or a falling rock may cause death at any time, they put down such disasters to the vengeance of the goddess for the neglect of some of their peculiar customs which they have persuaded themselves are religious duties.

Foremost among their tenets is the abhorrence of the cow. This is an essentially Dàrd peculiarity, though not universal among them. Unlike Hindus they consider that animal's touch contamination, and though they are obliged to use bullocks in ploughing, they scarcely handle them at all. Calves they seem to hold aloof from still more. They use a forked stick to put them to, or remove them from, the mother. They will not drink cow's milk (or touch any of its products in any form) ; and it is only recently that they have overcome their repugnance to using shoes made of the skin of the animal they so contemn. When asked whether their abstaining from drinking the milk and eating the flesh of cows is due to reverence such as that of the Hindus, they say that their feeling is quite the reverse. The cow is looked upon as bad not good, and if one of them drank its milk, they would not admit him into their houses.

Again in reply to a question, they ascribed this custom to the will of their goddess. They found by experience that she would not allow them to drink the milk of cows with impunity. The son of a certain head-man of the village of Ganok, a Musalmàn Bròkpà, had broken through the prohibition after living some years among the Baltis. After a time the goddess caused him to go mad and to throw himself into the river where he was drowned.

Thus although the Bròkpàs of Dàh-Hanu are nominally Buddhists, yet their real worship is that of local spirits or demons like the Lhò-mo (goddess) of Dah.*

[^6]Her name is Shiring-mo.* A certain family in the village supplies the hereditary officiating priest. This person has to purify himself for the annual ceremony by washings and fastings for the space of seven days, during which he sits apart, not even members of his own family being allowed to approach him, although they are compelled during the same period to abstain from onions, salt, chang (a sort of beer), and other unholy food. At the end of this period he goes up alone on to the rocky point before mentioned above the village, and after worshipping in the name of the community the deity who dwells there in a small cairn, $\dagger$ he renews the branches of the "shukpa" (Juniperus excelsa) $\ddagger$ which were placed there the previous year, the old branches being carefully stowed away under a rock and covered up with stones.

It is said that this deity or spirit accompanied the ancestor of the priestly family from the original home of the Bròkpàs in Gilgit. Formerly the priest used to be occasionally possessed by the demon and in this state to dance a devil-dance, giving forth inspired oracles at the same time, but these manifestations have ceased for the last twelve or fifteen years. The worship is now simply one of propitiation inspired by fear, the demon seeming to be regarded as an impersonation of the forces of nature adverse to man in this wild mountainous country. Sacrifices of goats (not sheep) are occasionally offered at all seasons below the rock, by the priest only, on behalf of pious donors. They talk of the existence of the demon as a misfortune attaching to their tribe, and do not regard her with any loyalty as a protecting or tutelary deity. In each house the fireplace consists of three upright stones of which the one at the back of the hearth is the largest, 18 inches or 2 feet in height. On this stone they place an offering for the Lhdmo from every dish cooked there, before they eat of it. They also place there the first-fruits of the harvest. Such is their household worship.

Besides this spirit-worship, which is their tribal religion, they have a superficial coating of Buddhism. They say that three or four cycles, that is

[^7]forty or fifty years ago, after a war between Shigar and Ladàk, when their country was occupied by the Ladàk army, the Làmas converted them. The head Lama at the monastery of Skirbuchan, further up the river, told me, however, that it was only some twelve or fifteen years ago that the Bròkpds were converted by Lamas from his monastery who went on begging tours amongst them. But this may have been a mere revival. At any rate, there is a remarkable absence in the Dahh-Hanu country, of those Buddhist monuments (long stone dikes covered with inscriptions, and tall structures surmounted by obelisks and containing relics, called respectively Mané and Chorten) which form such a conspicuous feature along the roads and in the villages of Tibet. I saw one or two small chortens, evidently newly erected, and in two villages amall gompàs or hermit-cells (the larger monasteries of Tibet have the same name) inhabited each by a single Lama, one of whom was a Tibetan and the other, whom they brought forward rather as a curiosity, a real Bròkpà Làma, the only one in existence. These gompàs also were quite new.

The Bròkpàs burn their dead like the Laddkis; that is to say in little brick furnaces on the hill-sides. The upper part of the furnace is a short upright oylinder into which the body is crammed in a squatting posture with the head tied well down between the knees, while a fire is lighted in the square base of the furnace. This method is probably adopted as saving fuel in a country where it is so scarce, and where it would be difficult to get logs sufficient for the ordinary mode of Hindu cremation where the body is extended at full length on an open pyre. The corpse is carried to the burning on a kind of sedan-chair raised by poles on men's shoulders. It is placed in the squatting posture in which it is to be burnt, but covered up with flowing coloured sheets so that it might almost be taken for a veiled woman being carried on a journey. Often in Ladàk a broadbrimmed Lama's hat is placed on its head to secure a blessing for the soul of the defunct.

Mr. Drew, who has given a most interesting short account of these Bròkpas in his "Jummoo and Kashmir," is, I think, mistaken in supposing that they have no caste, as the other Dàrds have. I have heard of at least three caste-like divisions, which we may call those of priests, cultivators, and artisans. The priestly families (called Lhàbdak, Tib.) form the highest division in each village. Although men of the next caste are allowed to come into their houses, yet it is only on condition of washing their hands and faces before doing so, especially if they have recently been among the Gentiles (Tibetans, \&c.), a precaution that does not seem to be considered necessary on other occasions by the Bròkpàs, who are a very dirty people. This next caste which forms the bulk of the people is called Rüshen. The younger branches of the priestly families become Ruishens, since there can only be one priest or Lhabdak in each village.

Besides these there is a lower caste consisting, in the village of Dàh, of only five families. They were originally blacksmiths, it is said, but no longer carry on the ancestral calling. They are called Ruzmet (Tib.) or Gàrgyut.* Their women are not allowed to approach the cookinghearths of the higher caste, nor are the Rüzmet men, excepting after a purification similar to that of the Ruishen on going into the houses of the priests. The higher castes will not eat what is cooked by them.

Reversing the custom of the Hindus in the matter of marriage, the lower caste may take wives from the higher, but not vice-versd (except in the case of the priests who, I gather, can marry Rüshen women). Probably as a consequence of this, a married daughter is never allowed to reenter the house of her parents and may not touch anything belonging to them. After three generations of marriages with the higher caste, the progeny are admitted into it. While at Dàh, I was questioning a party of Bròkpâs, and one of them, an old man who, though sitting rather apart, had been very forward in answering my questions, became silent and hung down his head when I began inquiries into the caste-system. It appeared that he was a Rüzmet or low-caste-man. But presently he brightened up and said : "True, I am now a Rüzmet, but in three generations I can become Riishen." This thought seemed to console the old man, much to the amusement of the others.

Polyandry is the rule in Dàh-Hanu. As the Bròkpàs do not intermarry with the neighbouring Tibetans, it would seem that the question of its possible cause or effect in a disproportion of the sexes could be well studied in this confined area. I had not leisure or opportunity to obtain exact statistics, but if there were any notable excess of either sex in such small communities, where there is no monasticism to speak of, it could hardly escape notice by the more intelligent among them. I repeatedly put the question: "Why do several brothers take only one wife between them ?" The answer given me was: "Because the land is not sufficient to provide food for the families of the several brothers, if they each took a wife." Again I asked : "If an equal number of boys and girls are born in your village, as you say ; and each family of two or three (or more) brothers takes only one girl to wife between them, where are the other girls? Do they

[^8]marry into the villages of the neighbouring Tibetans?" They answer, No. "Are there many unmarried women in your villages?" They reply that, on the contrary, they often find it difficult to procure wives. It would seem therefore that there must either be a great defect in the number of births of females, or an equal excess in their deaths while young. I could not hear of female infanticide and do not believe that it is practised, as, if it were, it must be known to the Kashmir officials.

It is not only in marriage that they keep themselves apart from their neighbours. They will not eat with the Tibetan Buddhists or Musalmans or other outsiders, nor will they allow these to come near their cooking places. The caste prejudice seems to originate on the side of the Bròkpa, for their neighbours often eat in their houses, only separate dishes are given them which are afterwards parified with burning juniper. No Bròkpà will eat in the house or from the dishes of a Tibetan; nor will he eat fish or birds or (of course) cow's flesh. Formerly, if they had been among the Tibetans, they would purify themselves with the smoke of the "shukpa" before entering their own houses again.

The tribe is subdivided into several groups of villages. 1st. Those in the Hanu side valley (whose inhabitants have exchanged their own language for Tibetan, being situated on the main road between Skardo and Ladak.) 2nd. The Dàh group, consisting of Baldès, Phindur, Byéma, Sani, Dundir, and Dàh villages. 3rd. The Garkhon group, consisting of Garkhon, Dàrchik (large village on west of Indus), Sanàcha (ditto), Urdàs, Gragra (up side-stream on east), and Watsara. These are all the Buddhist villages. The people of each group consider themselves to be one community. The Dah people reckon from seven ancestors who first colonised their villages and of whom they give the names : viz., Laliusho (from whom the Lhábdaks or priests spring) ; Zoné, Dàkré, Gochaghé (these three are the ancestors of the Rüshen caste) ; Dïsé, Gabüré, and Tukshüré (these are the fathers of the Rüzmet caste). The land of Dàh is still divided according to these families, though some of it has changed hands. In this fact we may perhaps see a trace of the early Arian joint family holding, passing into the stage of individual proprietorship. Each man knows his own ancestry (real or imaginary), and each field is known as belonging to the patrimony of one of the seven fathers of the tribe, though it may now be in the hands of a descendant of one of the others. The remaining groups of villages have similar traditions. The Dàh people say that their ancestors, when they first came, lived by hunting, not by agriculture. One of their mighty hunters dropped his bow (called in their language Dàh) on the hill-side. It became a water channel which fertilized the fields of what afterwards became a village. One of their Chiefs found certain seeds growing wild which he sowed near the water-course. These seeds proved to be those of wheat
and barley. Thus the village was founded. The story of the bow is probably originated either by the curved course of the water-channel which comes out of a side valley and bends round the hill side to reach the village; or else by a mere superficial resemblance of sound between the name Dàh (of which the origin had become forgotten) and the name for a bow.

Several of the villages possess a communal dwelling in which every inhabitant of the village has a place. That of Dàh is very curious. It covers a considerable space in the angle between the Indus and a side-stream, protected on two sides by the precipitous declivities of the high alluvial plateau on which it stands and on the third by a wall. It was thus fortified against the raids of the neighbouring Baltis. The interior consists of an intricate maze of passages, some open and some covered in, which may be considered either as the lanes of a tightly packed village, or rather as the passages of a vast single storied house which forms the common dwelling of the whole community, each household having its separate apartment or den. Here the people always live during winter, for warmth or for company. They all, however, have other houses for summer, out in the fields. I could not discover that there was any difference in tenure between the lands adjoining the common dwelling and the outlying fields. The village of Dàrchik likewise is cut off from the lower course of the valley by a vertical cliff, the escarpment of the plateau on which it stands. There are only two ways of approach. One high up and away from the river, is guarded by a fortified communal dwelling. .The other, near the river, consists of a rugged narrow staircase constructed in the face of the cliff and closed by a gateway at the top. Such precautions were necessary in former days when the men of Baltistán made raids on their neighbours, especially on such as were not Musalmàns, and penetrated even to Ladàk. Now all is peace under the common rule of our Feudatory, the Maharajá of Kashmír.

So much for the (so-called) Buddhist Bròkpàs. But the villages of the same tribe which lie exposed to Musalmàn influences down the Indus on the two roads leading north-west and south-west respectively, have all been converted to Islam. Of the settlements on the former road, that down the Indus, and in side-valleys near it, the village of Ganok is entirely inhabited by Musalmàn Bròkpàs, while those of Dangel, Marul, Chùlichan, and Singkarmòn, are inhabited partly by Musalmàn (Shí'ah) Bròkpàs, and partly by Baltis (Tibetan Musalmàns) of the same sect. Below this the population is entirely Balti. On the other road, that across a low Pass south-westward to Kargil, the villages of Tsirmo and Làlung are also inhabited partly by Musalmàn Bròkpàs and partly by Musalmàn Tibetans from the adjoining district of Purik. These Musalmàn Bròkpàs on both roads speak the Dàh dialect, and dress like the Dàh people, and keep apart from the Tibetan Musalmàns both in matter of marriage and in eating.

But they have no caste inequalities amongst them like their non-Musalmàn kinsmen, and generally they do not objeot to drinking milk, though at Tsirmo, there seems to be a relic of the Bròkpà prejudice against the cow in the fact that their women do not touch that animal.

A short account of the language of these Upper Indus Dàrds (or DàhHanu Bròkpàs, as they are usually called), including both the Buddhist and the Musalmàn sections, is given hereafter.

It is a question how these Arian Dàrds (for Arians and Dàrds they undoubtedly are) reached their present abode. Both above and below them in the valley of the Upper Indus and to the east of them in the parallel valley of the Shayok, the inhabitants are all of Tibetan race. Dàrdistàn proper, or the country of the Dàrds* (the ancient Bolor), is situated far away on the lower course of the Upper Indus, and along that river no vestige of their passage exists and no connecting link with their former home. $\dagger$ But from the country of the Dàrds the Indus makes a wide bend westwards and southwards, and from the concavity of this bend we find a line of Dàrd communities ranning south at first and then trending off to the east until it almost abuts against the settlements of the Dàh-Hanu Bròkpàs on the Upper Indus. These Dàrds are Musalmàns, as are also the main body of the Dàrd race in their own home. The Buddhist Bròkpàs of Dáh-Hanu acknowledge no kinship with these people, although they say that their ancestors also came from Gilid (Gilgit) and Brushdl, that is, from Dàrdistàn proper. There is, however, an unmistakable mutual affinity of language and customs. Mr. Drew, $\ddagger$ in explanation of the difference of religion, very justly supposes the Dah-Hanu Bròkpds to " belong to an earlier immigration......separated from the main mass of their tribe brethren at a time before the Dàrds were converted to Muhammedanism." § The Dàh-Hanu people, having Buddhists on one side of them, would the more easily receive an outward varnish of that faith, while the later Dàrd settlements to the west of them, surrounded by, and intermingled with, Musalmàns, would

[^9]accept Islam, even if they did not bring it with them from their home. A non-descript paganism (which was probably the religion of the early Dàrds) does not easily resist the encroachments of one of the great dogmatic religions when thrown into unprotected contact with it.

Did the Dàh-Hanu Bròkpàs come by the same route as their later brethren, or did they come, as some of them say, up the valleys of the Indus and Shayok? In the latter case, it would be very strange if a migration of Dàrds, with the whole upper course of the Indus before them, should have stopped and located themselves precisely at that point on its course where a subsequent migration of their kindred, starting from the same point but coming by a different route (latterly at right angles to theirs), happens, some centuries after, to have struck the Indus. It seems more probable that the line of the later migration marks that of the earlier one; and that the ancestors of Dah-Hanu people took the route viâ Astor, Déosaï, the Drds river, and Kargil, (a route facilitated by the nature of the country in that direction). Crossing by a low Pass into the Indus Valley, they were there arrested by the more difficult mountains on the east of that river. They probably found this district uninhabited; for though the valley of the Indus, both below and above was, and is, occupied by Tibetan States (Baltistàn or Little Tibet, and Ladàk); yet so difficult is the gorge of the Upper Indus in this intermediate portion, that all traffic from Skardo (Baltistàn) directed towards Ladàk, is diverted round by the parallel Shayok Valley, only crossing back into that of the Indus by the Hanu Pass, beyond Dàh.

Both the Dàh-Hanu people and the Dàrd communities (above mentioned) settled on or about the Dràs river, are called by their Tibetan neighbours Bròk-pà (often pronounced $D \delta k$-pà with a disregard to the spelling peculiar to Tibetans and Englishmen). Bròk means a " mountain pasture" or "alp". The reference may be to the pastures to which they in summer take their sheep (as do also their Tibetan neighbours however) or to the fact of their having settled on grounds which were formerly pastures. But the term Bròk-pà, or Highlander, seems more likely to have been applied (as Mr. Drew suggests) to a tribe seen to arrive across the high mountains and descending into the Indus Valley, than to a people coming up that valley from its lower portion, and who have not, since their arrival, taken to a life in the high mountains in any greater degree than their neighbours.

A few words of notice are required for the Drds Dards of the later immigration just mentioned. Their connection with their parent stock is very close, and betokens a comparatively recent separation. They say that their ancestors came from Darè ; and their settlements extend far up the course of the streams leading down from the uninhabitable plateau of Déosaï, which alone separates them from Dàrdistàn proper.

The furthest settlements of these people at the embouchure of the Dris river into the Indus, approach very closely to, without mixing with, those of their unrecognised kinsmen of the Dàh-Hanu Division. I have collected a few of their grammatical rules and have made a very short comparative table of some of the most ordinary words in the two dialects, by which it will be seen that they are really only different forms of the same mode of speech. These later Dards, as far as Dràs, are intermingled with Musalmàn Tibetans or Baltis. At Dràs the former are Sunnís in religion while the latter are Shl'ahs, but lower down near the Indus both are Shi'ahs. The Dàrds of the Dras district keep themselves quite separate, both as regards marriage and eating, from the Baltis with whom they are intermingled in the same villages, and show also some slight traces of that abhorrence of the cow which is so marked among the Dah-Hanu people, and which is also prevalent in greater or less intensity among many of the other Dards in their own home. To carry the linguistic inquiry a little further back, a comparison with Dr. Leitner's account of the Astori form of the Dàrd language will show that the speech of the Dràs Bròkpàs is almost identical with that of the people of Astor or Hazora who are one of the chief branches of the Dard race in Dàrdistàn, only divided by the river Indus from Gilgit. We have therefore a continuous chain of communities leading from Dàrdistàn proper to the settlements on the Upper Indus at Dah-Hanu. The small gap that does exist in point of language and dress between these latter and the most advanced (geographically) of their brethren, would seem to indicate a lapse of time occurring between two successive migrations. The foremost may be in all probability considered the carlier, and in either case they profess the religion of their environment.

Thus we have here the furthest extension in this particular direction, of an Indo-Arian migration, a kind of side-eddy from the great stream. As when one of our Indian rivers is filled by the melting snows, if a sudden increase of the flood comes down, one may see the waters, dammed up as it were by the too slowly moving masses in front, trickle off to one side in the endeavour to find a speedier exit. But soon, the temporary increase abating or the circumstances of the ground proving unfavourable, this side channel ceases to flow onward and stagnates to a pool, leaving the traces of its abortive course as far back as the point of divergence. So it would seem that long after the successive floods of Indo-Arians had poured over the long water-parting of the Hindu-Kush, the latest or the most easterly wave (the Dàrd one) expanding in its turn after a vast lapse of time, but finding the southward way blocked in front of it by the earlier comers, sent off side-currents to the south-eastward. These were but puny streams, wanting moreover sufficient vis à tergo to carry them onwards when they found themselves amid a foreign element and progressing towards a higher
and more barren country, instead of reaching the fertile plains to which a southerly course had formerly led their brethren, the Hindus. Here therefore they remained, wedged in among alien populations, but connected with their starting point by the living trail of their passage.

Note.-With reference to the question whether any and what degree of connection exists between the Dàrds and the Ghalchahs of the Upper Oxus (see my paper on the latter in the Asiatic Society Bengal, Journal 1876), -it is curious to see that Mr. Drew from native (Dàrd) information classifies one of the Ghalchah tribes, the Wàkhi (called by him Wakhik or Gòijàl) amongst the Dàrds. See Drew's Jummoo and Kashmir, p. 457. The termination $k$ of the word Wakhik is probably a mere Dàrdu affix, (cf. dostek, grestok for dost, grest).

Dr. Leitner also (Dardistán, Vol. I, Part II, p. 24) says that Gòjàl is the name given by the Chilasis to the people between Hunza and Pamer on the Yarkand road. Now these people are the Sariqoli Ghalchahs. He adds "there are also Gojàls under a Rájá of Gojàl on the Badakhshán road." These can be no other than the Wakhí Ghalchahs, called by Mr. Drew also Gòijàl, and the idea suggests itself that perhaps Gojăl may be the Dardu form of the name Ghalcha given to the same tribes by their Turki neighbours. It is formed by a mere inversion of the position of the latter two consonants, viz., $l$, and $j$ or ch: غلجّه for Nucklow for Lucknow). At any rate we see that there is an affinity asserted by the Dàrds between themselves and the Ghalchahs, those neighbours who seem to be, one the most primitive race of the Indian family and the other the most primitive of the Iranians. This assertion of affinity is, to some extent borne out by a comparison of the dialects (see Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, for 1876, Paper on the Ghalchah languages).

Some Grammatical forms of the Dàrd dialects spoken by the Bròk-pàs of (i) Dàh-Hanu and of (ii) Dràs.

Sounds.
There is no broad $a$, like aw in pawn, as in some neighbouring dialects and languages.

The accented $\grave{a}$ to be pronounced as in father ; unaccented $a$ as in ordinary, oriental.

The accented é as cy in they, but more staccato. Unaccented e when final is neutral in sound as in the English word the when rapidly pronounced before a consonant; this sound approaches that of unaccented a. When not final, it is pronounced as in then or yes.

Besides the long and short $\dot{\partial}, 0$ and $\grave{u}, u$, there is a double-dotted $\ddot{\partial}$, pronounced as in German schön, and a double-dotted $\ddot{u}$ as in German mühe or French tu.

With regard to the consonants ; the $d h$ represents the English soft th of the, this, \&c., and not the Hindi aspirated $d^{\prime} h$ (which will be represented with an apostrophe, as $d^{\prime} h, t^{\prime} h$ ). Similarly $g h$ is $\dot{\varepsilon}$ (ghain) and not the aspirated Hindi consonant.

Teh is the compound used by Mr. Drew, in a short list of Dah-Hanu words given in his "Jummoo and Kashmir," to represent a ch pronounced with the tongue curled back to the roof of the mouth. It stands, as he remarks, to the English ch in the same relation that the Hindi palatal $t$ does to the dental $t$, [or that the Wakhi sch does to the English sh (see my paper on the Ghalchah Languages in the Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, for 1876) ; or that $\dot{r}$ (see below) does to $r$ ].

The $\tilde{n}$ (with a mark over it) is the French nasal $n$ which is felt rather as affecting the previous vowel than as a distinct sound. When followed by a vowel however, it acquires something of the sound of $n g$ in the word yowng, but never to the extent of allowing any distinct $g$ to be heard as in English younger, hunger. Thus moñ "I" is pronounced exactly like the French mon "my." Again hàñs "I am" and byuñs "I go" would be spelt in French hanse, biounsse. But hàña (where $\tilde{n}$ is followed by a vowel) is sounded (as regards the medial consonant) somewhat like the English word hanger (not as in anger).

The $\dot{r}$ (with a dot over it) represents the palatal $r$ of Hindi, pronounced with the tongue turned back. It approaches the sound of a $d$.

The $r$ (with a dot under it) represents a sound intermediate between an $r$ and a French $j$ or the $z$ in "azure;" that is, the $r$ is not clearly trilled but slurred over; while the tongue is almost in the position for an $r$ a stream of air is passed, without vibration of the tip, between it and the palate. Thus in the word potro "grandson", the sound is intermediate between potro and potjo (as in English we may sometimes hear people pronounce the word " trill" almost like " chill").

The $z$ (with a dot underneath) represents the French $j$ or the $z$ in azure. It approaches the last letter in sound.

The $y$ is only used as a consonant, as in English " yes," "sawyer", \&c., (not as in " by," or " every").

## I. Dàk-Hanu Dialect. <br> The Subbiantive.

| Singular. | Plural. |
| :---: | :---: |
| N. ễ .................... $\frac{1}{}$ ewe | ếra ....................... ewes |
| éiz-sa (before Trans. | ễa-sa (before Trans. |
| verbs not in Past | Verbs \&c.) |
| Tense) |  |
| G. êia................... of a ewe | éran ...................... of ewes |
| D. éiara .............. to a ewe | eían-da .................... to ewes |
| Acc. ét-za .............. a ewe | ếan-za ................... ewes |
| Abl. étizano ........... from a ewe | ézan-zano ................ from ewes |
| eia-süma........... with a ewe | éżn-süma ................. with ewes |
| Instr. étzya ........... by a ewe | ézan-ya .................. by ewes |
| N. a................... a she goat | oyo .................... she goats |
| à-sa (before Trans. | oyo-sa (before Trans. |
| Verbs not in Past | Verbs \&c.) |
| Tense) |  |
| G. oya or des........... of a she goat | oyon ................ of she goats |
| D. à-ra................. to a she goat | oyon-da .............. to she goats |
| Acc. à-za............. a she goat $^{\text {a }}$ | oyon-za .............. she goats |
| Abl. àzano $^{\text {........... fromashegoat }}$ | oyon-zano ........... from she goats |
| Instr. à-yé ............ by a she goat | oyo-yé................. by she goats |
| N. $g \delta t$................. a house | gobti....................... houses |
| $g \delta t-8 a$ (before Trans. | goticsa (before Trans. |
| Verbs not in Past | Verbs \&c.) |
| T.) |  |
| G. gotas ............... of a house | gotin .................... of houses |
| D. gótàra.............. to a house | gotin-da ................. to houses |
| Acc. gotì̀-dze ......... a house | gotin-dze .............. houses |
| Abl. gôtà-yono........ from a house | gotin-dono ............. from hous |
| gôtas-silma ...... with a house |  |
| Instr. gbt-ya........... by a house | gotin-ya................. by houses |

And so with $g \hat{0}$ " a cow," Gen. gôs, and the other cases $g \delta$; gôló "a bull," Gen. goblos, other cases goblo; biiu "a boy," Gen. biüs, other cases biiu. But Genitive of tchigà "a woman" is tchügoya while the Dat. is tchugéra, the Acc. tchigà-zé, the Ab. tchügé-yono and the Instr. tchigà-ya. The post-position süma " with", governs the Genitive.

The Plural is irregular though generally ending with a vowel for the nominative and by the same vowel followed by $n$ (and by the appropriate post-positions, if any) for the oblique cases.

Thus the plural of biü "a boy" is bé in the nom. and bén in the oblique cases; $g \delta t$ "a house", in the plural is goti and gotin; "cattle" (plural) is gölé and gölen; " women" is tshügoyu, obl. tshügoyun. Boda "fathers", obl. bodan; apshi "horses", obl. apshan.

Adjectives do not seem to change for the gender.
Pronouns.
Singular.
Plural.
1st Person.
$\left.\left.\begin{array}{c}\text { N. monin } \\ \text { (with intrans. verbs) } \\ \text { or } \\ \text { ma-sa }\end{array}\right\} \begin{array}{l}\text { (with transitive verbs } \\ \text { in the Present and } \\ \text { Future) }\end{array}\right\} \mathbf{I}$
G. $m i$ or $m i i i$
my
D. wnà-ra to me $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { Acc. moñ-ze (with Present } \\ \text { and Future Tenses) }\end{array}\right\}$ me Abl mon-yono or mon-doa from mo Instr. mi-ya (with Past) by me
$\left.\left.\left\lvert\, \begin{array}{cc}b a ̀ ~ o r ~ b e n g ~ . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ~ \\ \text { bà-sa } \\ \text { or } \\ \text { beng-sa } a\end{array}\right.\right\} \begin{array}{l}\text { with transitive } \\ \text { verbs in the Pre- } \\ \text { sent and Future } \\ \text { Tenses }\end{array}\right\}$ we
assï ............................ our
assü-ra ......................... to us
assï-za ......................... us
assï-yono or assü-deo ...... from us $b a ̀-y a$ or beng-ya ............ by us 2nd Person.

| N. tis (with intransitive V.) |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| ti-ea ortu-sa (with transitive \} thou. | tsi-sa or tsü-sa (wi |
| Verbs in Present and Fut.) | trans. V. in Pres. |
| G. tiü ...................... they | Fut. |
| D. tied-ra ..........,........ to thee | tsi .......................... your |
| $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { Acc. tw-ze (with Present } \\ \text { and Future Tenses) }\end{array}\right\}$ thee | tsï-ra. $\qquad$ to you <br> tsï-ze $\qquad$ you |
| Abl. tiu-yono ............. from thee |  |
| Instr. ti-ya (with Past) by thee | tsiu-yono |

3rd Person.

| $\begin{gathered} \text { N. so (fem. sa) or } p^{\prime} h o \\ \left.\begin{array}{l} \text { (with intre. V.) } \\ s o-s a \text { (with trans. V.) } \\ \text { Pres. and Fut. } \end{array}\right\} \begin{array}{c}  \\ \text { he (here or } \end{array} \text { there } \end{gathered}$ | $\left.\begin{array}{c} \text { té or } p \text { 'hé (with intr. } \\ \text { V.) } \\ t e ́-s a \text { (with tr. V.) } \end{array}\right\}$ | they (here or there). |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| G. tes or p'hos of him (do.) | ten or $p$ 'héün | of them |
| D. té-ra to him | ten-da or p'héün-da | to them |
| $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { Acc. té-za (with Pres. } \\ \text { Tenses) }\end{array}\right\}$ him | tén-za or p'héïn-za | them |
| Abl. té-yono from him | tén- or p'hérin-yono | from them |
| $\left.\begin{array}{c}\text { Instr. so-ya (with Past } \\ \text { Tense of Trans. V.) }\end{array}\right\}$ by him | té- or p'hé-ya | by them |

THE VERB.
The Intransitive Verb " to go".
Byàsti $=$ (in order) to 'go.
Byà-su = about to go.
Byuñto $=$ in going, or, whilst going.
Gyéto $=$ gone or having gone. Bo - go (Imperative).
Indicative Mood.
Present Future Tense.
Singular.

1. moñ or $m i\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { byuñs...I go (masc.) } \\ o r \text { will go } \\ \text { binis... I go (fem.) }\end{array}\right.$
bà byenis we go or will go
2. tii $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { bywña } \\ \text { binia }\end{array}\right.$ $\qquad$ thou goest do. (fem.)
3. \{so byàlla $\qquad$ he goes she goes
tsi byeni $\qquad$
té bydn ............ they go, \&c. Aorist.
4. moñ byü ............... I go
5. tü̈ byuñ thou goest he goes
ba byiñ we go
tsi byeni..................... ye go
té byoni
they go

Past Tense.

1. $\operatorname{mon}\left\{\begin{array}{l}g b s, . . . \text { I went (m.) } \\ g y \text { 亿̂s... ditto (fem.) }\end{array}\right.$ bà gyéüñs ..................... we went
2. tii $\left\{\begin{array}{lll}\text { go } & \text {.. } & \text { thou wentest (m.) } \\ \text { gyeiua } & \text { ditto (fem.) }\end{array}\right.$
3. $\left\{\begin{array}{lll}\text { so go ...... } & \text { he went } \\ \text { sa gyani } & . . & \text { she went }\end{array}\right.$
ye went
tsi gyé or gyéuizi $\qquad$
té gyéani or gyéïn ...... they went

Perfect Tense.

1. mi gyéüs (? gyé-hüs) I have (or had) gone
2. tü gyé-àstu
3. $s 0$ gyé-d̀stu
$\qquad$ thou hast gone he has gone té gyé-àstin ......... ye have gone bà gyéüñs (? gyé-hüũs) we have gone tsé gyé-àstin
$\qquad$ they havegone Future Tense.
moñ byllko...... I will go (the other persons of this tense are the same).
[^10]Thi Defective auxiliary " to be".
Present.

## Past.

1. moñ or mi hdñs
.I am
2. $t \ddot{u}$ or $t i$ hàña. thou art
3. so háã .he is
4. bà or beng hànis .we are
5. tsi hàni .......................ye are
6. té hàmi they are

The transitive Verb has some peculiarities about its subjects.
In the first place, all Tenses except the Past take the second nominative form of Pronouns, mà-sa, ti-sa, \&c., and they add the particle sa to substantives in the nominative. Secondly, the Past Tense puts the subject in the Instrumentative case, and the object in the nominative, the verbal inflection agreeing with the latter (not in gender, however, but in person), so as almost to assume a Passive form. But as there is a separate Passive, this Tense may be most nearly compared with the Hindustani Transitive Past c. g., ws-ne ek aurat màri (Hind.) "he struck a woman"; where the verb is in the feminine to agree with the object "woman". So in the Bròkpà dialect: Täshis-ya moñ kutudhös "Tashi struck me", lit. "by Tashi I was struck", where "kutudhös" is the Past verb-form agreeing with the 1st person singular. The 1st persons singular and plural (when occurring as objects of the action) have each a particular form of the verb assigned to them, while the remaining persons have a common form.

With this explanation we will proceed to the

## CONJUGATION OF A TRANSITIVE VERB.

Kutisti $=$ (in order) to strike, (on account of) striking.
Kuti-su = about to strike.
Kutyuñto $=$ in striking, or whilst striking.
Kutedho = having struck.

## Imperative.

Kuti = strike.
INDICATIVE MOOD.
Presemt Future Thesse

Singular.

1. mà-sa $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { kutywifs I strike (masc.) } \\ \text { or will strike } \\ \text { kutinis ditto (fem.) }\end{array}\right.$
2. tü-sa $\left\{\begin{array}{l}k u t y w \tilde{n} a \text { thou strikest } \\ \begin{array}{c}\text { (m.) \&c. } \\ k u t i n i a ~ d i t t o ~(f .) ~\end{array}\end{array}\right.$
3. $\left\{\begin{array}{l}80-s a \text { kutyàlla he strikes \&c. } \\ \text { sà-sa kutini she strikes \&c. }\end{array}\right.$

Plural.
bà-sa kutyenis ..........We strike, \&c. tsï-sa kutyeni ...........ye strike, \&c.
té-sa kutyàn .........they strike,\&c.

AOBIst.

1. mà-sa knttyü .........I strike
2. tü-sa kutyuñ
.........thou strikest
3. so-sa kutyuñ $\qquad$ .he strikes té-sa kwtyeni $\qquad$ .we strike bà-sa kutyüñ $\qquad$
tsi-sa kutyeni $\qquad$ ye strike Past Tense.
Instr.
Object.
Verb.
English.


## Prefrect Thiser.

Singular.
Plural.

1. mà-sa kutyius ...I have (or had) struck
2. tü-sa kuté-àstu thou hast struck
3. $80-8 a$ lcuté-àstu...he has struck
bà-sa Rutyüñs $\qquad$ .we have struck tsi-sa kuté-àstin ...je have struck té-sa kuté-àstin ...they have struck

Future Tense.

1. mà-sa kutiko......I will strike (the other persons do not vary from this). Future Preterit Tense.
2. má-sa kuti-su hüs... I was about | bà-sa kuti-su hüñs... we were about to strike
3. tï-sa kuti-su hüa ... thou \&c. tsi-sa Kuti-su hüi ... ye \&c.
4. so-sa lcuti-su hüa ... he \&c. té-sa kuti-su hün ... they \&c.

Conditionas Mood.

1. mà-sa kutetto if I strike (the other persons and tenses do not vary from this form).

Passiver.

1. mi kutellas... I am or have been |beng kutellañs ...... we are or have struck
2. tui kutella ... thou \&c.
3. so kutella ... he \&c.
been struok tsi kutellan $\qquad$ ye \&c.
té kutellan

When there is a Dative case with a Transitive Past tense, the verb may agree with it in person as it would with the direct object :
E. g. Tiu-ya tiü apsh màra dötös = thou gavest thy horse to me.

Where the verb agrees with the person of the person in the Dative. In short when there is both a direct object and a dative, one of which is the lst person (Singular or Plaral), the verb agrees with that person by preference, as
E. g. So-ya moñ gobà-ra dötös = He gave me to the head-man. and so-ya mà-ra apsh ek dötös $=\mathrm{He}$ gave a horse to me.
Where the 1st person (whether direct object as in the first example, or dative as in the second) governs the verb.

But mi-ya miü apsh tisà-ra det = I gave my horse to thee.

## Brokpa Version of the 1gt Story in Forbes' Presian Grammar. Aflatwn-ra ek müsh-ya shunàt: Tï kishti-à-rü hatuk sar batö, <br> Plato-to a man-by it-wae-asked: thou ship-to many years satest, tsò-a-riz na-zito yé zit ? <br> nee-to (wonderfal) what was seen $P$

Aflatun-ya razit: tèे-a harang mi-ya nà-zito zit
Plato by it-was-said: of the sea this me-by wonderful was seen moñ tràlobo pà-'r nüpàdös.

I safely side-to arrived.
Analysis: Of the verbs, shunat is the Past Tense Transitive answering to the typical kutet, with its subject müsh-ya in the Instrumentative case. Batö is 2nd Person Sing. of the Past tense of an Intransitive verb, thus answering to the form go of the specimen verb given above. Kishti-d-rü is dative, from kishti-c̀ obl. crude form of kishti (a foreign word). Tsòa is oblique of $t_{80}$ (the Tibetan word for "lake"). Nà-zito (lit. "not seen") is negative of Past Participle of following verb (to see); sit is Past tense transitive agreeing with its object yé "what" (i. e., not taking the termination in-ös or eñs appropriated to the 1st persons sing. and plural) ; the instrumentative case of the agent, tiu-ya, is understood. Razit is the same form as shunàt, and so is zit which follows. Nüpàdös seems at first sight abnormal, for "to arrive" is an intransitive verb, and yet it has taken the form peculiar to the Past of transitive verbs. But in reality it is quite normal : only the Bròkpa verb means "to cause to arrive" ( $\boldsymbol{P}$. rasànîdan). E. g. mi-ya dàk nüpàt "I delivered the post" (lit. 'by me the post was caused to arrive'). Thus moñ. nepàdös of the text, is literally : "I ...... was caused to arrive" or, as we should say: "I arrived." The full form would be: Kishti-ya moñ malàdös (lit. by the ship I was caused to arrive) "the ship caused me to arrive."

But although this Past tense of Transitive Verbs so much resembles a Passive in construction, yet there is as much distinction kept up in the
mind of the speaker between it and the real Passive, as there is for instance in Hindustani between us-ne aurat màri, and aurat màri gaí. The sense is active though the form is passive. In the one case the agent is known and generally mentioned in the Instrumentative case; in the other the agent is not known or mentioned.

Díh-Hanu Love Song.
Mi milshui Skishur qaniya kàskyé skyet-tò I young-man (pro. name mountain below if-I-look of place)
Bòs payul zi-chuñ; toto huñskyé skyet-tò
Father's home see makes; and above if-I-look Numès payill zi-chuñ. Zü-lo Qodà nasîb tüni té. (name of woman) home see-makes. Pray God fate joined make. in genitive
" If I look below, from the Skishur mountain,
" My father's home is seen (makes itself seen) ;
And if I look above,
"Nümé's home is seen. Grant, 0 God, that
our destinies may be united!"
Analysis : Skyet-tò is the Conditional, answering to kutet-tò. Payül would seem to be compounded of the Tibetan word yül " village" and a prefix pa. Zi-chuñ is composed of the verb "to see", plus the 3 rd pers. sing. of the aorist of the verb " to do", answering to the typical form kutyuñ. $Z u$-lö is the Bròkpà form of the common Tibetan salutation $j u$ or ju-lé, which is like the Hind. jî. Qodà (Khudà) and nasìb are words borrowed from their Musalmàn neighbours, apparently in the absence of any words of the same meaning in their own dialect. Té is the $\mathrm{Im}_{\text {r }}$ perative.

## II. Dràs Dialect. <br> The Substantive. <br> Plural.

Singular.




| àze à̈e-sa | \}......................she-goats |
| :---: | :---: |
| à̇o... | ................of she-goats |
| वั̇o-re | ...........to, or at she-goats |
| àio.. | ....................she-goats |
| àวo-zo | .........from she-goats |
| dïo-séi | là ............with she-goats |
| àzo-za | ...by she goats | Past Tense)

N. goे!
gòr-sa (before Tr. V . not in Past Tense)
G. gòr-o
.............of a house
D. \& Loc. gòr-re ...to, or at a house (sometimes-ra)
Acc. gòr or gòr-re a house
Abl. gòr-zo.........from a house (in some-no)
Instr. gòr-i .........by a house (before Trans.
Verbs in Past Tense)

Adjectives do not seem to change for Gender.
Pronouns.

| N. moñ.....................I moñ-sa (before Tr. V., not Past T.) | bé ......................we <br> bé-sa (before Tr. V., not Past T.) |
| :---: | :---: |
| G. mioñ ................ of me, my | a880 .................of us, ov |
| \& Loc. $\}$ moñ-re .........to, or at me | asso-re ..............to, or at us |
| Acc. moñ ..................me | as80...................us |
| Abl. moñ-z0..............from me | a880-30 .............from |
| Instr. $m i$ (before Tr. by me Vbe in Past Tense) | asso-za ..............by us |

N. tiu
$\left.\begin{array}{l}t \hat{u} \\ t \hat{u}-s a \text { (before Tr. } \\ \text { V. not in Past } \\ \text { Tense) }\end{array}\right\}$ thou
G. to (or túiñ ?)..........of thee, thy
D. tì-re ...................to thee

Acc. tu
Abl. tú-zo
túiñ-séi nala .......with thee
Instr. tó. $\qquad$ .thee

Instr. to....................by thee


## Pronouns Substantival and Adjectival.

Singular.
N. nui or do or anv or
ain (fem. ni or $\alpha$ or ani)
núsa or anv-sa (f.ni-sa or ani-sa (beforeTr.
V. not in Past T.)
G. niso or niséi, or of this ani-so, ani-sei
D. nisé-re ...............to this

Acc. nisé-or diñ .........this
Abl nisé-zo................from this
Instr. nisi $\qquad$

Plural.

nino or anino $\qquad$ of these nino-re or anino-ré ...to these nino or anino............these
nino-zo or anino-zo ...from these
nino-z $a$ or anino-za ...by these

When these pronouns are prefixed to substantives, their case-affixes are detached from them and placed after the substantives only, in the form peculiar to the latter; e. g., ani mazàr-tang-o, not ani-so mazàr-tang-o.
N. rò (ré fem)

G. sò or aso (f. réso)... of that also asé-séi
D. $\boldsymbol{z e}$-ré or asé-ré $\qquad$ .to that
(f. résé-ré)

Acc. sè or asé or do...that (f. résé)

Abl. sé-zo or ase-zo...from that (f. rese-zo)

Instr. sési or àsi $\qquad$ .by that (f. rési)

```
ré or pero (f. ra)
re-sa (f. ra-sa) be- )
    lore Tr. V. not {
reno or peràno ......of those
        (f. rano)
    reno-re or peràno-re to those
        (f. rano-re)
reno or peràno ......those
    (f. rano)
reno-zo or peràno-zo...from those
        (f. rano-zo)
    reno-z}a\mathrm{ or perano-...by those
    za(f. rano-za)
```

Relative Pronoun.
N. ké or kési (?)
G. késo
D. Késé-re

Acc. késé (?)
Abl. Késé-zo (?)
Instr. Ké-si
who
of whom
to whom
whom
from whom by whom

Personal Adjectival Pronouns.
miàno
tàno
resano or tomo
assano
tsano
renano or tomo
my own they own his own our own your own their own

The Relative Pronoun is used like the Hindustani jo, jis-ka, \&c., followed by a corresponding demonstrative pronoun later in the sentence: a pronoun do seems to be specially employed for this, like $s 0$ in Hindustani, but the other demonstrative pronouns are also used.

> The Verb " to be."
> Present and Future.
M.
S. 1. moñ hànos or hañe
2. tu hàno or haoñ
3. ro hàno or haoñ

Pl. 1. bé hànis or hàñs
2. tso hànet or hañt
3. ré hàñ
S. 1. moñ àsilos
2. tu àsilo
3. ro àsito

P1. 1. bé àsilis
2. tso àsilet
3. ré àsile
S. 1. moñ àsilòzto
2. tu asiloto
3. ro asilto

P1. 1. be asilezto
2. tso asiletto
3. re asilto
F.
moñ hànis
tu hàni ré hàni bé haiñs tsa haiñt ra hanié
Past (Imperfect).
moñ àsilyis
tu àsilie
ré àsilio
bé d̀silyis
tsa àsiliet
ra dsilie
Conditional.
Past.
moñ asilazto if I were
tu asilato if thou wert ré asilto if he, she were
bé asilaseto if we were
tsa asilateto
rà asilato
if ye were
if they were

I am or shall be thou art \&c. he, she is \&c.
we are \&c. ye are \&c. they are \&c.

I was (lit. I was being)
thou wast
he, she was
we were
ye were
they were

The Irbegular Verb " to become."
Present.
Infinitive and Supine : bono " to become," or, "in order to become." Imperative, $b 6$ " become."

Masc.
S. 1. moñ bòmos
2. tu bé
3. ro beno

Pl. 1. bé bonas
2. tso bat
3. ré bena
S. 1. moñ bom
2. tubesh
3. ro bei

Pl. 1. be bon
2. t8o bat
3. ré ben
S. 1. moñ bom-alos*
2. tu biàlo (?)
3. ro biàlo (?)

Pl. 1. bé bòn-alés
2. tso bialet (?)
8. rebeñ-ale
S. 1. moñ bilos*
2. tu bilo
3. ro bilo or bil

Pl. 1. bé biles
2. tso bilet
3. ré bilen
S. 1. moñ bilalos
2. ta bilàlo
3. ro bilàlo

Pl. 1. bé bilales
2. tsa bilàlet
3. ré bilàle

Fem.
moñ bomïs I am becoming
$t u b e$
ré bene
bé bonas
tsa bat
ra bena (?)

Present Future.

| moñ bom | I become or shall become |
| :--- | :--- |
| tu besh | thou becomest \&c. |
| ré bei | he, she becomes \&c. |
| bé bon | we become \&c. |
| tsa bate | ye become \&c. |
| ra beni | they become \&c. |

Imperfect.
moñ bom-alis I was becoming
tu biàle (?) thou wast becoming
re biàlie (?) he, she was becoming
be bon-alyis we were becoming
tsa biàliet (?) ye were becoming
ra ben-alie they were becoming
Perfect.
moñ bilies I have become, i. e., I am
tubiliesh
rébili
bé bilies
tsa bilieti
ra bilyon thou hast become, i. e., thou art
he, she has become, i. e., is we have become, i. e., are ye have become, i. e., are they have become, i. e., are

Pluperfect.
moñ bilalyis I had become
tub bilàlie
ré bildlie
bé bilàlies
tsa bilàliet
ra bilàlio
thou art becoming
he, she is becoming
we are becoming ye are becoming they are becoming they become \&c.
thou hadst become
he, she had become
we had become ye had become they bad become

## Conditional.

Present.
8. 1. moñ bilozto
2. tu biloto
3. ro bilto

Pl. 1. bé bilezto
2. tso biletto
3. ré bilto
moñ bilàzto if I become
tu bilàto if thou becomest
ré bilto if he, she become
bé bilàseto if we become
tsà bilateto if ye become
rà bilàto if they become

The Intransitive Verb " to go."
Infinitive and Supine: bozóno " to go" and "in order to go." Imperative : bo or bozée " go."
Verbal Adjectives: boẓensto " going", boz̨eta " having gone."
Present.

Masc.
S. 1. moñ bòzumus
2. tubòzaoñ
3. ro bòzon or bòzéuñ

Pl. 1. bé bòzunnàs or bònàs
2. tso bòààt
3. ré bòzena

Fem.
moñ bozumis
re bozani
tsà božàt ye are going ra bozéin they are going

I am going thou art going he, she is going
we are going
ye are going
they are going

Imperfect.
S. 1. moñ bòzum-alòs"
2. tu bòzalo
3. ro bòzalo

P1. 1. bé bònalès
2. tso bdzalet
3. ré bòzenalé.
moñ bòzum-alis
tu bòzalé
re bòzalié
bé bònalits
tsà bòzaliet
ra bòzenalié
Present Future.
S. 1. moñ bòzum
2. tù bòzé
3. ro bòzęei ré bdzzï̆

Pl. 1. bé bozzon (or bon ?)
2. tso bdząàt tsà bozaàté
3. ré bòzen
ra bozeni
I was going thou wast going he, she was going we were going ye were going they were going

I go or shall go


Future.
S. 1. moñ bdzum bil ... ... ... ... I shall go \&o.
2. tu bòzé bil ... ... ... ... thou wilt go
3. ro bdzzéi ... ... ... ... ... he will go

Pl. 1. bé bozzon bil ... ... ... ... we shall go
2. tso bozààt bil ... ... ... ... ye will go
3. ré bòzén bil ... ... ... ... they will go

Compound Future.
S. 1. moñ bòno hañs ... ... ... ... I am to go
2. tu bòno haon ... ... ... ... thou art to go
3. ro bòno haoñ ... ... ... ... he is to go

Pl 1. bé bòno hànis ... ... ... ... we are to go
2. tso bòno hànet ... ... ... ... ye are to go
8. ré bòno hañ ... ... ... ... they are to go

Past.
S. 1. moñ gde"
2. tugà*
moñ gyés
3. ro gàu*

Pl. 1. bé gyès
2. tso gyet
8. ré gyé
tu gyé
ré gyéë
be gyêés
tsà gyèti
ra gyéé
I went they went
Perfect and Pluperfect.
moñ gàlis I have or had gone
tu gàlé thou hast or hadst gone ré gàlié he, she has or had gone bé gàlyis we have or had gone tsà gàliet ye have or had gone ra gàlie they have or had gone
Conditional.
Present Future.
S. 1. moñ bozeto
... ... ... ... if I go
2. tu bozeto ... ... ... ... if thou goest
3. ro bozeito ... ... ... ... if he goes

Pl. 1. bé bozunto ... ... ... ... if we go
2. tso bozàtto ... ... ... ... if ye go
3. ré bozeñto ... ... ... ... if they go

Preterit.
S. 1. moñ gàldsto moñ gàlàzto
2. tu gàlòto
8. ro gielto
tu gàlàto
ré gielto
if I had gone
if thou hadst gone if he had gone

| P1. 1. | bé gàlexto | bé galàseto | if we had gone |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. | tso gàletto | tsà galàteto | if ye had gone |
| 3. ré gielto | rà galàto | if they had gone |  |
|  | Masc. | Fem. | English. |
| P1. 1. | bé gàlezto | bé galàseto | if we had gone |
| 2. too gàletto | tsà galàteto | if ye had gone |  |
| 3. ré gietto | tà galato | if they had gone |  |

Probably all these tenses (Imperfect or Past, Perfect, and Pluperfect) are compounded of some auxiliary verb-tense running as follows (there is actually such a verb meaning " I came, \&c.") :

to which are prefixed the various verbal stems or complete verb tenses, person for person. In many cases the combination has subsequently suffered from elision.
E. g., bil-àloss, \&ce., would be an uncorrupted example. The stem and the auxiliary tense are both perfect, and the former does not vary with the persons.

In gàlos, gàlo, \&c., the verb root (probably ga) has suffered its vowel to coalesce with the initial vowel of the auxiliary.

In bozum-alòs, boz-alo, \&c., the auxiliary has destroyed the final syllables of the verb tense, excepting in the 1st pers. Sing. and the 3rd pers. Plural.

In àsilòs, bilố, \&cc., the initial vowel of the auxiliary has itself suffered alteration from the pressure of the verb-root before it.

In the root as (of dsilos "I was"), and the root bi or be (of bilos? bialos, "I have become"), we have perhaps representatives of the universal Arian roots, bhu and as for the idea of "being" or " existence."

In some verbs the terminations are $\partial s,-\partial,-\partial$.
If again we subdivide the auxiliary tense alòs, \&c., into its root al and its terminations -òs, $-0,-0$, ès, -et, and $-e$, it would appear that it was by the addition of these latter to the Present Future Tense, that the Present Tense was formed :
E. g. Pr. Fut. Tense. Termn. Present Tense. Pr. Fat. Tense. Termn. Present Tense.

| òs ... bòzumus. | bòzon ........... ${ }^{\text {ès }}$...... bòzonàs. |
| :---: | :---: |
| bozé.................. o ... boz̧ao (ñ). | bòzà̀t ........... et ...... bòzà̀t. |
| bozéi .............. o ... bozéu (ñ). | bòzen ............ É ...... bòzena. |

Transitive Verbs are conjugated like intransitive ones. But they show traces of the quasi-Passive formation with the subject in the Instrumentative Case, such as we find in the Past Tenses in Hindustani and in
the Dàrd dialect of Dàh-Hanu (see above). As in the latter, the subject takes a special form in the Past tenses, the singular taking an affix or termination, generally $-i$, and the Plural - $z a$ (cf. Dàh-Hanu -ya); but unlike in that dialect the verb agrees with its proper subject (in the Instrumentative case) and not with its object. In the other Tenses the subject takes the affix $-8 a$ as in the Dah-Hanu dialect. This in both dialects is now a simple variety of the nominative.

These facts I think corroborate the hypothesis that the Dàh-Hanu people formed an earlier migration than the Dràs Dàrds. For they retain most fully the quasi-Passive formation of the Past of Transitive Verbs, which we find again in the Indian dialects (from which they had less opportunity of borrowing than the Dràs people had). It was therefore perhaps an early Dàrd formation of which all but slight traces have been lost by the later Dàrds.

The Transitive Verb " to strike."
Infinitive and Supine $=k u t i n o$ " to strike" and "in order to strike." =kutiokuni " in striking."
Imperative : kuté "strike."
Verbal Adjectives: kutiensto " striking," kutéta and kutetato "having struck."


Pl. 1. bé-sa kwtiòno hànis
2. tso-sa kutiòno hànet
3. ré-sa kutiòno hàn
S. 1. moñ-sa kutemàlòs
2. tu-sa kutàlo (kutàlòr)
3. ro-sa kutélo

Pl. 1. bé-sa kutonàlés
2. tso-sa kutiàlet
3. ré-sa kutenalé
bé-sa kutiono haiñs
tsà-sa kutiòno haiñt
re-sa kutiòno hànié
we are to strike ye are to strike they are to strike

Imperfect.
moñ-sa kutemàlıs
tu-sa kutàlé
ré-sa kutélié
bésa kutonàlyis
tsa-sa kutiàliet
rà-sa kutenalié

## Past.

S. 1. mi kutàs (in some verbs -òs)
2. tò kutà ( -0 )
3. se-si kutàu( -0 )

Pl. 1. asso-za kuties
2. tso-za kutiét
3. reno-za kutié
mi kuties
to kuté
re-si kutî
as80-za kutiéës
tsa-za kutièti
rano-za kutieë they struck

I was striking thou wast striking he, she was striking we were striking ye were striking they were striking

I struck
thou struckest he, she struck we struck ye struck

Perfect and Pluperfect.
S. 1. mi kutàlòs
mi kutàlis
tò Krutàli
re-si kutàli
asso-za kutiàlyis (?) we have or had struck tso-za kutiàliet (?) ye have or had struck rano-za kutiàli they have or had struck

Conditional.

Present.
S. 1. moñ-8a cuteto if I strike
2. tu-sa kuteto if thou strikest
8. ro-sa kutéito if he strike

Pl. 1. bé-sa kutunto if we strike
2. tso-sa kutiàtto if ye strike
3. re-sa kwteñto if they strike

Past.
\(\left.\left\lvert\, \begin{array}{c}moñ-sa kutàlòzto if I have or had <br>

struck\end{array}\right.\right\}\)| tu-sa kutàlòto | if thou hast or <br> hadst struck |
| :--- | :--- |
| ro-sa kutilto | if he has or had <br> struck |
| bé-sa kutàlezto | if we have or had <br> struck |
| t80-sa kutàletto | if ye have or had <br> struck |
| ré-sa kutilto | if they have or had <br> struck |

## TRANSLATION OF STORIES FROM FORBES' PERSIAN GRAMMAR.

$\begin{array}{ccccc}\text { 1." Ek-i } & \text { kózàlo } & \text { Afratun-re: } & \text { "La } & \text { bariri } \\ \text { one (Instr.) } & \text { nawi-za ( P ra) } \\ \text { had-asked } & \text { Plato (Loc.) } & \text { many } & \text { years } & \text { ship in (Loc.) }\end{array}$
bètalo ; tò sara-za (? ra) laò safar t'hà. Tò sara (thou) hast-sat thou (Instr.) sea in (Loc.) much voyage madest. Thou (Ins.) sea -za (? ra) 'ajàib zok pàshà?" Afratun-i ràjàu: "moñ salàmat-gi in (Loc.) wonders what sawest? Plato (Instr.) said: I in-safety
sara-zo kàtòs chupe-re, àiñ mi pàshàs 'ajàib. sea from came-out shore to this I (Instr.) saw wonderful.
2. Ek paqîrek gàu grestok-o dàrr-ré di zek mangàu a beggar went farmer's door to (?) something demanded

Ara-no jawàb kàti: Gờr-ré chéi nüsh. Paqîr-i Inside from answer came-out (f.): House (Loc.) woman is not. Beggar (Instr.) ràjàu: mi tiki tòrik mangàlòs mi chéi né mangàs, said: I (Instr.) bread piece had-demanded I (Instr.) (the) woman not demanded, moñ-re . à jawàb làdòs.† me to this (f.) answer arrived.
4. Ek hakîm dezgào bòzalo màzàr-tang-ra; tòmo pàsho muka-re a doctor daily used-to-go grave-yard-to his own shawl face to
paliéta bọzalo. Zàko-z̧a koẓié: Ani-séi zok sabab hàni? having-wrapped used-to-go. People (Instr.) asked: this of what reason is (f.)?
Hakîm-i ràjàu: Ani màzàr-tang-o mùo-re moñ sharmanda Doctor (Instr.) said: This (f.) grave-yard (Gen.) dead (Loc.) I ashamed hànòs: mioñ ràbàti keta mùé. am: my medicine having-eaten (they) died.
8. Ek manuzo-re bwàro krum làdo. Ek dòstek (mubàrak) bubàrek
a man to big work (office) arrived. A friend congratulation
t'hiòno àlo. Sé-si kòzà̀u: Tu koi bilo, ki àlo? So dòst in-order-to-make came. That (one) asked: Thou who art, why camest? His friend

[^11]sharmands bilo, ràjàu: Tu-sa moñ sưận thé nūsh dà. ashamed has-become, said: Thou (2nd nom.) me recognition makest is not $P$

Moñ to purono dòst bilòs, moñ to mutro ròno ìlos; moñ parudòs I thy old friend am I thy presence to weep came; I heard tu shèiloñ thé.
thou blind makeat (becomest).

## COMPARATIVE TABLE OF A FEW ORDINARY WORDS IN THE DRAS DIALECTS OF DAH-HANU AND OF DRAS.

N. B. Kashmiri words added for comparison are marked K. and Gaddi (Hindi) G. H. Resemblances to ordinary Hindi are not noted.

| English. | Dàh-Hanv. | Dràs. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| man | müsh | manuzo |
| father | bo | badbo |
| mother | גi | dze (cf. Gaddi Hindi ${ }_{j}{ }^{\text {i }}$ i) |
| son | biū | push |
| daughter | molér | dîh |
| girl |  | molaï |
| child | sinà | balé |
| elder brother | bàyo | kàko |
| younger brother | r7a | zà |
| wife or woman | tchiga | chêi |
| grandson | potro | potro |
| heart | hö | hio |
| stomach | krütpa (Tib.) | dér |
| head | shish | shîsh |
| eye | atchi | àché (K. ach) |
| ear | kàni | kon |
| nose | nutò | noto |
| tooth | dàni | doni |
| beard | rmaghra | dài |
| breast | krö | kroö |
| waist | doko | - dakhri |
| hand | hàt'h | hàt |
| foot | küti | pé |
| lower leg | kankan | kiñ (pl. kiñyi) |
| knee | kuto | kuto |
| thigh | patali | patàld |
| H |  |  |

R. B. Shaw-Stray Arians in Tibet.
[No. 1,

| English. | Dàk-Hanv. | Dràs. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| bone | àti | àti |
| hair | zàkur | zadku |
| mouth | uxi | adzi (K. As) |
| lip | öti | etto $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { arino = upper } \\ \text { karino = lower }\end{array}\right.$ |
| tongue | gip | zip |
| chin | ... | mulsuti or chamukhi |
| finger | güli | añguyé |
| name | nùn | nom |
| grass | ghàs | kash |
| road | pùn | pon |
| apricot | zü | zuqu |
| leaf | pani | paté |
| birch (tree) | .füsh (züsh) | zozi |
| wheat | güm | gùm |
| barley | ghono | yo |
| field |  | trèsh |
| cultivator | ......... | grestok ; ${ }^{\text {* }}$ grest ( gròst Kashmir) |
| flower | pusho | pushi |
| cow | gô | gào |
| crow | qù | korkus |
| horse | àpsh | àshp |
| dog | shüà | shuñ (Kashm. hiun) |
| cat | bülù | pushu |
| ram | churdi | kara |
| ewe | èi | esh |
| he-goat | mingyar | mugir |
| she-goat | a | ài |
| bull | gôlo | dòno |
| calf | bitok | batsar (watsir, K.) |
| lamb | run | urun (urnu, G. H.) |
| kid | chal | chàl (chélu, G. H.) |
| cattle | gölé | dòni (dand, G. H.) |
| male | p'hòg (Tib.) | bîro |
| female | mòg (Tib.) | soñti |
| milk | düt | dud |
| cream | üspris | shamal |
| wool | pash | pash |
| bear | ... | ish |
| frog | chüstràk | manok |

1878.]
R. B. Shaw-Stray Arians in Tibet.

| English. | Dă_-Hanv. | Dràs. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| sun | süri | sur |
| star | turi | tàré |
| earth (ground) | pa | sum |
| moon | gyün | yùn (zìn K.) |
| mountain | rüng | qaniya |
| pasture (alp) | nirda | shiai |
| rock | churr | chir |
| ravine | bdirr | shung |
| river | $\sin$ | sin |
| water-course, canal | gyàp | yap |
| rain | charchü | mèg |
| smow | àru | hin (K. shin), dq\% (rain or snow) |
| avalanche | ... | hinal |
| ice | gañs (Tib.) | sòr |
| water | üa | wêi |
| jear | sar | barir |
| month | muñs | moñs (maxs K.) |
| day | dis | chag |
| spring (season) | bazun | bàzòno |
| summer | ulo | uwalo |
| autumn | shard | shàre |
| winter | yano | yòno |
| to-day | ash | ash |
| yesterday | ran |  |
| to-morrow | rutti |  |
| the day before yesterday | dodg-dis | - |
| night | rat | ràti |
| work | krüm | krum |
| bread | manili | tiki |
| village | bön |  |
| house | gòt | gàr |
| the town of Dras | Hembabs (lib.) | Hunmas |
| door | dàr | darr |
| bow | shà | dàhnu |
| arrow | qùn | qòn (K. Kdan) |
| iron | chingar | chimir |
| smell | ghun | gon |
| big | bono | bwàro |
| little | so | chuno (chun Tib.) |

Ringlish.
old
new
wet
dry
black
white
red
I
we
thou
ye
this (masc.)
this (fem.)
these ( m. )
that (m.)
that (f.)
those (m.)
those (f.)
who (relve.)
who?
what?
beyond
this side of towards there yonder with
thus
first (adv.)
there
there is
$\left.\begin{array}{c}\text { much } \\ \text { or } \\ \text { many }\end{array}\right\}_{f .}^{m .}$
very
I do
I did

| Dăk-Hanu. | Dràs. |
| :---: | :---: |
| ......... | puròno* |
| nō | nào |
| haridho | azo |
| shuko | shuko |
| kyono | kino |
| sno | Sho |
| lodo | làlo |
| moñ ( lenc $_{\text {miü }}$ ) | moñ ( Gen. mioñ, K. miòn) |
| bà or beng (obl. assü) | be (obl. asso, K. as) |
| tü | tu |
| tsi (obl-tsü) | tso (K. tse) |
| so (obl. té) (K. 80) | nu (obl. nisé) |
| sa | ni |
| te (obl. ten) | ni (obl. nino) |
| p'ho | ro (obl. sé) |
| pha | ré (obl. résé) |
| p'hé (obl. p'héün) | ré or però (obl. reno) |
| ......... | rà (obl. rano) |
| ......... | kési |
| ko | kói |
| y' | zok |
| beski | pàri |
| àzü | wàri |
| suri, lokhshyé | wari |
| pàri | pera |
| süma or tsi-süma | séi-nàlà |
| hang |  |
| yàr | meza |
| potsi |  |
| la, (pl. làn) or bet |  |
| ......... | lào |
| ......... | lai |
| ..... | là |
| chü or tü | t'hiòno (to do) |
| tet | t'has |

- Prononnced also prono and pran; as in Pran-Drds, a village near Dràs, called by Englishmen Pdndrds, and sometimes wrongly derived from Payin "low." The name given by Moorcroft for the Drds lucerne grass, vis. prangos, is perhaps merely pranlaish "old grass," i. e. "hay;" as lucerne forms the winter fodder of the cattle in the state of hay.

English.
strike
died
broke
hear
write
drink
eat
sleep (imp.)
sleep (subs.)
lick
weave
cultivate, plough
give
see
look
towards
downwards
upwards
lost
come (imp.)
came
rise
dig
I speak
one
two
three
four
five
$\operatorname{six}$
seven
eight
nine

## ten

eleven
twelve
thirteen
fourteen

Dàk-Hanv.
kuté
mū
pitit
qun-té (imp.)
zbri-té (imp.)
pi (imp.)
sò
nish
li
bo (imp.)
bahé (imp.)
dé
조
skyé
lokh-skyé
kà-skyé) $k 0=$ down. Astori)
huñ-skyé (hùnn $=$ above. Astori)
nut
yé
ùlla
öté
akū
razuñs
ek
dü
trà
chorr
puñsh
shà
sàt
art
nü
dàsh
kudish
budish
tröbish
chudish

Dràs.
kut仑 (Inf. kutiòno and diòno)
muñ (Inf. miriòno)
potau
paruzòno (Inf.)
likiòno (Inf.)
piòno (Inf.)
ké (imp.) (K. khe.)
sò, (Inf. sòno)
nîsh
widno (Inf.)
bàhn thiòno (Inf.)
dé (Inf. diòno)
pàshé
trakié

| English. | Dàh-Hanu. | Dràs. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| fifteen | pàndish | pazileñ |
| sisteeen | shöbish | shoñi (sho'i) |
| seventeen | satuñsh | satài |
| eighteen | artuñsh | artài |
| nineteen | künjà (? for ek-ünbizà 20-1 | kuni (? for ek-un-bi) (20-1)* |
| twenty | bizà | bi |
| twenty-one | biza-ek | bî-ek |
| thirty | bizé-dàsh ( $20+10$ ) | tri |
| forty | du-buzu ( $2 \times 20$ ) | dü-bio ( $2 \times 20$ ) |
| fifty | $\begin{aligned} & \text { du-buzu-dadsh }(2 \times 20 \\ & +10) \end{aligned}$ | dübio ga dài ( $2 \times 20+10$ ) |
| sisty | tra-buzu ( $3 \times 20$ ) | tre-bio ( $3 \times 20$ ) |
| seventy | tra-buzu-dàsh | tré-bio ga dài |
| eighty | chàr-buzu | chàr-bio |
| ninety | chàr-buzu-dàsh | chàr-bio ga dài |
| hundred | sho | shàl |

## On Representations of Foreigners in the Ajantá Frescoes.-By Rájendralála Mitra, LL. D., C.I.E. (With 4 plates.)

The Ajanta Pass first came to the notice of Europeans during the great battle of Asáyi, which broke down the Marhaţtá power ; but the caves near it were not visited by any Englishman until several years afterwards. According to Mr. Burgess, some officers of the Madras army were the first to visit them in 1819, and Col. Morgan of the Madras army wrote a short notice of them, which appeared in Mr. Erskine's ' Remains of the Buddhists in India.' Then followed Lieut. J. E. Alexander in 1824, and his account was published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1829. $\dagger$ Dr. Bird visited the place by order of Sir John Malcolm in 1828, at the same time when Capt. Grisley and Lieut. Ralp were at the place. The account of the former appeared in his "Researches into the Cave Temples of Western India," a meagre and faulty account, utterly untrustworthy for all historical purposes. The description of the latter appeared in this Journal. $\ddagger$ It is graphic and en-
*These seem to retain a trace ( $k$ for $e k$ ) of the deducted unit itself, which Sanskrit had lost (cf. unavinsati), but of which Pali seems to show the original presence, (ekinnavisati).
$\dagger$ Transactions Rl. As. Soc., I, p. 657.
$\ddagger$ Ante V .
thusiastic, but calculated more to rouse than to allay the curiosity of the reader. Mr. Burgess says, "A somewhat interesting and correct topographical account of them, was subsequently (1839) published in the "Bombay Courier', and republished in a pamphlet form, but I have not seen the brochure. Soon after, came out Mr. Fergusson's description in his Memoir on the "Rock-cut Temples of India," (1843) and laid the foundation of a critical study of these remarkable works of art. It drew to them the attention of the Court of Directors, and Capt. Gill was, six or seven years after, deputed to prepare facsimile drawings of the fresco paintings which adorn most of the caves. His report was published in 1855, but it was meagre, like the works of his predecessors, and subserved, like them, only to whet the desire for further information. Dr. Wilson's account, in his paper on the "Ancient Remains of Western India", published in 1850, in the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, is a mere resumé of what was then known, and Dr. John Muir's subsequent notice professes to give nothing more than a foretaste of what may be seen at the place. Dr. Bhau Dájí came to Ajantá in 1865, and took facsimiles of most of the inscriptions, some of which had been previously noticed by James Prinsep, and published translations of them in the Bombay Journal. $\dagger$ The translations are generally correct and of great value, but the general remarks on the nature of the caves and their ornaments are brief and not always satisfactory. The learned gentleman had the intention of writing a separate paper on the subject, but his untimely and lamented death prevented his carrying out the intention. Since his death several notices have appeared in the 'Indian Antiquary' which are highly interesting, but none of them is exhaustive.

When Major Gill's copies of these curious works of art were sent to Europe, it wasexpected that antiquarians in England would take them in hand, and submit to the public a full and comprehensive critical account of their character, and the subjects they pourtray. But the copies were destroyed by fire in the Sydenham Crystal Palace, and nothing came of them. In the meantime the originals suffered greatly from leakage in the caves and want of care, and it was apprehended that in a few years more they would be totally lost. A representation was accordingly made to Government to adopt some measures for their preservation. Thereupon a party of draftsmen, under the superintendence of Mr. Griffiths, Principal of the Art School at Bombay, was deputed in 1872-73 to prepare copies of all the printings which were still legible. The result was a "collection of excellent copies of four large wall-paintings covering 122 square feet of canvas, 160 panels of ceiling, aggregating about 280 square feet, 16 moulds from the sculp. tures, and several drawings." In reporting on these Mr. Griffiths says :
$\dagger$ Vol. VII.
"The artists who painted them, were giants in execution. Even on the vertical sides of the walls some of the lines which were drawn with one sweep of the brush struck me as being very wonderful ; but when I saw long delicate carves drawn without faltering with equal precision upon the horizontal surface of a ceiling, where the difficulty of execution is increased a thousand-fold, it appeared to me nothing less than miraculous. One of the students, when hoisted up on the scaffolding, tracing his first panel on the ceiling, naturally remarked that some of the work looked like a child's work; little thinking that what appeared to him up there as rough and meaningless, had been laid in by a cunning hand, so that when seen at its right distance, every touch fell into its proper place.
" The condition of mind in which these paintings at Ajanta were originated and executed must have been very similar to that which produced the early Italian paintings of the fourteenth century, as we find much that is in common. Little attention paid to the science of art, a general crowding of figures into a subject, regard being had more to the truthful rendering of a story than to a beautiful rendering of it; not that they discarded beauty, but they did not make it the primary motive of representation. There is a want of aerial perspective-the parts are delicately shaded, not forced by light and shade, giving the whole a look of flatness-a quality to be desired in mural decoration.
"Whoever were the authors of these paintings, they must have constantly mixed with the world. Scenes of every-day life, such as preparing food, carrying water, buying and selling, processions, hunting-scenes, ele-phant-fights, men and women engaged in singing, dancing, and playing on musical instruments, are most gracefully depicted upon these walls; and they could only have been done by men who were constant spectators of such scenes, by men of keen observation and retentive memories. * * * In every example that has come under my observation, the action of the hands is admirable and unmistakeable in conveying the particular expression the artist intended."*

Adverting to the second picture he says: "Parts of this picture are admirably executed. In addition to the natural grace and ease with which she is standing, the drawing of the woman holding a casket in one hand, and a jewel with a string of pearls hanging from it in the other, is most delicately and truly rendered. The same applies to the woman seated on the ground in the left hand corner. The upward gaze and sweet expression of the mouth are beautifully given. The left hand of the same woman...is drawn with great subtlety and tenderness." $\dagger$ "The third picture", he remarks, "contains eight figures and portions of three others, all of which are seated or standing upon large lotus flowers with nimbi round the heads. The

[^12]$\dagger$ Ibid., loc. cit.
action of some of the figures, especially the standing ones, bears such a very striking resemblance to what is characteristic of the figures in Christian art, that they might have been taken from some mediæval Church, rather than from the caves of Ajantâ. The delicate foliage which fills in the spaces between the figures will give some idea of the power of these old artists as designers, and also of their knowledge of the growth of plants."*

Referring to a picture in cave No. 16 he observes: "This picture, I consider, cannot be surpassed in the history of art. The Florentine could have put better drawing and the Venetian better colour, but neither could have thrown greater expression into it. The dying woman, with drooping head, half-closed eyes, and languid limbs, reclines on a bed the like of which may be found in any native house of the present day. She is tenderly supported by a female attendant, whilst another, with eager gaze, is looking into her face, and holding the sick woman's arms, as if in the act of feeling her pulse. The expression on her face is one of deep anxiety, as she seems to realize how soon life will be extinct in one she loves. Another female behind is in attendance with a pankâ, whilst two men on the left are looking on with the expression of profound grief depicted in their faces. Below are seated on the floor other relations, who appear to have given up all hope, and to have begun their days of mourning,-for one woman has buried her face in her hands, and, apparently, is weeping bitterly." $\dagger$

And he sums up the value of the whole by saying - " For the purposes of art-education, no better examples could be placed before an Indian art-student than those to be found in the caves of Ajantâ. Here we have art with life in it, human faces full of expression,- limbs drawn with grace and action, flowers which bloom, birds which soar, and beasts that spring, or fight, or patiently carry burdens : all are taken from Nature's book-growing after her pattern, and in this respect differing entirely from Muhammadan art, which is unreal, unnatural, and therefore incapable of development." $\dagger$

It is to be regretted, however, that as yet no attempt has been made to secure for the public a detailed, descriptive, critical and historical account of these relics. At one time a proposition was made to place the drawings at the disposal of Mr. Fergusson for the purpose ; but, I believe, it has since fallen through.

The Government of India has, however, in the meantime, caused photographic impressions to be taken of Mr. Griffiths' drawings, and copies thereof sent to Societies interested in Indian Archæology. Three batches of these photographs have, from time to time, been received by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and they fully bear out Mr. Griffiths' remarks regarding their value.

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* Loc. cit., p. 27. t Ibid., p. 27. 
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A large number of the photograph: represent architectural details and floral scrolls of much importance as illustrations of ancient art-designs in this country, and are well worthy of careful study. There are others representing scenes in the legendary life of Buddha, which are of considerable value in connexion with the antiquity of the legends which they illustrate. While a few depict scenes from private life, or state pageantry, which afford interesting details regarding the manners, customs, habits, social condition, and intercourse of forcigners with the people of Western India, two thousand years ago.

Messrs. Ralph and Grisley were the first to notice the existence of foreigners in these frescoes. In their animated and scenic correspondence, mention is repeatedly made of foreigners as distinct from the natives. In ono place they say : "Here is a lovely face, a Madonna face. What eyes! She looks towards the moon. Observe, these are Hindu faces-nothing foreign."* Elsewhere, " Observe that Abyssinian black prince seated on a bed-remark his ornaments. Now the woman seated on his left knee whom he embraces is as fair as you or I. Did these fellows get Georgian slaves?" Again : " Here are evidently three beauties in this apartment-one an African, one copper-coloured, one of a European complexion. Yos; and how frequently we see these intermixed. See this, R. is a fair man, a eunuch." Again, "How often we see people of three complexions in the same panel! Now this is the most extraordinary thing we have found. Here are three placid por-traits-they are Chinese. Nothing can be plainer;-observe the style of their hair ;-the women have locks brought down in ringlets over their faces, and falling on to the neck, like some of the Hampton Court beauties." The writers did not, however, attempt to define the character of theso foreigners, in any detail. It will not be uninteresting, therefore, to examine at length the peculiarities of a few of the figures shown in the photographs.

The first picture I have to notice is a court-scene on the south side of the cave No. I. In Messrs. Ralph and Grisley's paper it is thus described : " Here is a fair man of full age, dressed in a robe and cap, like some monk or abbot. Here is, next to him, a half-naked Brahman, oopper-coloured, with shaven crown, and the single lock on his head. Here is a man presenting him with a scroll on which something is acritten. He is in a crowded court,-he has come to an audience." In the original this picture measures $15^{\prime} \times 6^{\prime}-6^{\prime \prime}$. (Plate II.) It represents a large audience chamber with colonnaded side aisles, and a large portal in front. The room is carpeted with some stuff bearing sprigs on a black, or dark-coloured, ground. On the centre is a charpai or bedstead, which serves the purpose of a throne. It has four feet of the ordinary modern make, with a tape-woven top, such as is to be met with in every decently furnished house in northern India in the present day. Over it is a mattrass of striped cloth, and on the off side a large pillow or takiá, haring behind

[^13]
5. Sedgfield Iridh
(ANTA').

5. Sedgfield Lith

A PERSIAN EMEASSY TO AN INDIAN COURT (FROM AJANTÁ).
it an ornamented head-piece shaped like a corona. A king or chief is seated, squatting on this throne in the usual oriental style, dressed in a flowing dhuti or body-cloth, a chádar tied round the waist, and a tunic of some kind whose character is not apparent. He wears a rich heavy crown, bracelets and necklaces, one of the last being worn athwart the chest, very like a Bráhmaṇical cord. The face and parts of the arms and chest are destroyed or smudged over. In front of the throne there is a man seated, holding an ox-tail chauri, and having in front of him a curious ornament, shaped like a cornucopia. To the right there are four other persons seated on the ground, one of them having in front a tray placed on a tripod stand. The pose of the person is like that of a Bráhman engaged in worship. Behind and on the two sides of the throne, there are several persons,-officers of state, courtiers, body-guard, and menials,-standing in different attitudes, some dressed in dhuti only, others with tunics or made dresses, the character of which, owing to the smudgy condition of the picture, cannot be satisfactorily made out, except in one case in which a pair of close-fitting trousers and a chapkan are unmistakable. Some are armed with clubs, and one, near the entrance to the hall, upholds a standard. Their shaven chin, oriental head-dress, dark complexion, and characteristic features leave no doubt in my mind that they are all Indians. Among them there are four females, one standing behind the throne, and three seated on the carpet on the left side. In marked contrast to these are three persons standing in front of the king, and four others at a little distance. The foremost among them has a sugar-loaf-shaped hat with a black band, a large flowing gown of white stuff, a striped jacket, and a dagger held in a cloth girdle. The lower part of the gown or long coat is partially covered by the figure of the Bráhman engaged in worship, but from the portion which is visible, it is evident that it extended below the middle of the leg. Between the girdle and the lower edge of the jacket there is a waist-band buckled in front. Round his neck there is a necklace with a large locket. He is in the attitude of making a courtesy to the king, with his right hand passed under the jacket and placed on the left breast, and the left holding out a folded letter. The second person, dressed in the same style, but with a black jacket, is standing with folded hands in token of respect. His hat has no band. The third has a Persian belmet, with a crescent on top and a rosette on one side. He is bearing a tray full of presents of some kind. At a little distance from the last, just entering the hall, there is another person of the same nationality, bearing a tray, and outside the door there are two or three others who are evidently servants of the persons who have entered the hall, and belonging to the same nationality. The lower part of the gowns of these is not visible, but it must be the same as in the case
of the foremost figure. The coat of the man with a helmet is probably short.

The complexion of these persons, except the first, is markedly fair. Studying the group carefully the conclusion appears inevitable that it represents an embassy from a foreign country. The foremost person is the ambassador, who is presenting his credentials in open court to the Indian potentate. Behind him is his secretary, and then follow the bearers of the nazr or presents from the foreign court.

But whence is this embassy? and what is the nationality of the persons who compose it? We are aware of no Indian race or tribe which differed so materially and markedly in complexion, features, and dress from the natives of the country as represented in the court. From beyond India on the north and the east, there was no nation which, two thousand years ago, could have presented such a group. We must look to the North-West, therefore, for the birth-place of the ambassador and his suite. Now on that side we had the Afghans, the Bactrians, the Scythians, and the Persians. But the Afghans never had the peculiar sugar-loaf hat, nor the flowing gown, nor the crescented helmet. Their features too, were, as shall be presently shown, coarser and rude. The Bactrian and the Scythian dresses, to judge from numismatic evidence-the only evidence available in the case,-were also different. The coat was short, the trousers tight-fitting, and the head-gear very unlike a sugar-loaf hat. The Persian dress, however, as we now have it, is the exact counterpart of what appears in the picture. The hat, the gown and the jacket are identically the same.

The helmet appears repeatedly in the sculptures of Khorsábád and Nineveh, and the features and the beard are in no way different. We may, therefore, safely conclude that the picture represents a group of Persians, either merchants, or an embassy from Persia to an Indian court, probably the latter, as the letter in the hand of the foremost person would be redundant in a merchant. I am not aware of any mention of such an embassy in Buddhist religious history ; but I have read but a small portion of Buddhist literature, and as it is abundantly evident that the frescoes of Ajantá were not confined to representations of religious history, it is not necessary to hunt up any relationship with it of Buddhist legends. Nor is it material to know whether the representation is historical or an ideal one. In either case it shows that the Indians of old had free intercourse with the Persians, and were thoroughly familiar with their features and dress. Literary evidence on this subject may be had in abundance in Sauskrit literature, but it is not necessary to adduce it here.

The second scene I have to describe is a domestic one, and three editions of it occur in the collection of photographs before me. There is no indication, however, to show whence they have been taken. The scales attached


FIG:1 BACTRIAN


A BACTRIAN DOMESTIC SCENE FROM AJANTÁ.



FIG:1 BACTRIAN
show them to be of large size, about $30 \times 28 \mathrm{ft}$. In its simplest version (Plate III) it represents a divan placed in front of a cloth screen, and covered with cushions and a check pattern coverlet; and on it are seated a big, stout, burly-looking man and a lady by his side. The man is seated cross-legged, and is in an amatory mood, perhaps somewhat befuddled with wine. His face is heavy and square, and he has both a beard and a moustache. He wears long hair covered by a thick conical cap with a turban, or a fur band around it like the Qilpáq cap of the Central Asiatic races of the present day. On his body is a coat or tunic reaching to the knee and trimmed with, what appears to me, patch-work decorations; knee-breeches and striped stockings complete his dress. He holds a cup in his left hand, and before him, on the ground, in front of the divan, there is a covered tray. The lady beside him has a gown reaching to the knee, a shell-jacket, (both set off with patchwork trimmings,) and a pair of striped stockings. She has a skull cap on her head, and earrings. Her right hand is lifted as in the act of telling something interesting to her lord. To the right of the man, in front of the divan, there stands a maid, arrayed in a long flowing gown which leaves only the tips of her shoes visible, and holding a flagon, shaped like a soda-water bottle with a long narrow neck, ready to replenish the cup of her lord. Behind the mistress there is a second maid with a wide-mouthed covered jar in her hand.

In the second version the man holds the cup in his right hand, and a stick or straight sword in his left. He has also an elaborately-worked belt, and the trimmings of the coats and gowns are of different patterns. The lady leans on the shoulder of her lord by her right hand, and by her attitude expresses great solicitude to please him. There is also a third maid, squatting in front, and ready to serve out edibles from the covered tray beside her.

The third version is even more developed. (Plate IV). The screen behind the divan is set off with floral designs. The coat of the hero and the gown of his lady, and also that of her maid, are set off with triangular striped streamers flying from the back. The features of the lady are vivid with life, and the expression. of endearment on her face is truly admirable. The second maid holds a suráhí or goglet instead of a jar. The lady has, instead of a cap, a fillet round her head with an aigrette in front, and the maids similar fillets, but without the jewel. The third maid is replaced by two bearded, thick-lipped Negro-looking servants who are serving out dishes from the covered tray. The stockings in the last two versions are white. In two small panels the male figure is reproduced in company with another male,-two jovial companions, engaged in pledging their faith to each other over a cup of liquor. (See Plate V, fig. 1). The striped stockings are distinctly seen in these, as also a pair of check-pattern trousers, not striped.

There are more than five hundred representations of Indian men and women in the photographs, but they appear totally unlike the human figures shown in these plates, and, bearing in mind the fact that the artists of these frescoes were most faithful in delineating the peculiarities of their subjects, it is impossible to deny that they took their models for these from other than Indians. It is difficult, however, to determine what nationality they had in view. The features, the cap and the turban of the principal figure, are the exact counterparts of what may be every day seen in the Kabulese fruitsellers in the streets of Calcutta; but the coat is different. I have never seen an Afghan woman in her native dress, but the gown and the jacket of the female figures appear very like those of Jewesses. The patch-work trimmings are peculiar to them, and the best specimens of the kind of work I have seen are of Jewish make. The Afghans, however, are in no way inferior in this art: they bring to Calcutta every year a number of rugs and other articles of patch-work, which are remarkably beautiful. Knowing how such domestic arts as needle-work and patch-work are perpetuated for generations, and looking at the complexion, the cap and the turban, I was first disposed to believe that the figures on these plates represented Afghans, the thicklipped servants being Negroes.

In the Zodiac Cave (No. XVI) Dr. Bhau Dáji found an inscription which once " contained the names of seven or eight kings of the Vákátaka dynasty, but only that of Vindhyasakti, the oldest and most eminent, was preserved intact." "By a strange fatality," says the writer, "the inscription has been obliterated wherever a royal name existed, so that one is tempted to suppose that the destruction was intentional. But," he adds, " the destructive influence of the rainy weather is sufficient to account for the gaps."* The name of this Vindhyaṣakti's country is mentioned in the Seoni copperplate ; but the chief himself is not named there. Dr. Bhau Dáji identifies this Vindhyasakti with a chief of the Kailakila Yavanas who, according to the Vishṇu Purána, once ruled in India. Having advanced thus far, he takes Kailikila to be identical with an ancient city and citadel named Ghúlghúleh near Bámián, mentioned by Mr. Masson in his paper on the Antiquities of Bamian (ante, v. 708), and Vákátaka with Bactria, thereby suggesting, though not positively asserting, that the Bactrian Greeks were the authors of the Ajantá caves. If this reasoning be admitted, the figures we have shown would be those of Bactrian Greeks. But there are various difficulties to overcome before we can accept the identification. The name Vindhyasakti is too thorough a Sanskrit word to be the name of a Bactrian Greek, and there is nothing to connect him with the princes of the Seoni plate, except the word Vákátaka, which, as given in the Seoni plate, is

[^14]unmistakably the name of an Indian, and not of a trans-Indian locality, particularly Bactrian, for which the usual and very extensively-employed term is Válhika. In the Puránas these Válhikas are said to have reigned after Vindhyasakti. Denying, however, the accuracy of the identification of Vákátaka with Bactria and of Vindhyasakti having been a Bactrian, it might still be said that the figures under notice are Bactrians. In some Kenerki coins the cap is conical, and surrounded by a turban or a band of fur like the Qilpáq cap ; the cut of the coat is of the same style, and the close-fitting trousers and stockings are, as far as can be made out in coins, the same. The coarse square face of the Mongolian type is particularly remarkable, and, as the Bactrians exercised supremacy for some time in India from a little before the commencement of the Christian era, to nearly a century after it, it would be much more reasonable to suppose the representations to be of Bactrians, rather than those of Afghans, who attained to no political distinction at the time, and were to some extent included among the Hindus.

The stockings of the peculiar pattern which has hitherto been thought to be the outcome of modern European art, are remarkable: I have noticed them nowhere else in Indian paintings or sculpture. The Hindus seem to have borrowed the stockings from their neighbours; for in a panel in Cave No. I, there is a representation of an Indian bacchanalian scene, unmistakable from the features and dress, in which they have been reproduced on the legs of a man and his lady-love. Before the importation of stockings from Europe, the Indians got their supplies from Káshmír. I do not, however, know when knitted stockings were first introduced into that country. To England they first came in the reign of Henry VIII, and it is extremely doubtful if they were of much more ancient date in Káshmír. And after all what I take to be stockings might be sewed hose of cloth or milled stuff of some kind.

The indulgence in spirituous drinks was common all over India, Bactria and Persia in ancient times, and the evidence of it in the frescoes does not call for any notice.* That the cup and the flagon indicate something more potent than sherbet, I believe, none will question.

The curtains behind the divan suggest the idea that the sites of the Bactrian domestic scenes were tents, and that the people shown had not become settled inhabitants of the country. But the evidence in this respect is too meagre to attach any importance to such an idea.

Looking to the made-dresses of the Persians and the Bactrians, it might be supposed that the Indians got theirs from those sources; but, as I have shown in my " Antiquities of Orissa," such was not the case, at least when the Ajantá frescoes were painted. In the Indian bacchanalian scene above noticed, the dresses of the Indian man and woman are quite different, and

- Vide passim my paper on 'Spirituous Drinks in Ancient India,' ante, XLII, pp. 1 ff.
by no means such as to justify the assumption that they had been designed from foreign models. In the very affecting picture of the death of a lady of rank in Cave No. XVI, the bodices shown on some of the maid-servants engaged in grinding corn in hand-mills, are quite unlike the jackets of the Bactrian women.

In an Indian scene in Cave No. I, where a large number of sable beauties are exhibited, there is a figure seated cross-legged, whose dark features, punchy belly and style of sitting, leave no doubt in my mind of his nationality; and he is dressed in a dhuti which leaves a part of his thigh exposed, and a mirzaí of flowered muslin which is thoroughly Indian, and the like of it has nowhere been seen out of India. (See plate V, fig. 2.) The mírzái is in use by the Hindus to this day all over northern India, and its make seems not to have changed in the least since the time of the fresco.

It is not my intention to enter into a discussion here as to the date of the Ajant́́ Caves. The late Dr. Wilson of Bombay took them to extend from the third or second century before, to the fifth or sixth century after, Christ.* Mr. Burgess, after a careful study of the Caves, states "that the oldest of them cannot be later than the second century before the Christian era." Long before him Mr. Fergusson came to the same conclusion in his ' Rock-cut Caves of India,' and in his 'History of Eastern Architecture' remarked that Cave No. XII, "the façade of which so much resembles that of the Násik Chaitya (B. C. 129), cannot be far off in date" (p. 122). The latest are supposed to be of the 5th or 6th century. Accepting this opinion for my guide, and there is not much to show that it is untenable, and bearing in mind that Cave No. $I$ is one of the largest and richest in paintings which long preceded sculpture, I may fairly come to the conclusion that the scenes I have described above represent phases of Indian life from eighteen hundred to two thousand years ago.

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Photorineogruphid at the Surteyor Gencerais Office Calcutta

# $\triangle$ Capper-plate Grant from Bandá.-By RÁjendralíin Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E. 

(With a plate.)
The Society is indebted to Mr. A. Cadell, Asst. Magistrate, Bandá, in the N. W. Provinces, for the sight of a Copper-plate found in Parganah Augási of the Bandé district. The plate measures 164 inches by $10 \frac{1}{2}$, and is in an excellent state of preservation. (See plate VI.) It is a hammered one; very rough on the outer face, but moderately amooth on the inscribed side. Round its edges slips of metal have been very roughly and clumsily rivetted on to form a raised rim for the purpose of preventing the inscription from being easily rubbed off. At the middle of the lower edge, close by the rim, is a round hole, half an inch in diameter. It was intended for a ring which bore the seal of the donor, and perhaps also held together two plates, ane of which is missing. If a second plata did once exist, it was intended only as a caver for the first and bore no inscription, for the latter contains the whole of a deed of conveyance, with a colophon giving the name of the writer and engraver of the record, and. hitherto no document of the kind has been found which contains any thing after the name of the engraver. The record is inscribed longitudinally, and comprises nineteen lines, the first four of which have a break in the middle, caused by an outline figure of the goddess Rajalakshmí with two elephants standing on expanded lotuses, and pouring water on her head. The writing is of the Kuţila type, but slender in body, and verging to the modern Nágari character. It records the grant of 'ten ploughs' of land in the village of Ramuraḍá, which is situated in the circle of Sudáli, to a Bráhmaṇa named Gabhanta S'arman, the son of Játa, the grandson of Sátti, and great-grandson of Vapana, a member of the Vajasaneyi school of the Bharadvaja gotra, having the threefold Pravara of Bharadvaja, Ángirasa, Várhaspatya, and an inhabitant of the village of Dhakari. The boundary of the plot is given in detail, and the date of the gift was Monday, the 5th of the waxing moon in the month of Mágha, Samvat $1190=$ A. C. 1135.

The donor was Madanavarma Deva, a devout follower of S'iva. His immediate predecessor was Prithvívarma Deva, who had succeeded Kirti. varma Deva.

The first monument of this line of princes was brought to the notice of the Society by Lieutenant William Price, in 1813. It was a large inscribed stone found on a rocky hill in the vicinity of the town of Mau, about ten miles from Chhattarpur. The record was in a bad state of preservation, and the transcript and translation of it published in the 'Asiatic Researches'*

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\text { - Vol. XII, pp. } 359 \text { et } 2 e q .
$$

are full of lacunæ. It comprises the history of nine princes with the names of their ministers.

The second record was found by Capt. T. S. Burt in 1838. It too was an inscribed slab, which had been detached from one of several temples at Khajráha, nine kos from Chhattarpur, which is on the high road from Saiyar and Hamírpur, close by the fortified town of Rajgarh, on the right bank of the Kám river, S. W from Chhattarpur. It gives the names of six predecessors of Dhánga.*

The third was communicated to me by Major-General Cunningham, who found it at Khajráha. $\dagger$ It was a short record of 13 lines, but it was of value in settling the date of the dynasty on a sure footing. In commenting upon it I pointed out the relation it bore to the two preceding monuments, and the results deducible from a reading of the three inscriptions together. The conclusion I then arrived at regarding the date of Madanavarma, the last prince of the line, was, that he must have lived about the middle of the twelfth century. The exact date given by the copper-plate now under notice is Samvat $1190=$ A. D. 1135 . The name of the immediate predecessor of Prithvivarma, the father of Madana, in Lientenant Price's inscription, is Sallakshanavarma; but this appears to be an alias or title, the real name being Kirtivarma in the copper-plate. Putting the names found in the four inscriptions together with such corrections as the several records have helped me to make, I arrive at the following genealogy. Altogether we have sixteen names. Of these, documentary evidence exists for the dates of three ; the 7th king, Dhánga, being assigned by two records to Samvat 1011 and 1019 respectively; the 13th by one to Samvat 1173 ; and the 16th by another to 1190. For the rest we have to depend upon averages. For reasons assigned in my paper on the Khajráha inscriptions, the earlier reigns may be taken to have been long, but some of the later must have been very short. Dhánga is said to have lived 109 summers, and then to have resigned his life at the confluence of the Yamuná and the Ganges, and this led Mr. Sutherland and those who wrote after him to suppose that the prince had committed suicide. Such is, however, not the inevitable meaning of the passage. To this day the ordinary civil way of announcing a death is to say, so-and-so has surrendered his life to the holy river so-and-so or the sacred pool (Kshetra) so-and-so, and the inscription has probably adopted the same mode of expression.

> 1. Nannuka, of the Chandrártreya race A. D., ...... 746
> II. Vágyati or Vákpati, son of I, ......................... 771
> III. Víyaya, son of II, ............................................. 898
> IV. Váhila or Ráhila, son of III,................ ............ 823
V. Sriharsha, son of IV, ..... 873
VI. Yasodharma, son of V, by Kankuṭá, ..... 900
VII. Dhánga, $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { son of VI, by Narmadevi, Minister } \\ \text { —Prabhása, }\end{array}\right\} \quad 900$ ..... 962
VIII. Gaṇ̣a Deva, Minister-Prabháģa, ..... 988
IX. Vidyádhara Deva, Minister-Sivanáma, son of last, ..... 983 ..... 1103
X. Viyayẏapála, Minister-Mahipála, son of last, ... 1108 ..... 1023
XI. Kirtivarma Deva, Minister-Ananta, ..... 1024 ..... 1045
XII. Varma Deva, Minister-Yogeśvara, son of last, ..... 1045 ..... 1065
XIII. Jayavarma Deva, Minister-ditto, ..... 1120
XIV. Kirtivarma Deva alias Sallakshana, Minister- Vatsa and other sons of Ananta, 1120 ..... 1130
XV. Prithvivarma Deva, ditto ..... 1120 ..... 1130
XVI. Madanavarma Deva, Minister-Gadádhara, ..... 1130 ..... 1150

The annexed translation of the record has been prepared for me by my young friend Bábu Durgárama Basu, Ploader, High Court of Calcutta.

## Translation of an inseription from Parganah Augási, Bandá.

## May this be auspicious!

The dynasty of the kings of the lunar race, glorious as the moon on the forehead of the god of the universe, (Viśveśvara) gladdening the universe, prospers. In that noble and flourishing dynasty, rendered resplendent by heroes like Jayaśakti and Vijayasakti, the king of Kálanjara, the fortunate Madanavarma Deva, the highly revered, the great king over great kings, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Siva, successor of the highly revered, the great king over great kings, the supreme lord, the fortunate Prithvivarma Deva, who was the successor of the highly revered, the great king over great kings, the supreme lord, the fortunate Kirtivarma Deva, reigns supreme. He, having subdued his enemies by his irresistible majesty, untroubled holds the earth like a married wife, and thereby keeps his intellect unclouded, and his conscience unsullied. He commands all his relatives, Káyasthas, and other great men inhabiting the village of Rémuraḍ́ within the district of Sudáli :-"Be it known unto you that, on Monday, on the day of the full moon, in the month of Mágha, of the Samvat year eleven hundred and ninety (in figures 15th Sudi, Magb, Samvat 1190) I have, after having duly bathed in holy water, after offering oblations to the gods, having worshipped the sun and the lord of Bhavání (Siva) and after offering oblations to the fire, for the promotion of virtue of my parents and of myself, with water held in my hand and consecrated with kusa grass, and having pronounced the word Svasti (let this be auspicious), bestowed, for the period of the duration of the sun and the moon, on the Brahmana Gabhanta Sarmá, son of Játa, grandson of Sátti, great-grandson of Bapan, of the Vájasaneya branch (Śákhá) of the Bharadvája gotra having Bharadvája, Án.
girasa and Varhaspatya for his threefold Prabara, an inhabitant of the village of Dhakari, making the gift descendable to his sons, grandsons and successive descendants, ten ploughs of land (in figures 10 ploughs) in the above named village, the said land requiring seven and a half dronas of seed for cultivation, and bounded on the east by the boundary post of the village of Ranamusra, on the south by the post of the village of Ramasaida, on the west by the tope of Madhuka trees, and on the north by the post of the village of Bijaulis the sacred lands thus bounded with fields of jádya* and lands and water comprised therein, and with right to make all present, past, and future collections from debtors. Knowing this, you should render unto him, in compliance with my orders, shares, usufructs and all other dues. No one must make any opposition to his enjoying these lands with all duties and all Asavas, sugarcanes, cotton, saffron, flax, mango, Madhuka (mowá) and other trees, as well as salt mines, and with all other things within the boundary, whether above or below the soil, and whether he enjoys the lands by himself cultivating them, or getting them cultivated by others, and whether he makes a gift of, or mortgages, or sells, them. This grant is irrevocable and interminable, and it should be so preserved by future sovereigns. Thus.has it been said: 'This earth has been enjoyed by many kings including Sagara and others. To whomsoever belongs the earth for the time being, to him is due the fruit (of such gifts).' Written by Súdha, the clerk of the edict department, and inscribed by the well-connected Jalpana."

Transcript of an inscription from Parganah Augảsi, Bandá.
१। सर्ति। जयत्याङदयन्विम्बं विम्बेग्वरशिरेशृतः। चन्द्रान्वयनरेन्दायां वंशस्खन्द्र इबेाज्ज्वसः तन्न पव-
 परमभट्टारकमछारा-
₹। जाधिराजपरमेग्वर प्रीकीर्तिंव ग्म्मे वपादानुध्यात पर मभट्टार कम हाराजाधि-राजपरमेग्वरम्रीप्ट-
 रवालाझ्दरापषि-
 रिपकाष कुषबघूमिव बठन्वरां निराकुषां प-

- Probably Joari, Serghaim joar.
$\dagger$ विंशोfि in the original.
$\ddagger$ त्रीपत्मद्य in the original. The $q$ is obviously an incorrect writing for a and the च $\quad$ त should be vocalised.
(। रिपालयद्वविकर्लवियेकनिर्म्मलीक्धतमतिः ॥ सूडलिविषयान्तःपातिरमूरड़ायामेपगतान् कुटव्विकायस्यम६क्तरा-
०। दीन् सर्ब्वान् समाश्रापयति कहतु वः संविटिसं यथेपरि लिखितेडस्मिन् प्रामे हलदशार्येपि दल $\zeta^{\circ}$ मत्क्कभूमिर्यच, वाउमेकेर-
 उस्यां दिश्शि कमाश्यै दाग्रादखनु। पष्थिमायां दिश्यि मधुका-
e। बच्चवस्मीक्रा। उत्तरे विजौसीग्रामटख्डकुं एवं चतुराघाटविगुड्धा भूमिः जड़िबान्देने स सछ सजबस्यष्या सस्यावरज ${ }^{-1}$
१०। मा साधमर्बमूतभविष्यद्रर्तमाननिःशेषादायसहिता चास्माभिभैैैसखामिसमीपावासे बवत्यधिकशतनेकोपेतस-
121 हשतमे संवत्सरे माधे मासि शुस्रापच्चे पूर्थिमायां सेामवारे बझतोपि संवत् १२ $\varepsilon^{\circ}$ माघहुदि $\sum^{2}$ सेसे ॥ पुख्योदकेन विधिव-
२२। त् स्यात्वा देवादोग् सन्तर्प्य भासारं भवागीपतिं चार्पर्घ जतनुजि जत्वा मातापिघेरारात्मनस्ख पु एयाय ढकारीग्रामविनिर्गंताय वाज-
१₹। सनेयकाखिने भरद्धाजगोचाय। भरद्धाज। बाशिरस। वार्छस्पत्य। हैप्रवराय। वापनप्रपौत्राय। साभियौनाय। जाटपुच्चय।
 समकाबं पुन्रपौन्राद्यन्वयानुगामिस्वेन सम-
 मस्से ससुपने तबं तदेवाजुस्य भ्षमिं सनिगंमपप्रच-
 नामपरैरपि सीमान्तर्गतैवैंसुभिः सहितं
२७। सवाध्घाभ्यन्तरासायां भुन्मानखय कर्षतः कर्षयतेत दानाधमनविक्रयं वा कुर्ब्वतो न केनचित् काचिद्धाधा कर्षव्या उत चास्मक्षा-
 बडभिर्वसुधा भुत्ता रार्जभिः सगरादिभिः।
१ع। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा पां। ॥ लिखितथ धर्म्मलेखिना श्रोस्रूढेन उलीर्थंब विश्रातिकजल्पनेनेति।:

Recent Trans-Frontier Explorations, communicated by Col. J. T. Waleker, C. B., R. E., Surveyor-General of India.
(With a Map.)
During the year 1876, the Mulla, one of the explorers attached to the Great Trigonometrical Survey, made a survey up the course of the Indus from the point where it enters the plains above Atak, to the point where it is joined by the river of Gilghit. All other portions of the course of the Indus-from the table-lands of Tibet, where it takes its rise, down to its junction with the ocean-have long since been surveyed; but up tothe present time this portion has remained unexplored, and has been shown on our maps by a dotted line, the usual symbol for geographical vagueness and uncertainty. Here the great river traverses a distance of some 220 miles, descending from a height of about 5,000 feet to that of 1,200 feet above the level of the sea. Its way winds tortuously through great mountain ranges, whose peaks are rarely less than 15,000 feet in height and culminate in the NangaParbat, the well-known mountain whose height, 26,620 feet, is only exceeded by a very few of the great peaks of the Himalayas. The river in many places is hemmed in so closely by these great ranges, that its valley is but a deep-cut, narrow gorge, and, as a rule, there is more of open space and culturable land in the lateral valleys, nestling between the spurs of the surrounding ranges, than in the principal valley itself.

The positions and heights of all the most commanding peaks in this region had been long fixed by Captain Carter's observations at trigonometrical stations on the British Frontier line ; but no European has ever yet penetrated into it.* Very difficult of access from all quarters, it is inhabited by a number of hill tribes, each independent and suspicious of the other, who are in a great measure separated and protected from each other by natural barriers and fastnesses. As a whole, the region has never been brought into subjection by any of the surrounding powers. Each community elects its own ruler, and has little intercourse with its neighbours; and with the outer world it only communicates through the medium of a few individuals who have the privilege of travelling over the country as traders. The Mullá posesesses this privilege, and thus in the double capacity of trader and explorer, he traversed along the Indus, and through some of the lateral valleys, leaving the others for exploration hereafter.

[^16]


This work done, he proceeded, in accordance with his instructions, to Yásin, marching through the Gilghit Valley, but not surveying it, because the labours of the lamented Hayward, who was murdered at Yásín, already furnished us with a good map of that region. From Yásín he surveyed the southern route to Mastuj through the Ghizar and Sar Laspur Valleys; this has furnished an important rectification of a route which had hitherto been laid down from conjecture only, and very erroneously; for the road, instead of proceeding in a tolerably straight direction from Yásín to Mastuj, as was supposed, turns suddenly from south-west to north-north-east at Sar Laspur, which is situated at some distance to the south of the direct line, in a valley lying parallel to the valley of Chitral. At Mastuj the Mulla struck on to his survey of the route from Jalálábád, via Dir and Chitrál, to Sarhadd-i-Wakhán, in 1873, and then proceeded along that route towards the Baroghil Pass, as far as the junction of the Gazan with the Yarkun River, and then along the northern road from Mastuj to Yásín. This road turns up the Gazan Valley, crosses the Tui ar Moshabar Pass-which is conjectured to be probably not less than 16,000 feet in height-and, after traversing a deep crevassed glacier for a distance of about eight miles, reaches the point where the Tui River issues in great volume from the glacier; the road then follows the course of the river down to its junction with the Warchagam River, a few miles above Yásin.

Returning to Sar Laspur, the Mulla next surveyed the route to the south-west, up the valley leading to the Tal Pass. This pass is situated on a plateau of the range which connects the mountains on the western boundary of the valley of the Indus with those on the eastern boundary of the valley of Chitral, and is generally known by the people of the country as the Kohistán. The sources and most of the principal affluents of the Swát and the Panjkorá rivers take their rise in this region, all the most commanding peaks of which were fixed by Captain Carter's triangulation; but of the general lie of the valleys relatively to the peaks, nothing at all definite has been known hitherto. The Mullá has done much to elucidate the geography of this region. On crossing the Tal plateau he descended into the Panjkorá Valley, and traversed its entire length down to Dodbah, at the junction of the Dir river with the Paujkora, where he again struck on his route survey of 1873.

It would have been well if he could then have gone done the Panjkorá to its junction with the Swát River, but circumstances prevented him from doing so. He therefore travelled along the Havildar's route of 1868 as far as Miánkálai, and then surveyed the road to Nawágai and on to Pashat in the valley of Kunar; and finally, returning to Nawágai, he surveyed the road from there down to the British fort of Abazai.

Thus the explorations of the Mullá have added much to our knowledge of the geography of the interesting regions lying beyond our northern Trans-Indus Frontier. A good deal, however, still remains to be done before our knowledge of these regions is as full and complete as it should be, and every effort will be made to carry out further explorations as soon as possible.

The accompanying sketch map has been constructed to illustrate the Mulla's operations; it also shows the localities where more information is wanted. In the north-east corner the results of a recent reconnaissance of portions of the Karambar and the Nagar Valleys by Captain Biddulph are given, but somewhat modified from his map of the country.

Notes on two ancient copper-plate Insoriptions found in the Hamirpur District, N. W. P.-By V. A. Smith, B.A., B.C.S. With a Note by Pránnáth Panpit, M.A., B.L.
In 1872, a peasant when ploughing in the lands of Mauza Nanyaur\&, Parganah Panwárí, Zila Hamírpúr, turned up two inscribed copper-plates. The plates were brought to Mr. W. Martin, C. S., who is now on furlough, and were left by him in the hands of a local pandit (Muralidhar) who was in his service. With the assistance of this man, I have had Nágarí transscripts prepared, and have made translations of the inscriptions.

Plate No. I is 15 inches long by 11 inches broad, and is covered with an inscription of 19 lines, very well engraved and in good order. This record is interesting as throwing light on the chronology and order of succession of the Chandel kings. It tells us that Vidyádhara Deva was succeeded by Vijaya Pála Deva, and that the latter was succeeded by Deva Varmma Deva, lord of Kálinjar, who in 1107, Samvat, bestowed the lands to which the record relates. The statement that Vijaya Pála Deva succeeded Vidyádhara Deva is in accordance with the testimony of the Chhattarpur Mhau inscription, but that document gives Kírttí Varmma as the name of Vijaya Pála's son and successor, whereas my copper-plate instead of Kírtí Varmma names Deva Varmma Deva. Both inscriptions apparently refer to the same prince.

General Cunningham conjecturally assigns 1122 Samvat (1065 A. D.) as the date of the conclusion of Vijaya Pala's reign and the accession of Kirttí Varmma. Whatever was the name of Vijaya Pála's successor, it is clear from this copper-plate inscription that he had begun his reign previous to 1107 , Samvat ( 1050 A. D.).

Plate No. II is 14 inches long by 8 inches broad, and has the edges turned up all round, so as to form a raised rim. The inscription is in 14 lines, and the letters have evidently been made with a punch, because their outlines are visible on the back of the plate. The writing is more crowded, and the characters more difficult to read than those in Plate No. I, but with the exception of one or two epithets which are unimportant to the general sense, I think my readings and translation are pretty complete and correct. I have not been able to make a facsimile. Like No. I, the document is a deed of gift of lands to a Bráhmaṇ. The donor is Rája Dhanga, and in accordance with the Khajuráho inscription, it is recorded that he was the son of Yaso Varmma, who was the son of Harsha Deva. The date 1055 Samvat (998 A. D.) is written both in words and figures. The Khajuraho inscription which records Dhanga's self-sacrifice in the sacred waters of Prayág is dated 1056 Samvat; this copper-plate shows that he was still living in 1055 Samvat.

This record, therefore, adds but little to our knowledge of Chandel chronology, but it is of value as corroborating the evidence of the Khajuráho inscription, respecting the order of succession of the lings.

It is noticeable that the recipient of the grant recorded in this copperplate is Rudra Srí Yaśodhara, a member of the Bháradwája got, which traced its descent from Angiras, Bháradwája and Várhaspatya: probably he was the same person as the Prime Minister Yasodhara, mentioned in the Khajuráho record. The donee whose name is recorded in Plate No. I, belonged to the same family, and this is perhaps the reason why both inscriptions were found together.

I have not had an opportunity of visiting Mauza' Nanyaurá, but I am informed that an ancient Gaharwar tank exists there, and that there are also the remains of an old village site.

The present village is said to have been founded by one Noní Sáh Kurmi, and to be named after him.

Noto.-Dhanga's name has been sometimes incorrectly written Banga, the mistake is evidently due to the similarity of the characters for $b \mathbf{~} \overline{\mathrm{a}}$ and for dh 区in Kutila writing.

## No. 1. Nanyaurá Copper-Plate.

Nágarí Transoript.























 बरताष्नाः। भूमिदानख्य चिप्हाि पष्षं सर्ग: पुरज्दर ॥ (22) सदणां परदणा का यो

 बीमझे वबक्मऐे ब:।

## Translation.

Om Svasti. The supreme master, Maharaja Adhirdja, the supreme lord Sri Vidyadhara Deva, whose feet were adored by the supreme master Mahárája Adhirája, supreme lord, Sri Vijaya Pála Deva, whose feet were adored by the supreme master, Maháraja Adhirája, supreme lord, the devoat follower of Mahesvara, the lord of Kálinjara, Sri Deva Varmma Deoa may he prosper! The fire of his (Deva Varmma's) prowess devours the extremities of space; and he is the preceptor in the rite of giving widowhood to the wives of foemen slain in the arena of battle. Who by truthfulness conquers Fudhisthira; by munificence, the lord of Champd i. e., Rarna; by depth, the great ocean ; by sovereignty, the god beloved
of Sacki, i. eo, Indra; by beauty too, over Manobhava; by eloquence, over Sukrea with Vachaspati; what is the use of recounting his other qualities, white as the clear splendour of the moon? Wise, religious, valiant, truthful, subduer of his passions, grateful, the producer of the gladness of good men and of auspicious appearance. Thus his body (is) adorned with many qualities. Reckoning this world to be insubstantial (worthless), yet beautiful to look upon as the pith of a plantain tree; on Monday the third date of the black fort-night of the month of Baisálcha, Samvat 1107 — - — - -- - (25) in Rájapurávastá, informs the principal inhabitants, of whom Bráhmaṇs are the foremost, of the village Kathadaus attached to Ranamaulla, and all Royal officers. On the anniversary of the death of my mother, Sri Bhwvana Devi, Queen, having bathed in water according to sacred precept, having satiated the Manes of ancestors with kwoa, sesamum and water, after satisfying gods and men, having presented an Arghya to the Sun, having duly worshipped the god, the lord of Bhavani, i. e., Shiva, and having presented oblations in the fire, according to usage; For the increase of the virtue and fame of my parents and myself, to the Brahmana Abhimanyw, son of Bhatta Ellá, grandson of Jayavara, originally an inhabitant of Takarí Bhatta Gráma; a member of the Bháradhodja gotra and the triple pravara of Angirasa, Brihaspati and Bháradvája, skilled in the Vedas and Vedángas, engaged in the six acts proper for a Bráhman, and of excellent disposition-to him this village has been granted by us with its land and water, its mango and mahua trees, with its hollows, waste and stones, its rocks and tillage (?)-with its mines of metal and salt, with its forest and concealed treasure, with its clear defined boundary, with all grass, watering-places (?) and pastures for kine within its limits, excluding aught previously given to the gods or Bráhmans, as a Sásana. Therefore, by you all complying with the orders (herein convejed) all the rents in kind, tares, gold payments, fines, hereditary rights and the rest should be made over to this person. Till the moon, sun and earth endure, he with his son, grandson and descendants should enjoy (the grant) or assign it, or give away to another, till it or cause it to be tilled, none who enjoy the kingdom after me, should prove an obstacle in the way. By many kings, Sagara and others, the earth has been enjoyed. Whosesoever has been the land, his has been the fruit. He who accepts lands and he who grants lands, both these doers of virtuous deeds certainly go to Heaven. A Conch, a throne, an umbrella, fine horses and fine elephants, these mark the grant of lands; and the result is Heaven, $O$ Indra! He who resumes land, whether given by himself or given by others, becomes a worm in filth and falls with his ancestors. By stealing a single suverna, a single cow, or even a finger-breadth of land, (the thief) remains in hell till the end of the Universe. Great prosperity. Sri. Srimad Deva varmma Deva.

## No. 2. Nanyaura Copper-Plate.

Nagari Transliteration.






 म习्ञपाबीयसि









 चरितः ष द्रे धर्म्मवत्मकः। द्लादिरेम तनत्यान् जनाध्षसपद्रियः। भागभेगतरिरजादिप्रदाबेः छुख्वास्यतास् 1 बों तथा ध्रृतिकारेः। बइनि बंतुषा भुका तअभिः षगरादिजिः। घस्य यक्य बदा भूमिखस्य तस्य तदा फल्ञ। भूरिं यः प्रतिम्टक्षात यक भूमिं प्रय
 शासनार्म्नित । प्रतापतापपता पतिचक्रास्य फ्रमवर्मिनः ॥ श्रीषंग।

Translation of the Inscription of the Nanyaura Copper-plate, No. 2.
Om. It is well. Sri Harsha Deva, the king, of the great family of Srí Brahmendra Muni, was [as] the kalpa vriksha the root of joy to wellwishers, the water of immortality for the eyes of good friends, a very ketus in the destruction of hostile armies, a bridge in the surging sea of good men's burdens, the Jewel on the diadem of the three worlds, the sovereign whose hand dearly loved the sword, whose glory like that of the summer sun was insupportable. From that abode of generosity sprang Yaso Varmma, a very Indra in the destruction of the dark hosts of (his)
enemies, an axe in cleaving the trunks of the elephants of (his) enemies, by whose radiance like the whiteness of the moon and jasmine were illuminated, the caves of Kuláchala frequented by the consorts of the Kinnaras ; his son was Srí Dhanga Deva, the favourite of the Goddess of Victory the prowess of whose blade's edge was famous in numberless battles. Wonderfully did he kindle in the hearts of the enemy's wives the flame of separation, which unceasingly spread, though besprinkled with the water of tears. [In his undivided reign] there was flight in the wavy curls [alone] of the denizens of the antahpura, in amorous dalliance [alone] there was seizure by the neck, in female breasts alone was hardness and brows [alone] were crooked, on the moon [only] were spots, and in the plantain tree [only] was saplessness: the poets spake well, and amidst clusters of the Kairava [Nymphoea esculenta] alone there was enmity at the rise of Mitra (meaning both Sun and friend). The king and sovereign lord Harsha Deva, the destroyer of the exultation of enemies, succeeded by the king and sovereign lord Yaso Varmma, destroyer of the exultation of enemies, succeeded by the king and sovereign lord Dhanga Deva, destroyer of the exultation of enemies, ruler of Kálinjar, in the Samvat year 1055 at the full moon of Kártik, on Sunday the 15th day of the bright half of the month, to-day here in Kásí, when the orb [of the moon] which is a joy to the heart of Rohiní, and is marked with the form of a deer, was seized as a mouthful by the son of Sinhiká [i. e., Rahu]to the member of the Bháradwaja gotra, and the threefold pravara of Bháradwája, Angirasa and Várhaspatya, belonging to the Vajasaneya sákhá, to him originally an inhabitant of Tarkáyiká residing in the village of Durbáhara, named Rudra Srí Yaśodhara, the son of Rudra Jaya Kumára -to him with its waste, streams and tanks, land and water, upland and lowland, and mango and mahúá trees, the village of Chullí bounded on the four sides by Sakaroshara-for the sake of increasing his own and his parent's merit, he the lover of religion gave-
and having given the beloved of the people addressed those present saying-Remain happy by continuing to pay (the donee) rents in kind and in money and the rest. Om. So the writers of Smritis (have said) : Many kings, Ságar and others, have enjoyed territory, so long as any retained his lands, so long has his been the fruit. He who receives land in gift, and he who bestows it, both these are meritorious and assuredly go to heaven. He who filches a single cow, a single gold-piece, or one finger's breadth of land, goes to hell till the end of all things. This is the decree of S'rí Dhanga who is steadfast in the practice prescribed by the Vedas and whose ruling prowess pains the circle of his enemies. Sri Dhanga.

## Note by Babw Pranmáth Pandit.

The Society is indebted to Mr. V. A. Smith, B. A., B. C. S., for these two copper-plates recording the grant of two villages by two kings of the Chandel Dynasty, Dhanga Deva and Deva Varmma Deva in Samvat 1055 and 1107 respectively. Mr. Smith has sent transcript and translation of both the plates, which I have revised for publication in the Society's Journal. Some parts of the translation however, specially of plate No. 2, remain tentative and far from literal. The Note appended by Mr. Smith gives the most salient points in the grants, and after the exhaustive notice in General Cunningham's Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, there is nothing to be added to the ample materials which exist concerning the chronology of the Chandel Dynasty. I have added some philological parallels gathered from several grants, and those who care to pursue the matter further may consult the Khajuráho inscription in the Asiatio Researches, Vol. XII, and the Ujjagini grants in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. I, reprinted in Colebrooke's Works, Vol. II, and the Banda copper-plate, ante p. 73. The village Tarkayiká, of No. 2, is the same as the Takárí of No. 1, and the Dhakári of the Banda copperplate, ante p.76. All three may be safely identified with the Tikri of modern maps.

## NOTES.

 धाल, \&c. in J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, pp. 491, 492. Also $₹$ च परमसहारकमषा
 \&c. in J. A. S. B., Vol. X, pp. 99, 100.
(2.) Compare the partly decyphered sloka तेजोमिरष्टः बत्या शारेदf: in the 9th line of the Dhavala Inscription, J. A. S. B., Vol. X, p. 820.
(3.) Compare तेनेदं fव्युष्चनकाओोक्ष शाचतं। J. A. S. B., Vol. VIII, p. 297. The sloka षंसारस्यासारतां हद्धा तथा जि। बातार्षषिभमसिरं, \&c. in J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 379.
 दींब बाच्चयति। J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 379. रा््रपति बिष्यपति घामरूसाषिषारिबम叉्षरादीज् षमनु बेषर्यात। J. A. S. B., Vol. VIII, p. 297. The royal officers are set out in great detail in the Kumbhi grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492, and in the Fyzabad grant. J. A. B. B. Vol. X, p. 100.
(5.) Compare घाला अयवकं भवानीर्पतिमभ्यंच्च। J. A.S. B. Vol. V, p. 379. चर्सदाथां विधिषत् साला ग्रीस्पहा देबं समभ्यर्ष्ये J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492.


 p. 100 .
(6.) Compare आाताषिकोराजनक पु स्येरामिद्बये। J. A. S. B. Vol. V,
 S. B. Vol. V, p. 729. मातापियेराल्यन पु या बमेतिएन्बये। J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492. मातापिकोगालनख पुष्येाभिष्टबे। J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100.
(7.) The phrase मुनाबन्युसानविनिर्यताय occurs in the Copper-plate grant of Arjuna (Samvat 1267) in J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 379 but has not been translated. A similar omission is noticeable concerning the adjective prefix बोषदकोषिकिर्गत to the donee's name in the copper-plate grant of Karka II (Şaka 784) J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 297. The etymological signification of the word विभिर्मत is "gone out or from," but I suppose that in passages like the above, it is used to denote the original residence of the donee.
(8.) J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492, Vol. X, p. 100.
(9.) These words occur in the copper-plate grant of Ajaya Sinha Deva (Samyat 932) J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492, and have been transiated into "mango trees and honey" (p. 486). Compare समषबाबवाfट्वाबिटप- of the copper-plate grant of Jayachandra (Samvat 1243) J.A.S. B. Vol. X, p. 100, which has been correctly translated into " with gardens of modhu and mango trees" (p. 103). मళ్ర signifies the tree Bassia latifolia, and is never so far as I am aware used as a synonym for सधु, honey.
(10.) Compare षaतेषिर seemingly a mistake for षमतैंाषर in Jayachandra's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. p. 100, which has been translated at p. 103 into "with caves and fertile farms." जषर according to Wilson signifies saline soil. The phrase षआतैगबर: in Ajaya Siñha's copper-plate grant J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492, where it is translated into "together with
...... salt-pits."
(12.) Compare षस्बाबर: in J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492. सहौद्धब्राषर: in J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100.
(13) Compare षणिषिः बोपनिषिः in Pravara Sena's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p 729. षबनपर्षतः in Ajaya Siñha's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492; and सर्विरिषणविधाक in Jayachandra's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100.
(14.) Compare चतुरावाटनेापष्बचित: in the copper-plate grant of Karka II. J. A. B. B. Vol. VIII, p. 298. चतुराधाटबिसर्गा: in Ajaya Siñha's copperplate grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492 and सोर्षाषबतुराषाठ बिश्यः in Jayachandra's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100, the first half of which compound seems to have been omitted from the translation at p. 103. The words in the present plate may also be read as चत्तु:काष्टरिक्षइ. which synonymous expression also occurs in Arjuna's copper-plate grant, J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 379.
(15.) Compare छגेत्रच्बार: in Ajaya Siñha's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. Vol VIII, p. 492. ब्रायनियेषषरषयंक्त: in Jayachandra's copper-plate
grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100, where it has been translated into "which extends as far as Trinayuthi." (p. 103).
(16.) This is the usual reservation about previous endowments. Com-
 भुโिवर्जम् Vol. V, p. 379.
(17.) Compare बाभाविषेघभूंता in J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 879. बाघाषिबेबीभूय in J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100.
(18.) Compare यथा दीयमानभागभेगकरहिरसारिषं. J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 379, which is translated into " the full usufruct of all the rights and dues heretofore paid to Government," (p. 382). Also घथादीयमानकरकरपूरनिक्षप्रव्टनिनियनानियतसमत्ब in J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100 which is generally translated at p. 103 into "its revenues, as settled, or are to be settled."
(19.) Compare बान्र्रादित्यकालीयः \&c. in J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 729. स्षप्रार्कार्ष्वसरित्पर्बतसमबाखीनः \&c. in J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 298.
(20.) This sloka occurs amongst others in J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 879. Vol. VIII, pp. 298, $493 . \quad V o l$. X, p. 100.
(21.) J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 494. Vol. X, p. 100.
(22.) Compare J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 494 where षराश्रा is a mistake for बराथा:s, and Vol. X, p. 100.
(23.) J. A.S. B. Vol. V, p. 379. Vol. VIII, p. 493. Vol. X, p. 100. In Pravara Sena's copper-plate grant the latter half of the slok is different: सदन्णम्परद णां बा येा हरेत बष्षुग्थराम्।

(24.) In this sloka छुबर्षं should be substituted for the sake of the metre for सर्षें. Compare J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 493.
(25.) The words in the original द्षहबाष समाखाये seem distinct enough, but I am unable to attach any meaning to the compound.

## The Antiquities of Bagurd (Bogra).-By H. Beveridae, C. S.

Though Bagurá is almost a by-word among the Officers of Government for seclusion and dulness, yet like most places in this world it has attractions which only require unveiling. Perhaps to most Anglo-Indians, Bagurá is chiefly interesting, because it was the residence of Sir George Yule and the scene of many of his tiger-slaying exploits, but in reality the district has claims to attention of another and more enduring order. Foremost among these is the circumstance that it occupies an important place in the legendary and historical annals of Bengal. It is traversed from north to south by the sacred Karatoyá, which divides it into two nearly equal portions. This river has now dwindled into an insignificant stream, easily fordable in the cold weather and scarcely navigable except
in the height of the rains. But in old times, it was a great river, and formed the boundary between Bengal and Kámrúp. The western bank has apparently undergone little change. The old rampart, known as Bhím. jangal, still runs alongside of the western bank, and the ancient mound and fortification of Mahásthán continues to overhang the sacred bathingplace at Sila-dwíp; but on the east the appearance of the country has been greatly changed. The old river-bed has been nearly filled up, and long and wide churs, "made blithe by plough and harrow", now cover the channel up which the ships of the famous Chánd Saudágar used to sail.

Though no longer a territorial boundary, the Karatoyd is still remarkable for the demarcation which it makes between two distinct kinds of soil. On the west, Bagura is a veritable land of Edom, the soil being almost as red as blood. It is at the same time so hard and tenacious, that ditches cut in it retain their sharpness of outline for years, and that the walls of the peasants' huts are almost invariably made of earth. The anthills so common on the edges of the fields testify to the peculiarity of the soil, for they stand up in sharp and many-pointed pinnacles and are like Adens in miniature. On the east of the Karatoý, however, all is sand and alluvium, and the ryots have to construct the walls of their houses with reeds or mats. This difference of soil is said to affect the crime of the district; for burglaries are reported to be rare in the western thánás, as it is no easy matter for thieves to break through and steal, when the walls of the houses are so thick and hard as they are in the "Khiar" land. The etymology of the word Karatoyá is indicative of the antiquity and sanctity of the river. The name is derived from kar 'the hand' and toyá ' water', and is held to signify that the river was formed by the water which was poured on the hands of Siva, when he married the mountaingoddess Parvati.

I find also that there is the same tradition in Bagura as in Maimansingh about the origin of the name Das-kahániá as applied to Sherpur. The Bagurá Sherpur is called Das-kahániá as well as the Maimansingh Sherpur, and the explanation given is, that the Karatoya was once so broad that ten káhans had to be paid for crossing it. The explanation, however, does not seem a very probable one, for ten káhans means 12,800 kaurís, $i$. e., one rupee, and I can hardly believe that any Bengali ever paid so much for crossing a river. It is just possible that the charge had reference not to the breadth of the river but to the fact that it separated two rival kingdoms. The charge may therefore have been in the nature of an embargo or an export-duty, and went for the most part into the pocket of the king or his representative, and not to the ferryman. It would be quite in accordance with the principles of native finance to levy such exorbitant duties on people learing the country or taking merchandise abroad.

By the Hindus Bagurá is popularly identified with the country of king Virat, where the five Pánḍavas remained hidden for a year. Bagurá, they tell us, was the Dakshina Go-grib or southern cow-house (Scotticè byre) of king Virat, the northern one being in Ghorágháţ, i. e., Aswasála. Bhím, they say, disguised himself as Virat's herdsman, and built the rampart known as Bhím's Jangal to make a pen for the cattle. So say the Pandits, while the ryots improve the evidence got from this by pointing to the stone-pillar in the Badalgáchhi tháná and calling it Bhím's pánti, i. e., Bhím's ox-goad. Additional corroboration is sought from the fact that there are villages in Bagurá, known by the names of Virat and Kichak (Virat's brother-in-law). Unfortunately, however, names of places are more likely to be the offspring of traditions than to be evidence of their genuineness, and even if the village of Kichak be old, it more probably derives its name from the wandering gypsies and robbers of the last century who were called Kichaks, than from the villain of the Mahábhárat.

A more convincing indication of the antiquity of Bagurá was obtained only last year when a tank was being dug in the middle of the town. The tank had been excavated to a considerable depth, when the workmen came on the top of a brick well. The well is still standing in the tank and may be seen by the curious. It is circular in form and solidly built with large, thin bricks which are so broad in proportion to their length as to be nearly square. The mode of building seems peculiar, for the bricks are arranged in layers which are alternately composed of flat and perpendicular bricks. The top now visible appears to me to be the real top of the well, and it is some fifteen feet below the present. surface of the country. The remarkable thing is that the earth is not sand or chur-earth, but is solid, red soil. How the well came to be where it is, I cannot explain; but if the fifteen feet of earth were really gradually deposited above it, then the well must be many centuries old. Close to this tank, and only separated by the public road, there is an interesting proof of the antiquity of the soil in a magnificent Banyan tree. It is, I think, the finest tree I have seen next to that in the Botanical Gardens at Calcutta, and it is much more attractive than the latter, because it is still in the heyday of its career of beneficence. The Bagurá market is held under it and twice a week hundreds of men and cattle are sheltered by it from the sun and rain.

The real glory of Bagurá perhaps is the Badalgáchhi pillar which bears an inscription of the Pál Rájás, and which has been described by Sir Charles Wilkins and more recently by a native gentleman. I have never seen this pillar, and I hear that it is now so shrouded in jungle as to be almost inaccessible. As it is situated in the Government Estate of Jaipur, it is to be hoped that the authorities will look after its preservation. It is locally known as Bhím's pánti or ox-goad.

The most widely-known antiquity in Bagurá is Mahásthán, or the Great Place, which is situated seven miles north of the Civil Station. Mahásthán probably originally owed its importance to its being near a sacred bathingplace, and hence some have with a perverse ingenuity suggested that the true name is Mahásnán. Afterwards it became the habitation of a Kshatriya prince named Parasurám. Some traditions identify him with Parasurama the destroyer of the Kshatriyas, though to do this, it is necessary to change his caste and make him a Bráhman. He was defeated and slain by a Muhammadan, named Muhammad Sháh Sulṭan, and probably it is this circumstance which has done most to perpetuate his fame. Muhammad Shah Sulṭ́n is buried at Mahásthán, and his tomb is annually visited by thousands of pilgrims. There is no inscription on the tomb, and no one seems to know exactly who he was or where he came from. He bears the title of Máhí-suwár or fish-rider, and Hindus who swallow their own traditions wholesale, think they must rationalize this epithet by referring it to the figure bead of the ship which brought the faqír. It is hardly worth while to do this when there are so many more marvels connected with him. The name Máhí-suwár probably has its origin in invention, pure and simple.

The only genuine inference which we can make, I think, from Muhammad Sháh's history is, that he was the hero of a popular rising. He was not a fighting man apparently, and is never called a Ghází, like the famous Ismá'il of Rangpár. Parasurám was probably a bigoted tyrant, and was killed by those of his subjects who had turned Muhammadans. This view is supported by the local tradition that Parasurám could not bear the sight of a Musalmán. It seems also certain that Muhammad Sháh was helped by Parasurám's own subjects; for the tradition is, that one Harpál, the Rájá's sweeper, used to convey information to Muhammad Sháh of what was going on inside the palace. The sweeper's tomb is still pointed out on the mound of Mahásthán, and until Muhammadans got more puritanical, they used to make offerings at it of sharáb and kabáb, i. e., meat and wine. Muhammad Sháh's tomb is in good preservation and is lighted up every night. It is surrounded by a wall, and close to the doorway there is a large stone Gauripát (not a lingam) lying on the ground. Mr. O'Donnell has described Mahásthán in the Asiatic Society's Journal for 1875, Part I, No. 2, but there are some errors in his account. As far as I can learn, the legend of the beautiful Síla Devi has its origin in a mispronunciation. The original name of the place is Siladwip, i. e., the mound of stones, ' dwoip' in Bagurá being used to mean any high place and the epithet Sila being applied to this one on account of the large stones lying about on it. The populace, however, have lost sight of this meaning, and so started the tradition of Síla Deví. There is no flight of stairs at Síla Devi's Ghát, only
two old trees. The sacred part of the river extends over $2 \frac{1}{\frac{1}{2}}$ reaches or about two miles, from Skand (a name of Siva) ghát to Gobindghát in the village of Gokul. The place called Síla Devi's ghát lies about half-way between the above ghatg. An annual fair is held in the month of Chait, but the most sacred time is when the conjunction of the planets admits of the bathing's taking place in the month of Pús (Pús Náráyani).

Mr. O'Donnell speaks of the grant for the lákhiráj of Mahásthan having been confirmed in 1666 by the Governor of Dháka. In fact, however, the confirmation is dated 7th Jumáda I, 1096, A. H. (1st April, 1685) in the thirtieth year of the reign. I have seen the original sanad, which is in the Record-room at Bogra. The deed bears the seal of Kokultásh Muzaffar-Jang [Husain]. It is in the form of an order addressed to the officials of Silbaris in Sirkár Bázúhá, and directs them to respect the lákhiráj of the saint Muhammad Sulṭán Mahí-suwár's Astán. The word 'ástán' suggests to me the idea that Mahásthán may after all be a Muhammadan name meaning the Great Ástán. The Hindu name perhaps was Síladwíp. The place is also often called Mastángarh and under this name it appears in the Survey Map. I send a copy of the Sanad along with these remarks.* With regard to the resumption-proceedings, noted

- The following is a transcript of the copy of the Sanad-

 چركنه صيلبوس مركاربازوها بداننه هوه بعوض رسيه كه بهوجب فرمان واللاشاس







 وادشالا
عالركيرغازي كوكلتاس
مظفرجنك بهادر
by Mr. O'Donnell, I must in justice to our Government observe that no attempt was made to resume the whole tenure. All the land within the garh or fortification (some thousands of bigghas apparently) was admitted to belong to the lákhirájdárs. The dispute was only about 300 bíghas of chur-land which had formed between Mahásthán proper and the riverchannel. The resumption-proceedings, however, must have been rather harassing to the proprietors; for they began in 1824, and did not end till December 1843. Síla Deví's Ghát is in this chur which was sought to be resumed, and this perhaps is enough to show the baselessness of the story about her, for clearly the chur was formed long after Mahásthán was made.


## Translation.

It has been ordered that the Mutasaddis of all present and future matters of government, and the Chaudhurís, and Ḳanúngos of Pargana Silbaris in Sirkár Bázúhé should bear in mind that, inasmuch as it has come to the knowledge of government that according to the farmans and sanade, granted by former rulers, the service of the sacred shrine of the king of saints, Hazrat.........................and income of Mastangarh and the land comprised within the bend of the river, in the said Pargana, have been settled on Sayyid Muhammad Táhir and on Sayyid 'Abdur-rahman and on Sagyid Mohammad Razá and on their children, without anyone else being a partner, it is necessary that the above-mentioned persons should be looked upon as the servitors of the illuminated shrine, and that they should be left in possession of Mastangarh and of the above described lands, so that the lands may go down to their heirs; that they may perform the vows and prayers as usual at this holy shrine; that they may apply the income to defraying the expenditure of the religious house, on travellers, and on thermselves for their own livelihood, so that they may occupy themselves with loyal prayers for the continuance of the present government. Every care is to be taken in this matter.

Written on the 7th Jumadal $I$, of the 30th year of the present reign, corresponding to the year of the Hijra 1096.
(Signed) Muzaffar Jang Bah6dur, foster-brother (kokultash) of 'Klamgir Pádshahi.Gházi.

It is impossible to reconcile the particulars given in the sanad copy with historical facts. First, the name should be Muzaffar Husain not Muzaffar Jang. It is possible that the copyist mistook بạ for Secondly, Muzaffar Husain Kokultash (also called Fidai Khân A'zam Kokah, kokah being the same as kokultash) was governor of $^{\text {z }}$ Bengal from the middle of 1088 H., [A. D. 1677] i. e., the 20th year of 'Klamgir, to the 9th (or 12th) Rabi' II, 1089 (i. o., the 21st year of 'Alamgir), when he died at Dhék.

But the 7th Jumede I, 1096 [1685, A. D.] falls in the 28th year of 'Klamgir, whose 30th year commences with the lst Ramazan 1097 [A. D. 1685].

The name of the saint is written at the top instead of in its proper place in the body of the deed, in order to do him honor. This is in accordance with Hindu customs, as many be seen in sanads for lands dedicated to an idol.

I could find nothing Buddhist at Mahásthán, and my impression is that Messrs. Westmacott and O'Donnell have been somewhat too ready to believe that Buddhism once prevailed in Bagurá. Bardankúţí is a comparatively recent place, and has nothing to do, I think, with the Pandra Varddhana of the Chinese pilgrim. There are two statues at Mahásthán. One appears to be Basudeb (Krishna), and the other is simply a mermaid. It has no theological signification at all, I think, and is just a fantastic figure such as are common in Hindu palaces. The " right hand clenched," referred to by Mr. O'Donnell is, I think, a foot.

One curious remain at Mahásthán is a large brick well with rude stone steps leading down it. The steps are simply large stones jutting out from the brick work and look very awkward things to descend by. However I was told that many persons go down by them at the time of the fair. The well is called the Jiyat-kunḍ, or well of life, and the tradition is, that Parasurám for a long time got the better of Sháh Sulṭán, because when any Hindu soldier was killed, Parasurám revived him by sprinkling water from this well over him. The sweeper Harpál told Sháh Sultán of this, and then he destroyed the efficacy of the water by throwing pieces of beef into it. The fortification of Mahásthán is quadrangular in shape,and is popularly said to be two miles square. There are four openings in it, and these are pointed out as the gates. One is called the Támár Darwázah, because it is said to have been sheathed with copper. Outside the rampart there is on one side a large lake, called the Kálidohá Ságar. There are islands in it, and a promontory on its banks is called Bish-Mathan, because it is said that on it the goddesses Lutta and Padya mixed the poison which destroyed Chánd Saudágar's family. Chánd Saudágar is, as is well known, the impious merchant who would not worship Manesha, or the Lady of the Snakes. He is said to have lived at Chándmoa, i. e., Chándmukh, near Mahásthán, and the foundations of the house he built for his son are still pointed out.

Another antiquity in Bagura, the importance of which, however, is a good deal exaggerated by the people, is Jogir Bhaban, or the Ascetic's house. It lies some seven miles west of Bagura. It appears to have been an early settlement of the Gosains, or followers of Siva. The remains consist of some temples with elaborately carved wooden doors. One temple has the Bengali date 1089, and the name Meher. Náth Sadak. One of the doors has the date 1119, and the name of Shukhal Náth Gosáin. There is one curious tomb with three monuments of different sizes. The largest is the guru's, the second is the disciple's, and the third and smallest is said to be that of the guru's dog ("his faithful dog shall bear him company"). There is a well of life here, too, but it is quadrangular in shape. The jogí in charge of the temples gave me a curious instance of faith. There are several images inside one temple, and the jogi candidly said that he
could not tell what god one of them represented. However, he said, as it was in the temple he accepted it and worshipped the unknown god. To the west of Jogir Bhaban, there are said to be the remains of the house of the Rájá Salbon (Sáliváhan ?) and to the north of it, the remains of the house of the Rájá Srí Náth. Perhaps they were ancestors of Parasurám.

Returning to Mahásthán, I have to say that Parasurám was evidently a devoted worshipper of Siva. Indeed, he seems to have meditated setting up a rival to Banáras. In and about Mahásthán, there are places called Káshí, Brindában, and Mathurá.

In 1862, or thereabouts, a number of gold coins were found at Báman. pará, near Mahásthán. The most of them have disappeared, but I have seen two, and have sent them to the Asiatic Society for identification. The records of the case which is said to have taken place about them have been destroyed. In 1874, a pot of old rupees was found in the village of Mahásthán by a labourer who was digging a ditch in a pân garden. The owners of the pân garden wrested the coins from him, and were convicted, rather harshly I think, of robbery and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. On appeal, their sentence was reduced to three months. Some of the coins were bought from the owners by Major Hume and were afterwards sent to the Asiatic Society. One coin was lying in the Magistrate's Málkhánah, and has been sent by me to Professor H. Blochmann.* I have also sent down two other silver coins which are said to have been found at Mahásthán.

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## JOURNAL

ERRATA.


One of my inchoate projects was the complation un a seried un anuann illustrating the life and doctrine of the different Vaishnava Reformers of the 16 th and 17 th centuries, who all made Brindaban their head centre. Though both the men themselves and their writings are scarcely known by name to European Orientalists, they have had an enormous influence on the tendencies of modern Hindu thought, and the sects which they founded till continue to gather converts from all parts of India. To last year's volume of the Society's Journal I contributed an article on Swámi Hari

## JOURNAL

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Part I.-HISTORY, LITERATURE, \&a.

No. II.-1878.

Mathurá Notes.-By F. S. Growse, M. A. Oxon., B. C. S.<br>(With eleven plates.)

The following scraps from my note-book have been hastily thrown together in the midst of the worry and confusion occasioned by my sudden and most unexpected transfer from a district, to which I had become greatly attached, and where I had confidently hoped to spend with much pleasure to myself and some slight advantage to the public the fow years that yet remain of my career in the executive branch of the service. I cannot avoid this personal explanation, as it supplies the only adequate apology for the very unfinished state in which these fragments appear. I had intended to work up several of them inte separate articles; but the opportunity of doing this has been denied me, and I have no choice but either to send them as they are, or else allow them to perish amidst the general wreck in. which all my household gods are now involved.

1. Gosain Hari Vans of Brimdaban, and the sect of the Radhá Vallabhis.

One of my inchoate projects was the compilation of a series of notices illustrating the life and doctrine of the different Vaishnava Reformers of the 16th and 17th centuries, who all made Brindaban their head centre. Though both the men themselves and their writings are scarcely known by name to European Orientalists, they have had an enormous influence on the tendencies of modern Hindu thought, and the sects which they founded still continue to gather converts from all parts of India. To last year's volume of the Society's Journal I contributed an article on Swámi Hari

Dás and his descendants, the Gosains of the temple of Bánke Bihári ; and in the Introduction to the first Book of my translation of the Rámáyana I have given an account of Tulsi Dás, which I had intended to supplement, on the completion of the poem, with a disquisition on his theological system. But both translation and disquisition must now be indefinitely postponed; for a certain amount of quiet and composure is necessary for the adequate performance of so long and laborious an undertaking. I was under the impression that such a meries, however dull and occasionally repulsive the separate articles might be, would still be of interest to the student and supply sound material, out of which to construct one short chapter at least in the great book of the future, the History of Comparative Religion. This project however is very summarily disposed of, since it is only at Mathurá that MSS. are obtainable, nor would the Gosains communicate them to any one, in whom they had not by long intercourse acquired confidence : so suspicious are they of European interference. The language moreover in which the poems are written is not without difficulty and requires some special study, even on the part of natives, before it is readily intelligible. These are probably the reasons why Prof. Wilson in his ' Religious Sects', is able to give very full and accurate accounts of the great teachers of earlier times, who wrote in Sanskrit, while his notices of the more modern schools are meagre and apparently, as a rule, not derived from original sources. Thus, though he devotes five pages to the Rádhá Vallabhis, he does not mention the name even of the Chaurasi Pada, which is their great authority, and to illustrate their doctrine, translates a passage from the Brahma Vaivarta Purina, which is rather the standard of the Vallabhacharis, a different sect, who have their head quarters at Gokul.

The founder of the Rádhá Vallabhis was by name Hari Vans. His father, Vyása, was a Gaur Bráhmaṇ of Deva-ban in the Saháranpur district, who had long been childless. He was in the service of the Emperor and on one occasion was attending him on the march from Agra, when at last his wife Tára gave birth to a son at the little village of Bád, near Mathurá, in the sambat year 1559. In grateful recognition of their answered prayers, the parents named the child after the god they had invoked, and called him Hari Vans, i. e., Hari's issue. When he had grown up, he took to himself a wife, by name Rukmini, and had by her two sons and one daughter. Of the sons the elder, Mohan Chand, died childless; the descendants of the younger, Gopináth, are still at Deva-ban. After settling his daughter in marriage he determined to abandon the world and lead the life of an ascetic. With this resolution he set out alone on the road to Brindaban, and had reached Charthával, near Hodal, when there met him a Bráhman, who presented him with his two daughters and insisted upon his marrying them, on the strength of a divine command, which he said he had received
in a vision. He further gave him an image of Krishna with the title of Rádha Vallabh, which on his arrival at Brindaban was set up by Hari Vans in a temple that he founded between the Jugal and the Koliya Gháts on the bank of the Jamuná. Originally he had belonged to the Mádhváchárya Sampradaya and from them and the Nimbarrake, who also claim him, his doctrine and ritual were professedly derived. But in consequence of the mysterious incident, by which he had been induced to forego his intention of leading a celibate life and take to himself two new wives; or rather in consequence of his strong natural passions, which he was unable to suppress and therefore invented a fiction to excuse, his devotion was all directed not to Krishna himself, except in a very secondary degree, but to his fabled mistress Rádhá, whom he deified as the goddess of lust. So abominable a system was naturally viewed at first with no little amazement, as is clear from the language of the Bhakt Mála, which is as follows :

# \| मूस ॥ <br> शीररिवंसगुस्योंर्दभजनकी रीति सहत कोज जानि है। श्रीराधाचरसप्रधान रहे अ्यति बहछढ़ उपासी। कुंजकेसि दंपति तरांकी करत षवाषी ॥ यर्वसुमहाप्रसाद प्रसिधिताने च्रधिकारी। विधि निषेध नाि दास अ्रनन्ध उस्वठ छतधारी।। श्रीब्यास g व पथ अनुसरे सेई भहैं पहिचानि है। श्रीछरित्वंघगुषांड्डरजलकी रीति सक्षत ोोज जानि है।। 

Translation of the text of Nabha Ji.
"The Gosain Sri Hari Vans : who can understand all at once his method of devotion ? with whom the feet of blessed Radhá were the highest object of worship; a most staunch-souled devotee ; who made himself the page in waiting on the divine pair in their bower of love ; who gloried in the enjoyment of the remnants of all that was offered at their shrine; a servant who never pleaded obligation or dispensation; a votary of incomparable zeal. Account him blessed who follows in the path of Vyasa's great son, the Gosáin Sri Hari Vans: who can understand all at once his method of devotion ?"

In the gloss, or supplement of Priya Das, the same sentiment is expanded and a reference made to the legend of the Bráhman and his two daughters.

## | टोषा ॥

श्रीजूकी रीति कोज लाषनिनें एक जांनें
 निपट विकट भाव हेतत व छभाव बैसै
 विधि षैग निषेष बेद् जारे मानपारे रियं जियें निज दाष विस दिन वहे गाई़ें। चषद् चरिज षव रहिक विचिच नीकें जानत प्रसिद्य कहा करिके समार्तिये ॥ जाये पश व्यागि राग वब्थौ प्रिया पीतम सो विश वउभाग ररिशाघा दर्वांगियें। तेरी उसय छाता ब्याहदेवा बेका नाम मेरो उलको को वंघ भरंघ जल मानियें ॥ ताही दार वेवा विस्षार निज भगतनिकी चगतनिकी गति को प्रसिद्ध परिशंनियें। भांनि पिय बात पश गब्षो चष लबो सक कछोा करैँ जात वह मनसें ब बांनिये ॥ राधितावकभलास जाञा यो रगास दर्वा खेवा सो प्रकाष जो विष्षाष कुजंधामको।
ोोई विस्तार छुष्मार दृगहूप पियो
दियो रसिक जिन लियो पदि वामको ॥ निधि दिन गांन रस माधुरीकोष पान जर जतर सिरोंन एक काम घोंमास्तामके।

# गुन सो चन्रूप कधि करेषेक सरूप कहें <br> सहै मन नेद जेसें ब्रोर नही नामको। ॥ 

## Translation.

" Would you know the one point in a thousand of Sri Hit Ji's ways? he adored Rádhá first and after her Krishna. A most strange and unnatural fashion, that none could even faintly comprehend save by his favour. He obliterated all distinction between obligation and dispensation; his Be loved was in his heart; he lived only as her servant, singing the praises of the divinity night and day. All the faithful know his many edifying and holy actions; why tell and repeat them since they are famous already.
"He left his home and came; his passion for Rádhá and Krishna had so grown : but you must know Hari had given an order to a wealthy Bráhman : ' Bestow your two daughters in marriage, taking my name, and know that their issue shall be famous throughout the world. By their means my worship shall spread among my faithful people, a path for the pathless, of high renown.' Obedient to the loving order he went home; the delight of all was past telling, for it was more than the mind could even conceive. Radha's dear spouse gave the gracious command: 'Publish abroad my worship and the delights of my sylvan abode.' He drank in with his very eyes the essence of bliss and gave it to every client who supported the cause of the female divinity. Night and day imbibing the honeyed draught of sweet song and cherishing it in his soul, with no thought but for Syámé and Syám. How is it possible to declare such incomparable merit? the soul is enraptured at the sound more than at that of any other name."

By his later wives he had two sons Ban Chand and Kishan Chand, of whom the latter built a temple to Rádhé Mohan, which is still in the possession of his descendants. The former was the ancestor of the present Gosains of the temple of Radhá Vallabh, the chief shrine of the sect. This was built by one of his disciples, a Káyath named Sundar Das who held the appointment of Treasurer at Delhi. One of the pillars in the front gives the date as sambat 1683. An earlier inscription, of 1641, was noticed by Prof. Wilson, but this would seem to have been over the gateway leading into the outer court, which since then has fallen down and been removed. The temple is in itself a handsome building and is further of special architectural interest as the last example of the early eclectic style. The ground plan is much the same as in the temple of Haridev at Gobardhan (described in my Mathurá Memoir, Part I, page 172) and the work is of the same character, but carried out on a larger scale. The nave has an eastern façade, 34 feet broad which, as will be seen from the accom-
panying photograph, is in three stages, the upper and lower Hindu, and the one between them purely Muhammadan in character. The interior is a fine vaulted hall ( $63 \mathrm{ft} . \times 20 \mathrm{ft}$.) with a double tier of openings north and south; those in the lower story having brackets and architraves and those above being Muhammadan arches, as in the middle story of the front. These latter open into 2 narrow gallery with small clerestory windows looking on to the street. Below, the three centre bays of the colonnade are open doorways, and the two at either end are occupied by the staircase that leads to the upper gallery. Some of the carved panels of the stone ceiling have fallen; but the outer roof, a steep gable, also of stone, is as yet perfect. Some trees however have taken root between the slabs and unless carefully removed must eventually destroy it. The actual shrine, or cella, as also at the temple of Gohind Deva, was demolished by Aurangzeb and only the plinth remains, upon which a room has been built, which is used as a kitchen. As no mosque was ever erected at Brindaban, it is not a little strange that Mr. Fergusson in his History of Indian architecture, when speaking of this very locality, should venture to say "It does not appear proven that the Moslems did wantonly throw down the temples of the Hindus, except when they wanted the materials for the erection of mosques or other buildings." A thorough repair of roof, eaves and east front would cost Rs. 4,500, and as a typical example of architecture, the building is worth the outlay. A modern temple has been erected on the south side, and the nave of the old fabric has long been entirely disused. In fact this is the last temple in the neighbourhood in which a nave was built at all. In the modern style it is so completely obsolete that its distinctive name even is forgotten. On the opposite side of the street is a monument to the founder, which however the present generation of Gosains are too ungrateful to keep in repair. They are the descendants of Braj Chand's four sons, Sundar-Bar, Rádha Ballabh Dás, Braj-Bhúkhan and Nagar Bar Ji; and the heads of the four families so derived are now Daya Lál, Manohay Ballabh, Sundar Lál and the infant son of Kanhaiya Lal.

Hari Vans was himself the author of two poums ; the one, the Chaurdes Pada, or ' 84 Stanzas,' in Hindi, the other the Rádhd Sudhd Nidhi, or ' Treasury of Rádhá's Delights,' in 170 Sanskrit couplets. The latter, though not much read, is held in great esteem and, regarded solely as a piece of highly impassioned erotic verse, it is a spirited and poetic composition. There is a good Hindi commentary upon it by one Bansidhar, dated sambat 1820. It is written in a very florid style and its interminable compounds, to be rendered into intelligible English, would require a greater expenditure of time and thought than I can now bestow upon them. But as MSS. are scarce and Sanskritists may like to see a specimen of the text, I subjoin the first 25 and the last couplet in the original.



THE CHHATTHI PALNA, AT MAHABAN.
(From a Photograph)


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## बब राधासुधानिधिर्लिस्यते ॥ | घोक्र: ||























नस्या: कदानु भविता मयि पुष्यदृष्टिर्दन्द्रटवीनवनिकुस्धम्टराधिदेष्थए.113? H दृन्दावनेग्यरि तबैब पदारविन्दं प्रेमाम्बतैकमकरन्दरसौषणूष्ं। हर्धर्षित मधुपते: अरतापयुय्यं निवापयत्परमथीतसमाग्रयामि॥ २२॥ राधाकरावचितप व्लवकरीके राधापदाएविस्मन्मधुरकलीके। राधायषोसुखरमत्त खगावरीके राधाविछारविपिने रमतां मनेो से ॥ १₹॥ छ्बब्पामृत ध्र विगाठुमितीरिताहं तावस्सस रजनी षखि यावर्दि।


 उज्ञागरं रसिकनागरषप्ररभेः कुज्ञोदरें छृतवती नु छुदारअन्याम्।




 श्रीराधिने दरतरत्रिनितम्वभागे का च्रीकलापकसएंसकसानुसापे:।


 सत्र्पेमसिम्नुमकरन्दरसौधधारासारानजसमभितः स्रवदाश्रितेषु। श्रीराधिके तब कदा चरणारविन्द्रगेतिन्द्रीवनधगं अिरमा वहामि ॥ २३ ॥
 लों कामकेलिरभसेन कदा चसनीं राधे नु यामि पद्वीसुपदर्गयन्ती॥शः

गला कधिन्द्तनयविजनावतारमुबर्त्गयक्यम्टतम्न्मनभ्नजीवम्। ग्रीराधिके तब कडा गवनागरेंद्रं पस्षामि मम्लनयनं खितुुचनीपे ॥२ः॥

त्र्रीसुखं कुटिबलुक्तसम्बन्नुष्टं त्रीराधिने तब कदा नु विलोकयिथ्ये॥ २8॥
 बैदए्षसमाररतिकेषिविसायसारे राधाभिछे मम मनेाडखिजमारसारे॥ २थ॥ चनुनानन्दसोगयेष्वाबा रस्ुधानिधि:।
सनेडयं कर्षकससेर्म्टरीबा पीयतां चुषा: ॥ २००॥
 विरचिता श्रीराधारस

The Hindi poom, the Ohaurdsi Pada, is much more popular and most of the Gossins know at least some of its stanzas by heart. There is a commentary upon it by Lok-náth, dated sambat 1855, and another in verse, called the Rahasya artha-nirupana by Rasik Lál, written in sambat 1734. Neither of the two, however, is of much assistance to the student; all the simple passages being paraphrased with wearisome prolisity, while real difficulties are generally skipped. I subjoin the text and a translation of the first 12 stanzas.

अश्य श्रोःितःरिबंश्द्धतवाणो सिख्यते ॥ राग विभास ॥ " $2 \|$ चोटू चेाई घारौ करे सोग्र सेशि भावे
 नोकों ने भाँवती ठौर प्यारेके नैंननि में घारौ भयो पाहै मेरे नैनकिके तारे।। केर तो तल मनपाएकं तें प्रीतम प्रिय

अवने कोटिक भाए मीतम नेगतौं बारे ।

करी केंज करे बसतरंगणि न्यारे ॥
\| २ \|
 मेंख्ल रखिकराह री माई नाैैंगु जु मातु करें ैैसी कौन कामिभी।।


## $118 \|$


 कहु रोो तिसक सियक्ष घसकावधि वरनकमस मानों अधिमूल। के ग्रीधितहरिवंश मदनरंग रंगि रहे मेंन वेंन कटि सियक्ष दुवूस॥

## | $8 \|$


 उचिर तिलक लेष किरत कुषम सेष गिर बीमंत भूषित मानौं तै न । करणा करि उदार राषत कहू ल कार दसन वषन ल्लागत जब देंब।।



## "4\|

 गैरहॉंम ब्रभिराम रंगरतंभरे सर्टकि सरकि पज धरत क्यनि पर ॥ कुष कुमनुम रंकित मालार्वस्ब उरतनाथ ग्रीबाम धामषर।

प्या प्रेमके चंक घचंहत चिदत चतुरसिरोमणि निजू कर । दंपति च्यति घणुराग सुरित बस गाल करत मल हरत परसर ॥ ते श्रीहितहरिवंख्य प्रसंम पराथन मात्रन क्शबि दर देत मधुरतर ॥
\| § \|
 दुरति कौंच दुरे सुि पारे रंगसे गरसे कैनमें नेंगः उर मषषंद विराने प्रट घटपटेंसे बेँन ।
के श्रीछितहरिवे रंसिक राधापनि प्रमथित मेंन ॥

## ॥ Ө ॥ <br> राग विसाबस ।

च्राजु निक्जुंऊमंजुमैं चेष्ल नक्सकियोर नवीन कियोरी।
च्यति अनुपम घनुरुराग परस्र सुनि घभूत भूतब पर केरी स विद्रुम फटिक विविधि निर्मित षर अवकर्पूरपराम न थोरी। कोगमल कियहय सेंन सुपेषस नापर थाम निवेकित गेगरी ॥ मिथुन छासि परिशासि परायन पीक कपोल कमस पर होरी। गैर स्साम भुज कलह मनेर्हर मीवी वषल सेषत होरी।। इरिडर सुकर विलोपकि छ्यपुनपे विभ्रम विक् मानजुत भोरी। चिव्दुक सचाह प्रलोट्ह प्रवेधित पिय प्रत्तिक्व जनाद्र निहोरी।। नेति नेति वषनामृत सुनि सुनि ललितार्ाक देषत दुरिषोरी। बे श्रीजितहरिवंय करत करहूपन पनय कोप मालावषि तेारी।।

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\|E\|
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श्यातंडी क्षर्ए तेरे नेंन मसिन री।
बसमजुत द्वतरात रगमगे भए निषिजागर र्मषिम मलिच री H

सिथस पस्लमैं उठत गेसकगति विधयौ नोहल मृत यकत चखि ग री।


## | E\|

वनी राधा मेँइनकी चेरी।
घंट्रनीबमणि स्याम मनेाह्र घातनुंभ तन गोरी ॥ भाल विसाल निसक ष्रि कामिनि चिकुरषंट्ट विषरोरी । गज नादूक प्रभु चाब गयंदनि यति वृष्भानु कियेरी ॥
 जै ग्रीषित्ररिवंध रयिक राधापति छु रत रग मेँ बेरी॥

\| 2•\|<br>श्राजु नागरीकियेग भावतो विचिष जार<br>कहा कहों ध्रंग कांग फरममाध्रुरी ।<br>करत केषि कंठ सेसि वाउड्ड गंड गंड<br>परस यरस राससास मंज्डी छुरी :<br>सामझंदरी विछार वाँछरी मृंग तार<br>मधुर घोष पूपूरादि किंकिनी जुरी।<br>के श्री देषति ₹रिवंस च्रासि निर्तनी षुलंध चासि<br>बारि फेरिदेति पर्ए देश सौं दुरी ॥<br>" 29 ॥<br>मंजुख कस कुंजदेस राधार्रि विश्येख<br>राकानभ कुमदवंधु छर्द जामिनी।<br>स्यामबदुति कमकश्रंग विह्रत मिसि एकसंग<br>नीरह मनी नीब मध्य घ्यात दामिमी ॥

च्चल पीत गव दुकूब श्रनुपम शनुरागमूस
औैरभजुत सीत श्रििल मंदगामिनी। किम्लयद्रणित कै"ण वेलत पिय चाटु वैँच माल घष्तित प्रतिपद् प्रतिकूल्ल कामिनी ॥ भोएममन मयत मार परमत कुष नीवी हार बेपथजुत नेति नेति वरत भामिनी। बरवाइण प्रभुखकेषि वङ्ड विधि भर भरत क्षेषि *ौरतरसक्पपलदी जगतपावनी ॥

## | २२ |

चर्लि राधिके खुान तेरे छित उर्षनिषान
राषु रथो स्याम तट कबिंद्रंटिनी।
निर्तल छुगवतीसमूः रागरंग श्रतिकत्र
वाबत रममूल मुरधिका अर्यंदिनी ॥ बंसीवट निकट जांहां परमरम凶्भुमि तंहां
थकसुष्ट मखय वहे वाधु मंडिनी।
जाती छष्वविकास कानल च्रतिसय उ्वास
राकानिस षरदमास विमस चांडिभी ॥
बरवाहज प्रभु निहार बोचनभरि घोषमारि
गषसिष सौ"दर्य काम दुष्षनिकंटिनी।
विस्षड्ड भुज यीव नेसि भामिनि सुपसिंधु बेकाज
बव निक्षुज साम केसि जगतबेटियी ॥
Translation of the first twelve Stanzas of the Chaurdsi Pada.
I. "Whatever my Beloved doeth is pleasing to me; and whatever is pleasing to me, that my Beloved doeth. The place where I would be is in my Belored's eyes; and my Beloved would fain be the apple of my eyes.

My Love is dearer to me than body, soul, or life ; and my Love would lose a thousand lives for me. Rejoice, Srí Hit Hari Vans! the loving pair, one dark, one fair, are like two cygnets; tell me who can separate wave from water?
II. "O my Beloved, has the fair spoken? this is surely a beautiful night ; the lightning is folded in the lusty cloud's embrace. O friend, where is the woman who could quarrel with so exquisite a prince of gallants ? Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans! dear Rádhiká hearkened with her ears and with voluptuous emotion joined in love's delights. $\dagger$
III. "At day-break the wanton pair, crowned with victory in love's conflict, were all exuberant. On her face are frequent beads of labour's dew, and all the adornments of her person are in disarray, the paint-spot on her brow is all but effaced by heat, and the straggling curls upon her lotus face resemble roaming bees. (Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans!) her eyes are red with love's colours and her voice and loins feeble and relaxed.
IV. "Your face, fair dame, to-day is full of joy, betokening your happiness and delight in the intercourse with your Beloved. Your voice is languid and tremulous, your cheeks aflame, and both your weary eyes are red with sleeplessness; your pretty tilak half effaced, the flowers on your head faded, and the parting of your hair as if you had never made it at all. The Bountiful one of his grace refused you no boon, as you coyly took the hem of your robe between your teeth. Why shrink away so demurely? you have changed clothes with your Beloved, and the dark-hued swain has subdued you as completely as though he had been tutored by a hundred Loves. The garland on his breast is faded, the clasp of his waist-belt loose (Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans!) as he comes from his couch in the bower.
V. "To-day at dawn there was a shower of rapture in the bower, where the happy pair were delighting themselves, one dark, one fair, bright with all gay colours, as she tripped with dainty foot upon the floor. Great Syam, the glorious lord of love, had his flower wreath stained with the saffron dye of her breasts, and was embellished with the scratches of his darling's nails; she too was marked by the hands of her jewel of lovers. The happy pair in an ecstasy of affection make sweet song, stealing each other's heart (Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans!) the bard is fain to praise, but the drone of a bee is as good as his ineffectual rhyme.

[^18]VI. "Who so clever, pretty damsel, whom her lover comes to meet, stealing through the night? Why shrink so coyly at my words? Your eyes are suffused and red with love's excitement, your bosom is marked with his nails, you are dressed in his clothes, and your voice is tremulous. (Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans!) Rádhé's amorous lord has been mad with love.
VII. "To-day the lusty swain and blooming dame are sporting in their pleasant bower. 0 list! great and incomparable is the mutual affection of the happy pair, on the heavenly" plain of Brindaban. The ground gleams bright with coral and crystal and there is a strong odour of camphor. A dainty couch of soft leaves is spread, on which the dark groom and his fair bride recline, intent upon the joys and delights of dalliance, their lotus cheeks stained with red streaks of betel juice. There is a charming struggle between dark hands and fair to loose the string that binds her skirt. Beholding herself as in a mirror in the necklace on Hari's breast, the silly girl is troubled by delusion and begins to fret, till her lover wagging his pretty chin shews her that she has been looking only at her own shadow. Listening to her honeyod voice, as again and again she cries 'Nay, nay,' Lalita and the others take a furtive peep (Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans!) till tossing her hands in affected passion she snaps his jewelled necklet.
VIII. "Ah, red indeed are your lotus eyes, lazily languishing and inflamed by night-long watch, and their collyrium all faded. From your drooping eyelids shoots a glance like a bolt, that strikes your swain as it were a deer and he cannot stir. (Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans!) 0 damsel voluptuous in motion as the swan, your eyes deceive even the wasps and bees.
IX. "Rádha and Mohan are buch a dainty pair, he dark and beautiful as the sapphire, she with body of golden lustre ; Hari with a tilak on his broad forehead and the fair with a roli streak amidst the tresses of her hair : the lord like a stately elephant in gait and the daughter of Vrishabhánu like an elephant queen : the damsel in a blue vesture and Mohan in yellow with a red khaur on his forehead (Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans!) Rádhá's amorous lord is dyed deep with love's colours.
X. "To-day the damsel and her swain take delight in novel ways. What can I say? they are altogether exquisite in every limb; sporting together with arms about each other's neck and cheek to cheek, by such delicious contact making a circle of wanton delight. As they dance, the dark swain and the fair damsel, pipe and drum and cymbal blend in sweet concert with the tinkling of the bangles on her wrists and ankles and the girdle round her waist. Sri Hit Hari Vans, rejoicing at the sight of the damsels' dancing and their measured paces, tears his soul from his body and lays them both at their feet.

- Abhút, not oreatod, solf-producod, divino.
XI. "The pavilion is a bright and charming spot; Rádhá and Hari are in glistening attire and the full-orbed autumnal moon is resplendent in the heaven. The dark-hued swain and nymph of golden sheen, as they toy together, shew like the lightning's flash and sombre cloud. In saffron vesture he and she in scarlet; their affection deep beyond compare; and the air, cool, soft and laden with perfumes. Their couch is made of leaves and blossoms and he woos her in dulcet tones, while coyly the fair one repulses his every advance. Love tortures Mohan's soul, as he touches her bosom, or waist-band, or wreath, and timorously she cries 'off off.' Pleasant is the sporting of the glorious lord, close-locked in oft-repeated embrace, and like an earth-reviving river is the flood of his passion.
XII. "Come Rádhá, you knowing one, your paragon of lovers has started a dance on the bank of the Jamuna's stream. Bevies of damsels are dancing in all the abandonment of delight; the joyous pipe gives forth a stirring sound. Near the Bansi-bat, a sweetly pretty spot, where the spicy air breathes with delicious softness, where the half-opened jasmine fills the world with overpowering fragrance, beneath the clear radiance of the autumnal full moon, the milkmaids with raptured eyes are gazing on your glorious lord, all beautiful from head to foot, quick to remove love's every pain. Put your arms about his neck, fair dame, pride of the world, and lapped in the bosom of the Ocean of delight, disport yourself with Syam in his blooming bower."

If ever the language of the brothel was borrowed for temple use it has been so here. But, strange to say, the Gosains, who accept as their Gospel these nauseous ravings of a morbid imagination, are for the most part highly respectable married men, who contrast rather favourably both in sobriety of life and intellectual acquirements with the professors of rival sects that are based on more reputable authorities. Several of them have a good knowledge of literary Hindi : but their proficiency in Sanskrit is not very high : the best informed among them being unable to resolve into its constituent elements and explain the not very recondite compound sudurika, which will be found in the second stanza of the Rádhá-sudhá.

To indicate the fervour of his passionate love for his divine mistress, Hari Vans assumed the title of Hit Ji and is popularly better known by this name than by the one which he received from his parents. His most famous disciple was Vyás Ji of Orchha, of whom various legends are reported. On his first visit to the Swámi he found him busy cooking, but at once propounded some knotty theological problem. The sage without any hesitation solved the difficulty, but first threw away the whole of the food. he had prepared, with the remark that no man could attend properly to two things at once. Vyas was so struck by this procedure that he then and there enrolled himself as his disciple, and in a short space of time conceived
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such an affection for Brindaban that he was most reluctant to leave it, even to return to his wife and children. At last, however, he forced himself to go, but had not been with them long before he determined that they should themselves disown him, and accordingly he one day in their presence took and eat some food from a Bhangi's hand. After this act of soeial excommunication he wras allowed to return to Brindaban, where he spent the remainder of his life and where his samádh, or tomb, is still to be seen.

Another disciple, Dhruva Dás, was a voluminous writer and composed as many as 42 poems, of which the following is a list: 1. Jív-dasa; 2, Baidgyan ; 3, Man-siksha ; 4, Brindaban-sat ; 5, Bhakt-námávali ; 6, Brihadbàman Purán; 7, Khyál Hulás; 8, Siddhánt Bichár ; 9, Príti-chovani ; 10, Anandashtak ; 11, Bhajanáshtak ; 12, Bhajan-kundaliya; 13, Bhajan-sat; 14, Sringár-sat ; 15, Man-sringár ; 16, Hit-sringár ; 17, Sabha-mandal ; 18, Raa-muktávali ; 19, Ras-hirávali ; 20, Ras-ratnávali ; 21, Premávali; 22, Sri Priyá Jí kí námávali ; 28, Rahasya-manjari ; 24, Sukhmanjari ; 25, Rati-manjari ; 26, Neh-manjari ; 27, Ban-bihár ; 28, Ras-bihár ; 29, Ranghulás ; 30, Rang-bihár ; 31, Rang-binod; 82, Anand-dasa ; 33, Rahasyalatá ; 34, Annand-latá ; 35, Anurág-laté ; 36, Prem-latá ; 37, Ras-anand ; 38, Jugal-dhyán ; 39, Nirtya-bilás; 40, Dán-líla ; 41, Mán-líla ; 42, Braj-líla.

Other poems by different members of the same sect are the Sevak-bani and the Ballabh-rasik ki báni ; the Guru-pratáp, by Dámodar Dás; the Hari-nám-mahimé, by Dámodar Swámi ; the Sri RǴp Lál Ji ka ashtáka, by Hit Ballabh; and the Hari-nám-beli, the Sri Lal Ji badhai and theSri Lárili Jú ki badhai by Brindaban Dás,

## 2. The Chhatthi Pálná, or Assi Khamba, at Mahában.

The description of this building given in my Mathurá Memoir, Part 1, page 149, is not very accurate. The pillars of the colonnade are mostly, if not all, anterior in date to Máhmúd of Ghazní, and probably belonged to a temple, or it may be to several different temples of the Jaini faith, which he destroyed when he captured the fort in the year 1017. After they had been lying about for centuries, the Muhammadans in the reign of Aurangzib roughly put them together and set them up on the site of a modern Hindu temple that they had demolished. The building so constructed was used as a mosque till quite recent times, and its connection with Krishna, or his worship even, at any earlier period is entirely fictitious. That is to say, so far as concerns the actual fabric and the materials of which it is constructed : the site, as in so many other similar cases, has probably been associated with Hindu worship from very remote antiquity. In Sir John Strachey's time I obtained a grant of Rs. 1000 for the repair of the building, which had fallen into a very ruinous condition, and in digging the
foundations of the new screen-walls (the old walls had been simply set on the ground without any foundation at all) I came upon a number of remains of the true Hindu temple, dating apparently from about the year 1500 A . D. The Iconoclast would not use these sculptures in the construction of his mosque, since they had too recently formed part of an idolatrous shrine, but had them buried out of sight; while he had no scruple about utilizing the old Jaini pillars. Whatever I dug up, I either let into the wall or brought over to Mathure for the local Museum, which in all probability will now never be instituted.

On a drum of one of the pillars is an inscription, which I read Rámdasa kas iknavi kam, meaning, it would seem, 'Column No. 91, the gift of Rám Dás.' This is now upside down and from this fact as also from what has been said above, it may clearly be seen that my statement in the ' Memoir' that 'the pillars, as they now stand, occupy their original position' cannot be maintained. I still think, however, that in the main they represent the original design and that height was gained, from the first, by the simple expedient of placing one pillar on the top of another. For some of the inner columns are so carved, that they seem to be broken in two in the middle, though they are really each a single shaft.

## 3. The Hindu sikhara; its origin and development.

If Mr. Fergusson had ever been able to visit Brindaban or to procure photographs of the temples there, it is possible that he would not have found the origin of the Hindu sikhara such an inscrutable mystery as he declares it to be. He conjectures that the external form may have been simply a constructural necessity resulting from the employment internally of a very tall pointed horizontal arch, like that of the Treasury at Mycenæ. But so far as my experience extends, no such arch was ever used in a Hindu temple. On the contrary the cella, over which the sikhara is built, is separated from the more public part of the building by a solid wall pierced only by a doorway small enough to be easily closed; while the chamber itself is of no great height and is covered in with a vaulted cieling, as to the shape of which nothing could be learnt from a view of the sikhara outside. And vice versh. Thus at the great temple of Gobind Deva the central dome of the nave (or porch as Mr. Fergusson very inappropriately calls it) is perfect ; but it is impossible to determine from thence with any certainty what would have been the outline and proportions of the tower that the architect proposed to raise over it. I have no question in my own mind that the origin of the sikhara is to be found in the Buddhist stúpa of which a representative example may be seen in Plate XIII sculptured at the back of a small pillar. Nor do I detect any violent breal in the
development. The lower storey of the modern temple which, though most commonly square, is occasionally, as in the Madan Mohan example, an octagon and therefore a near approach to a circle, is represented by the masonry plinth of the relic-mound; the high curvilinear roof by the swelling contour of the earthen hill, and the pinnacle with its peculiar base by the Buddhist rails and umbrella on the top of a Dagoba. From the original stúpa to the temple of Parsvanáth at Khajraha, of the 11th century, the towers of Madan Mohan and Jugal Kishor at Brindaban of the 16th, and the temple of Vishveshvar at Banáras the gradation seems to be easy and continuous.

A description of the two Brindaban temples is given in the Journal for 1872 (pages 318-320), but it is only now that I have been able to get photographs taken of them.

## 4. The temple of Gobind Deva at Brindaban.

Mr. Fergusson in his Indian Architecture speaks of this temple as "one of the most interesting and elegant in India, and the only one perhaps, from which a European architect might borrow a few hints." I should myself have thought that 'solemn' or 'imposing' was a more appropriate term than 'elegant' for so massive a building, and that the suggestions that migḥt be derived from its study were ' many' rather than 'few'; but the criticism is at all events in intention a complimentary one. It is, however, unfortunate that the author of a book, which will long and deservedly be accepted as an authority, was not able to obtain more satisfactory information regarding so notable a chef d'oeuvre. The ground-plan that he supplies is extremely incorrect: for it gives in faint lines, as if destroyed, the choir, or jag-mohan, which happens to be in more perfect preservation than any other part of the fabric, and it entirely omits the two chapels that flank the cella on either side and are integral portions of the design. The cella itself is also omitted; though for this there was more excuse, since it was razed to the ground by Aurangzíb and not a vestige of it now remains beyond the rough rubble wall of the choir, to which it had been attached. The three towers, over the two side chapels and the dome in the centre of the nave, were certainly never erected. Those over the choir and the sacrarium were both finished, and of the former I annex a plan. Its restoration was completed last month, (March 1877) with the exception of the finial and a few stages below it, which had entirely perished, and which Sir John Strachey on that account would not allow me to replace, on the general principle that in all such cases the new work must be more or less conjectural and therefore untrustworthy.

As in the later temple of Rádhá Ballabh (described in the first section
of this article) the triforium is a reproduction of Muhammadan design, while the work both above and below it is purely Hindu.* It should be noted however that the arches in the middle story are decorative only, not constructural : the spandrels in the head might be-and, as a fact, for the most part had been-struck out, leaving only the lintel supported on the straight jambs, without any injury to the stability of the building.

Its restoration was commenced in September 1873, and has been carried on under my. supervision, without any professional assistance, up to the present time. The cost was estimated, in the D. P. W., at Rs $1,32,387$, but for the comparatively modest sum of Rs. 38,365 I have been able to accomplish almost all that was ever intended to be done. I had applied for a small supplementary grant of Rs. 3,642 ; but if it is sanctioned, there will be no one on the spot to see it expended. $\dagger$

## 5. The Sati Burj at Mathurá.

This is a slender quadrangular tower of red sandstone which stands on the bank of the Jamuna, at the very heart of the modern city. It commemorates the Queen of Maharájá Bihár Mall of Jaypur, and was erected by her son, the Maharájá Bhagawán Dás, in the year 1570 A . D. The upper part, which had been destroyed long previously, was replaced about the beginning of the present century by an exceedingly ugly and incongruous plaster dome, which may help to preserve what remains of the original work, but quite destroys its architectural effect. The lower stories being also in a ruinous condition, I suggested to the reigning Maharajá that he should undertake its restoration as a family monument. It is not at all likely that the work will ever be set on foot; but the design that I had prepared for it may be deemed worthy of preservation. No small amount of time and thought was bestowed upon it, and I hope that architects will consider it both a pleasing object in itself and a probably faithful reproduction of the destroyed original.

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From a Photograph
Digitized by COO OIle

## 6. Mediaval Hindu columns from Sahár.

Sahár is a small town in the Chhátá Pargana, which was of some importance last century as the favourite residence of Thákur Badan Sinh, the father of Súraj Mall the founder of the present Bharatpur dynasty. A short time ago a dispute arose between the Muhammadans and the Hindus as to the possession of a site on which they wished to erect, the one party a mosque, the other a temple. The real fact, as afterwards more clearly appeared, was that the Hindus had originally a temple there, which the Muhanmadans had thrown down and built a mosque over it. This too had fallen and the ground had for some years remained unoccupied. The case when brought into Court was decided in favour of the Hindus, who thereupon set to work and commenced the erection of a shrine to be dedicated to Rádhá Ballabh. In digging the foundations, they came upon the remains of the old temple, which I rescued and brought into Mathura. They consist of 10 large pillars or pilasters in very good preservation and elegantly carved with foliage and arabesques and also a number of mutilated capitals, bases, \&c., the whole series proving an interesting illustration of the medixval Hindu style of architecture. Their value is increased by the fact that two of the shafts bear inscriptions, in which the date is clearly given as sambat 1128 (1072 A. D.). With the exception of the date, I have not succeeded in reading much else; but the accompanying photograph of one of them is on a scale large enough to be legible. The style that I call 'the mediæval Hindu,' and of which these pillars afford a good late example, began about the year 400 A. D. and continued to flourish over the whole of Upper Indis for more than seven centuries. It is distinguished by the constant employment in the capital, or upper half column, of two decorative features, the one being a flower-vase with foliage over-hanging the corners and the other a grotesque mask. The physiognomy of the latter is generally of a very un-Indian type, and the more so the further we go back, as is well illustrated by Plate 13, a photograph that Sir John Strachey was kind enough to send me of a pillar in the underground temple in the Allahabad Fort. The motif is precisely the same as may be seen in many European cinque cento arabesques, where a scroll pattern is worked up at the ends, or in the centre, into the semblance of a human face. The fashion with us certainly arose out of the classic rexaissance, and in India also may possibly have been suggested by the reminiscence of a Greek design. But it was more probably of spontaneous and independent origin.; as also it was among our Gothic architects, in whose works a similar style of decoration is not altogether unknown. In

[^20]the earlier examples, such as that at Allahabad, the face is very clearly marked; though even there the hair of the head and the moustaches are worked off into a scroll or leaf pattern. In later work, of which numerous specimens may be seen in the accompanying illustrations of different dates ranging between the two limits fixed by the Allahabad pillar at the beginning and the Sahár columns at the end, the eyes are made so protuberant, and the other features so distorted and confused by the more elaborate treatment of the foliage and the introduction of other accessories that the proportions of a human face are almost and in some cases are altogether destroyed. The tradition however exists to the present day ; and a Mathurá stone-mason, if told to carve a grotesque for a corbel or stringcourse of any building, will at once draw a design, in which are reproduced all the peculiarities of the old models.

## 7. Miscellaneous Antiquities, Mathura Museum.

Plate No. 13 shews two Buddhist rails of early character. The one giving the representation of àstupa, to which I have already ${ }^{*}$ referred, was brought from the khera of Jaysiñhpura, a village on the road between Mathurá and Brindaban. The other I dug out of one of the Chauwára mounds, where $I$ found also a copper coin of Kanishka's reign. The columns with their bell-capitals surmounted by winged lions, and the miniature window-fronts or pediments, with which the architraves are decorated, illustrate the characteristic features of the architecture of the period. The upper group represents a sacred tree, enclosed in a railing, with two devotoes worshipping it, the one having a wreath in his hand and the other a chauri. Below is an inscription in a single line ending with the word danam, which records the name of the donor; but though most of the letters are clear, I cannot determine what the name is. The second group is probably a scene from one of the Játakas, to which the two birds will probably at some time give a clue.

Plate No. 14 shews a Buddhist rail, also of the Indo-Scythian period, of unusually large dimensions, the height of the stone, though a piece of it has been broken off at the bottom, being still 6 ft .4 in . It is sculptured with a female figure, almost nude but for her metal ornaments, who carries a wicker-work umbrella, the stick of which is so long that it rests upon the ground. In the compartment above is a very curious bas-relief representing two monkeys and a bird, seated on basket-work chairs, with a hideously mis-shapen dwarf standing on the ground between them and apparently shedding tears.

In Plate 15 the two Buddhist rails placed on either side of the lowest range of sculptures are the same of which a back view is given in Plate 13.
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PILLAR WITH GROTESQUE MASK. FROM ALLAhabad.

The draped Buddha, which I rescued from the bed of the Jamuná at Jaysiñhpura, is of early date and executed in a different style from most of those found in the neighbourhood. The arabesque pilaster next to it is a good specimen of the mediæval Hindu period. I found it in opening out the new paved way along the river bank in the city. The fragment of wall-decoration and the head are from the Kankali tila, and the larger stone, covered with miniature temple façades of the same style as the caves at Karli and Ajanta, I brought from Mahában.

In the second tier (over an intermediate row of three Buddhist crossbars) the small bas-relief, that occupies the place in the centre, is very curious. It represents a rustic wooden throne, with drapery thrown over it and a footstool set in front, and two attendants standing at the back, each with a chauri to keep off the flies. The object of veneration is a relic-casket, which is exposed upon the chair. Next to the pillar with the figure of Mayá Devi under the sál tree is a stone that I brought from Shergarh in the Chhátá Pargana, where I found it imbedded in one of the towers of a Fort built according to tradition by the Emperor Sher Sháh. It is the only example that I have seen in India of the use of the trefoiled circle as a decoration. It is the special cbaracteristic of the architecture of Kashmír, a style which I am inclined to believe once spread much farther south, and was of purely Indian origin; while the later styles were modified more or less by Greek influences. The festoon is the same, as in the two flanking pillars (from the Kankáli tila) which I ascribe to about the year 400 A . D. the flower-vase being here used only, without the grotesque mask which was of somewhat later introduction. On the other side of the enthroned relic is what appears to be the spandril of a doorway with an outer border of grapes and vine leaves, and in the jamb the model of a triumphal pillar with bell-capital and winged lions and an elephant standing above the abacus. The upper portion of such a pillar with an inscription on the abacus, dated in the reign of Huvishka sambat 39, is also in the museum, and is figured by General Cunningham in volume III of his archmological survey.

Of the two nude Jaina figures in the third tier, the one with the group of devotees below it, adoring the chakra, is of special interest on account of the inscription, which gives the date both in letters and figures as sambat 57. It would seem either that the century is omitted, or that some other era than than of Vikramáditya is intended : for the figure has rather a modern appearance, and the letters, which are very scratchy and ill-formed, are quite unlike the bold characters in the other inscriptions, when the king's name is given as well as the date and which are therefore known to be of the Indo-Scythian period.

In the upper tier, the female figure with a child in its lap (from the Manoharpur quarter of the city) is of exceptional character and uncertain date. The square box, with a seated Buddha fully draped, on each of the four sides, is shewn by the flanking columns to be of great antiquity. I brought it from the Mahávidya tila, which is unquestionably one of the oldest religious sites in Mathurá and probably has many relics of the past buried under the modern temple. The architrave, with defaced figure sculpture at either end, I found in the progress of the repairs of the Chhatthi Pálná at Mahában, being part of the Hindu temple there which was destroyed by Aurangzíb. It is a good example of a simple but very effective style of decoration.

## 8. The Festival of the Holi, as kept in Braj.

In 1877 the Festival of the Holi fell unusually early in the year, while the weather was still cool enough to allow of a mid-day ride without serious inconvenience. I took advantage of the opportunity thus afforded me and made the round of the principal villages in the Chháté and Kosi Parganas where the rejoicings of the Phúl Dol, for so these Hindu Saturnalia are popularly termed, are celebrated with any peculiar local observances, visiting each place on its special fête-day and jotting down what I saw in my note-book. Several of the usages are, I believe, entirely unknown beyond the limits of Braj, even to the people of the country, and-so far as I could ascertain by enquiries-they had never before been witnessed by any European. The following extracts from my diary may therefore be thought worthy of preservation.

Feb. 22nd, Barsaina, the Rangila Holi.-In the middle of the town is a small open square, about which are grouped the stately mansions and temples built by the great families who resided here during the first half of the 18th century. I find a seat in the balcony over the gateway of the house still occupied by the impoverished descendants of the famous Katára, Rúp Rám, the founder of Barsána's short-lived magnificence, from which I have a full view of the humours of the crowd below. The cheeriness of the holiday-makers as they throng the narrow winding streets on their way to and from the central square, where they break up into groups of bright and ever varying combinations of colour; with the buffooneries of the village clowns and the grotesque dances of the lusty swains, who with castanets in hand, caricature in their movements the conventional graces of the Indian ballet-girl,

> Orispum sub cratalo docta movere latus,
all make up a sufficiently amusing spectacle; but these are only interludes and accessories to the great event of the day. This is a sham fight between


BUDDHIST RAILS, MATAURA.
(From a Photograph.)
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the men from the neighbouring village of Nand-gánw and the Barsana ladies, the wives of the Gosains of the temple of Lárli Ji , which stands high on the crest of the rock that overlooks the arena. The women have their mantles drawn down over their faces and are armed with long heavy bambus, with which they deal their opponents many shrewd blows on the head and shoulders. The latter defend themselves as best they can with round leather shields and stags' horns. As they dodge in and out amongst the crowd and now and again have their flight cut off and are driven back upon the band of excited viragoes, many laughable incidents occur. Not anfrequently blood is drawn, but an accident of the kind is regarded rather as an omen of good fortune, and has never been known to give rise to any ill-feeling. Whenever the fury of their female assailants appears to be subsiding, it is again excited by the men shouting at them snatches of the following ribald rhymes. They are not worth translation, since they consist of nothing but the repetition of the abusive word sald, applied to every person and thing in Barsana. That town being the reputed home of Rádhá, the bride, its people are styled her brothers; while the Nand-ganve men account themselves the brothers of Krishna the bridegroom.

## ग्रीभाउवधार्द बरसांनेवी।

## बब घारे बरगंनेबारे रावलबारे घारे।

अगम्नाथके नाती घारे के बरलांनेषारे।।
सबानियां कैर कटारे घारे के बरसांनेबारे।
डोंम ठड़ेरे खबही घारे कैगर पत्तराबारे।।
बाग बगीचा षबही घारे षारे बींचनबारे।
बिरकत बैर गुदरिया घारे लंबे सतनाबारे ॥ वावाजी भानों खरिसारे प्रंम बरोवरषारे। बाट बटोसा षबही घारे तौका चूरहे घारे।।习हलायत महलायत सारे षारे खंभतिछारे। शग्रारे पिख्बारे कारे गेष्ष गिरारे षारे।।

Feb. 23rd, Nand-gánw.-Another sham fight as on the preceding day, only with the cbaracters reversed; the women on this occasion being the
wives of the Gosains of the Nand-gánw temple, and their antagonists the men of Barsána. The combatants are drawn up more in battle-array, instead of skirmishing by twos and threes, and rally round a small yellow pennon that is carried in their midst; but the show is less picturesque in its accessories, being held on a very dusty spot outside the town, and was more of a phallic orgie.

Feb. 27th, the Holi. Phálen.-Here is a sacred pond called Prahládkund, and the fact of its having preserved its original name gives a clue, as in so many parallel cases, to the older form of the name now borne by the villag. The local pandits would derive the word Phálen from the verb phárna, " to tear in pieces," with a reference to the fate of Prahlád's impious father, Hiranya-Kasipu : but such a formation would be contrary both to rule and to experience, and the word is beyond a doubt a corruption of Prahláda-gráma. Thus: 1st, the $r$ in the compounds $p r$ and $g r$ is elided by Vararuchi's sútra, Sarvatra lava-rám, III, 3, as in kos for kros; 2ndly, the $d$ in láda is elided by Vararuchi II, 2, as in pau for pada; 3rdly, the initial $g$ of $g a m_{m} a$ is elided by a further application of the last quoted rule; 4thly, the $m$ in gám becomes $v$, these two letters being ordinarily interchangeable, thus dhimar = dhivar; Bhamáni Bhaváni; gauna = gamana; and 5thly, a nasal is inserted, which can always be done at pleasure. The result is Pahlau-aunw, from which to Phálan or Phálen is a transition so easy as to be almost a phonetic necessity.

Arriving at the village about an hour before sunset I found a crowd of some 5000 people closely packed in the narrow space on the margin of the pond and swarming over the tops of the houses and the branches of all the trees in the neighbourhood. A large bonfire had been stacked half-way between the pond and a little shrine dedicated to Prahlad, inside which the Khera-pat, or Pánda, who was to take the chief part in the performance of the day, was sitting telling his beads. At $6 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. the pile was lit and being composed of the most inflammable materials at once burst into such a tremendous blaze that I felt myself scorching, though the little hillock where I was seated was a good many yards away. However, the lads of the village kept on running close round it, jumping and dancing and brandishing their láthis, while the Pánda went down and dipped in the pond and then, with his dripping pagri and dhuti on, ran baok and made a feint of passing through the fire. In reality he only jumped over the outermost verge of the smouldering ashes and then dashed into his cell again, much to the dissatisfaction of the spectators, who say that the former incumbent used to do it much more thoroughly. If on the next recurrence of the festival, the Pánda shews himself equally timid, the village proprietors threaten to eject him, as an impostor, from the land which he holds rentfree simply on the score of his being fire-proof.

Feb. 28th, Kosi.-After sitting a little while at a nach of the ordinary character given by one of the principal traders in the town, I went on to see the chaupais, or more special Holi performances, got up by the different bodies of Ját zamindárs, each in their own quarter of the town. The dancers, exclusively men and boys, are all members of the proprietory clan and are all dressed alike in a very high-waisted full-skirted white robe, reaching to the ankles, called a jhagá, with a red pagri, in which is set at the back of the head a long tinsel plume, Kalangi, to represent the peacock feathers with which Krishna was wont to adorn himself as he rambled through the woods. The women stand at one end of the court-yard with their mantle drawn over their faces and holding long láthis with which at a later period of the proceedings they join in the Holi sports. Opposite them are the bands-men with drums, cymbals and timbrels and at their back other men with sticks and green twigs which they brandish about over their heads. The space in the middle is circled by torch-bearers and kept clear for the dancers, who are generally 6 in number, only one pair dancing at a time. Each performer, in the dress as above described, has a knife or dagger in his right hand and its scabbard in his left. At first darting forward they make a feint of thrusting at the women or other spectators and then pointing the knife to their own breast they whirl round and round, generally backwards, the pace growing faster and more furious and the clash of the band louder and louder till at last they sink down, with their flowing robe spread out all round them, in a sort of curtsey, and retire into the back ground to be succeeded by another pair of performers. After a pair of men comes a pair of boys, and so on alternately with very little variation in the action. Between the dances a verse or two of a song is sung, and at the end comes the Holi khelna. This is a very monotonous performance. The women stand in a line, their faces veiled, and each with a láthi ornamented with bands of metal and gaudy pendents, like the Bacchantes of old with the thyrsus, and an equal number of men oppose them at a few yards' interval. The latter advance slowly with a defiant air and continue shouting snatches of scurrilous song till they are close upon the women, who then thrust out their láthis and without uttering a word follow them as they turn their back and retreat to their original standingplace. Arrived there they let the women form again in line as they were at first and then again advance upon them, precisely as before, and so it goes on till their repertory of songs is exhausted or they have no voice left to sing them. To complete my description I here give some specimens of these sákhis or verses, and have added notes to all the words that seemed likely to require explanation. They are too coarse and at the same time too stupid to make it desirable for me to translate them.

## होली खेलभेके समयकी साखी।

## कान्ता धरे ₹े मुकट बेले होगी।

एक ज्रोर बेडे कुंदर करेशा एक श्रोर राषा गोरी ॥थ॥

## हल गडियन काम कहा तोरो।

हूल गधियन मेरो स्याबू" फाएलो में तो फाइंगी यार क्षगा। तेरेा॥९। विमली तोरि देख जाता।
 कव निकसेगो हूत्रा। चले चालीँ।
गोरीने जोला षजऩायो रहियाने गिकस कसो भालो ॥४॥
कोरी*० मत करे माल राब देंडगी।
 का सेटयवेको बोल\# कही होती। माटी बोदल गर्द बरानेदेध काँ मेरी बांश गरी होती ॥॥ जजर ठोगोरी\|॥ बजर ठेगा अंजे जोड़ेगा पे थार । भजर ठेराय जंचे चोड़ेकेताता एक छख देख्यो गाए क्रहर ले जाय ॥७॥


[^21]
## खाज मिटे तेरी ॥c॥

घाथिन तेरो गोने कहिये।
गोनेनैंका फूल बटे हें श्रांख मीच कहजेये ॥? •॥
मगन बेलीरे थार मगन बेसी बनमें पायो यार मगन बोली।

March 1st, Kosi. -Spend an hour or two in the afternoon as a spectator of the Holi sports at the Gomati-Kund. Each of the 6 Ját villages of the Denda Pál§ has two or more chaupdis, which come up one after the other in a long procession, stopping at short intervals on the way to dance in the manner above described, but several at a time instead of in single pairs. One of the performers executed a pas de seul mounted on a daf, or large timbrel, which was supported on the shoulders of four other men of his troupe. Bands of Mummers (or swángs) were also to be seen, one set attired as Muhammadan fakírs; another (ghayalon ká swáng) as wounded warriors, painted with streaks, as it were of blood, and with sword-blades and daggers so bound on to their neck and arms and other parts of the body that they seemed to be transfixed by them. Some long iron rods were actually thrust through their protruded tongue and their cheeks, and in this ghastly guise and with drawn swords in their hands, with which they kept on dealing and parrying blows, the pair of combatants perambulated the crowd.

March 2nd.-At 2 p. M. ride over to Bathen for the Holanga mela, and find a place reserved for me on a raised terrace at the junction of four streets in the centre of the village. Every avenue was closely packed with the densest throng, and the house-tops seemed like gardens of flowers with the bright dresses of the women. Most of them were Játs by caste and wore their distinctive costume, a petticoat of coarse country stuff worked by their own hands with figures of birds, beasts and men of most grotesque design, and a mantle thickly sewn all over with dises of talc, which flash like mirrors in the sun and quite dazzle the sight. The performers in the chaupái could scarcely force their way through the crowd much less dance, but the noise of the band that followed close at their heels made up for all shortcomings. There was a great deal of singing, of a very vociferous and

[^22]probably also a very licentious character ; but my ears were not offended, for in the general din it was impossible to distinguish a single word. Handfulls of red powder (abir) mixed with tiny particles of glistening talc were thrown about, up to the balconies above and down on the heads of the people below, and seen through this atmosphere of coloured cloud, the frantic gestures of the throng, their white clothes and faces all stained with red and yellow patches, and the great timbrels with bunches of peacocks' feathers, artificial flowers and tinsel stars stuck in their rim, borne above the players' heads, and now and again tossed up high in the air, combined to form a curious and picturesque spectacle. After the music came a posse of rustics each bearing a rough jagged branch of the prickly acacia, stript of its leaves, and in their centre one man with a small yellow pennon on a long staff, yellow being the colour appropriate to the Spring season and the god of Love. The whole party slowly made its way through the village to an open plain outside, where the crowd assembled cannot have numbered less than 15,000 . Here a circular arena was cleared and about a hundred of the Bathen Jáțnis were drawn up in a line, each with a long bambu in her hands, and confronting them an equal number of the bow-men who are all from the neighbouring village of Jau. A sham fight ensued, the women trying to beat down the thorny bushes and force their way to the flag. A man or two got a cut in the face, but the most perfect good humour prevailed, except when an outsider from some other village attempted to join in the play; he was at once hustled out with kicks and blows that meant mischief. The women were backed up by their own husbands, who stood behind and encouraged them by word, but did not move a hand to strike. When it was all over, many of the spectators ran into the arena, and rolled over and over in the dust, or streaked themselves with it on the forchead, taking it as the dust hallowed by the feet of Krishna and the Gopís.

The forenoon had been devoted to the recitation of Hindi poems appropriate to the occasion. I was not on the spot in time enough to hear any of this, but with some difficulty I obtained for a few days the loan of the volume that was used, and have copied from it three short pieces. The actual MS. is of no greater antiquity than 1776 A . D., the colophon at the end, in the curious misture of Sanskrit and Hindi affected by village pandits, standing thus:

Sambat 1852 Bhadrapad sudi 2 dwitiya, rabibar, likhitam idam pustakam, Sri Gopál Dás Charan-Pahári*-madhye parhan árthi Sri Seva Dás Baṛi Bathain vási :

[^23]but probably many successive copies have been made since the original was thumbed to pieces. The first stanzas which are rather prettily worded, are, or at least profess to be, the composition of the famous blind poet Súr Dás.
|| पद् \|
तेरी गति जानी न परे करुएमे हो ।
श्रागम च्रगम च्रगाधि घ्यगोषर केद्रवुधिविधियचर्थ ॥
श्रति म्रचंड वल पौरिषता मे केहरि भूष मरे।
ग्रनाश्रास विम उद्डिम कियैँ अ्रजगर पेट परे ॥
कवएक बम डूवत पानीमे कवछक सिस्षा तिरे।
वागरमे सागर करिडारे चहदिस नीर भरे ॥
रीते भरे भरे फिरि डारे मेहरि करे तौ फेरि भर्े।
पाहन वीच कमस परगासे जलमे च्रगिन जर्ं ॥
राजा रंक रंकते राजा से सिरकण धरे।
स्रार पतित तिरिजाय §िनकमे जौ पकु नैंक ठरे॥

## Translation.

"Thy ways are past knowing, full of compassion, Supreme Intelligence, unapproachable, unfathomable, beyond the cognizance of the senses, moving in fashion mysterious.
"A lion, most mighty in strength and courage, dies of hunger ; a snake fills his belly without labour and without exertion.
" Now a straw sinks in the water, now a stone floats: he plants an ocean in the desert, a flood fills it all round.
"The empty is filled, the full is upset, by his grace it is filled again ; the lotus blossoms from the rock and fire burns in the water.
"A king becomes a beggar and again a beggar a king, with umbrella over his head; even the guiltiest (says Súr Dás) in an instant is saved, if the Lord helps him the least."

The second piece, in a somewhat similar strain, is by Dámodar Dás.

# \| पद् ॥ <br> चर्रे मन भजिषै बंदल्ला। <br> यह बांनगमे रसौ किम कोज पकरत नाहि पला $n$ <br> बेद पुरान षंम्टत थौं भाषौ थाते वाहि भला। <br> दिनटिन बढ़त प्रताप चैगुनौ जैसै च्र्रकसा ॥ काकौ धन काकौ घहसंपति काके हुतश्रवसा । दामेदर् कबु थिर न रहैगो जगमे चलीचसा ॥ 

## Translation.

"Come, my soul, adore Nand-lala (i. e. Krishna) whether living in the house or in the woods (i. e. whether a man of the world or a hermit) there is no other help to lay hold of.
"The Veda, the Puránas and the Law declare that nothing is better than this; every day honour increases four-fold, like the moon in its degrees.
" Who has wealth ? who has house and fortune? who has son and wife ? says Dámodar, nought will remain secure in the world, it is gone in a moment."

The third piece, an encomium of the blooming Spring, is too simple to require any translation.

## राग वसंत ॥

गबस वंंत गबस हृंदावस नवष्षे फूलेफूल ।

नवसे घाष जबादि बुमकुमा ववहै वषन घमूल।
गवस्षे बीटवनीकेषरिकी मेटत मवमयस्ता ॥
गवस गुलाल उज़े रंगवूका ववस्ल पवनके ह्रूल।
गवसधीं बाने वाजै ग्रीभर कालिंदीक़ कूल ।।
The only divinities who are now popularly commemorated at the Holi Festival are Rádhá, Krishna and Balaráma; but its connection with them can only be of modern date. The institution of the Ban-játra and the

Rás-líá and all the local legends that they involve is traceable to one of the Brindaban Gosáins at the beginning of the 17 th century A. D., viz. Náráyan Bhaty, a disciple of Krishan Dás, Brahmáchári, whom Sanátan, the leader of the Bengali Vaishnavas in Upper India, appointed the first Pujári of his temple of Madan Mohan. The fact, though studiously ignored by the Hindus of Mathurá, is distinctly stated in the Bhakt-málá, the work which they admit to be of paramount authority on such matters. But the scenes that I have described carry back the mind of the European spectator to a far earlier period and are clearly relics, perhaps the most unchanged that exist in any part of the world, of the primitive worship of the powers of nature on the return of Spring. Such were the old English merry-makings on May Day, and still more closely parallel the Phallic orgies of Imperial Rome as described by Juvenal. When I was listening to the din of the village band at Bathan, it appeared to be the very scene depicted in the lines-

Plangebant aliæ proceris tympana palmis, Aut tereti tenuis tinnitus ære ciebant, Multis raucisonos efflabant cornua bombos, Barbaraque horribili stridebat tibia cantu.
Or again in the words of Catullus :
Leve tympanum remugit, cava cymbala recrepant, Ubi sacra sancta acutis ululatibus agitant, Quatiuntque terga tauri teneris cava digitis.
While the actors in the chaupai, with dagger in hand, recalled the pictures of the Corybantes or Phrygian priests of Cybele, the very persons to whom the poet refers. In Greece the Indian Holi found its equivalent in the Dionysia, when the phallus, the symbol of the fertility of nature, was borne in procession, as it now is here, and when it was thought a disgrace to remain sober. In like manner the Gosains and other actors in the Indian show are quite as much inspired in their frenzied action by their copious preliminary libations as by the excitement of the scene and the barbarous music of the drums, cymbals and timbrels that accompany them.

Mathurá, April 6th, 1877.

## Postscript.

## 1. Recent Archœological Discoveries.

Since my transfer from the district, the mound adjoining the Magistrate's Court-house, which has often been explored before with valuable results, has been completely levelled as a Famine relief work. A large number of miscellaneous sculptures have been discovered, of which I have received no definite description. But the more prominent object is a lifesize statue of Buddha, which is said to be very finely executed and also in
excellent preservation, though unfortunately it has been broken into two pieces by a fracture just above the ankles. On the base is an inscription in Pali characters, of which a transcript has been sent me by a clever native draughtsman. I decypher it as follows :-
" Deyadharmáyam Sákya-bhikshu Yasa-dittasya. Yad atra punyam, tad bhavatu mátá-pitroh sukhá rya páddhya yatam cha sarvva-satv-ámuttara-jnána-váptaye."

I have probably misread some of the letters printed in italics, for as they stand they yield no sense. (Vide Pl. XIX.) The remainder I translate as follows:
"This is the votive offering of the Buddhist monk Yasa-ditta. If there is any merit in it, may it work for the good of his father and mother and for the propagation of perfect knowledge throughout the world."

In Sanskrit the primary meaning of deya-dharma is the duty of giving ; but in Páli it ordinarily stands for 'the gift' itself. The literal signification of the monk's name Yasa-ditta is 'Resplendent with glory '; ditta being the Páli, Prakrit, or Hindi form of the Sanskrit dípta, by a rule of Vararuchi's, under which the example given is sutta (the modern sotá) for supta. Vápti, 'the propagation' is from the root vap, to sow ; from which also comes the Hindi word báp, 'a father,' like the Latin sator, from sero.

A second inscription of some length commences with the words Haharájasya Devaputrasya Huvishkasya Samvatsare 51 Hemanta masa 1 div...... but I have not been able to read further, as the only transcript that I have received is a very imperfect one. A great number of fragmentary sculptures of different kinds have also, as I understand, been discovered, and some of them have been photographed for General Cunningham, who spent several days at Mathurá for the purpose of examining them. His account will doubtless appear in some future volume of his Archæological Survey.

Since Gen. Cunningham's visit a third inscribed slab has been found. A transcript has been made and sent me and a facsimile of it is herewith given. I have not yet succeeded in decyphering it. It begins with the word siddham; then apparently followed the date, but unfortunately there is here a flaw in the stone. After the flaw is the word etasya.* The second line begins with the word Bhagavat. In the third line is the name Ma-

[^24]

INSCRIBEDSLAB,
Found at Mathura in 1878.
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Tineofraphed at the Survegor General: Offioe Calcutia
PALIINSCRIPTION,
Found at Mathum.

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thurá; at the end of the sixth line mátapitroh; in the middle of the seventh line bhavatu sarova.

## 2. The Rádhá-swdhá-nidhi.

The delay which has occurred in publishing these notes, enables me now to add a translation of the text of the Sanskrit poem of Hari Vans. It has been written at a considerable disadvantage, since here in Bulandshahr I am unable to consult the commentaries which I had borrowed at Mathurá. Even in this district there is, I find, at least one temple of the sect, at the town of Shikárpur.

## Translation.

1. Hail to the home of Vrisha-bhánu's daughter, by whom once and again even Madhu-Súdan-whose ways are scarce intelligible to the greatest sages-was made happy, as she playfully raised the border of her robe and fanned him with its delicious breeze.
2. Hail to the majesty of Vrisha-bhanu's daughter, the boly dust of whose lotus feet, beyond the conception of Brahma, Siva and the other gods, is altogether supernaturally glorious, and whose glance moistened with compassion is like a shower of the refined essence of all good things.
3. I call to mind the dust of the feet of Rádhika, a powder of infinite virtue, that incontinently and at once reduces to subjection the great power, that was beyond the ken even of Brahma, Rudra, Sukadeva, Nárada, Bhishma and the other divine personages.
4. I call to mind the dust of the feet of R(6hika, which the noble milk-maids placed upon their head and so attained an honour much desired by the votaries of the god with the peacock crest, dust that like the cow of heaven yields the fullness of enjoyment to all who worship with rapturous emotion.
5. Glory to the goddess of the bower, who with an embrace the quintessence of heavenly bliss, like a bountiful wave of ambrosia, sprinkled and restored to life the son of Nanda, swooning under the stroke of Love's thousand arrows.
6. When will there visit us that essence of the ocean of delight, the face of Rádha, with sweet coy glances, bewildering us with the brilliancy of ever twinkling sportive play, a store-house of every element of embodied sweetness!
7. When shall I become the handmaid to sweep the court-yard of the bower of love for the all-blissful daughter of Vrisha-bhánu, among whose servants oft and again every day are heard the soft tones of the peacockcrested god?
8. O my soul, leave at a distance all the host of the great and affectionately hie to the woods of Brindaban; here Rádhá's name is as a flood
of nectar on the soul for the beatification of the pious, a store-house of all that is divine.
9. When shall I hear the voice of blessed Rádhá, that fountain of delights, crying ' Nay, nay,' with knitted brows, as some gallant suitor, fallen at her feet, begs for the rapturous joy of her embrace?
10. When, oh when will Rádhiká shew me favour, that incarnation of the fullness of the ocean of perfect love, the marvellous glory of the glistening splendour of whose lotus feet was seen among the herdsmen's wives?
11. When shall I attain to the blissful vision of the goddess of the blooming bowers of the woods of Brindaban, her eyes all tremulous with love, and the different members of her body like the waves of an overflowing ocean of delight?
12. O queen of Brindaban, I betake me to thy lotus feet, fraught with the honeyed flood of love's ambrosia, which, planted in Madhu-pati's heart, assuaged by their grateful coolness the fierce fever of desire.
13. Fain would my soul loiter in the woods sacred to Rádhá's loves, where the sprays of the creepers have been plucked by Rádhás hands, where the fragrant soil blossoms with Rádhá's footprints, and where the frequent birds are madly garrulous with Rádhá's praises.
14. When, $O$ daughter of Vrisba-bhánu, shall I experience the conceit induced by excess of voluptuous dalliance, I your handmaid, charged with the message, 'Come and enjoy Krishna's dainties,' and answered with the smile, ' Only stay, friend, till night comes.'
15. Ah! when shall I behold Rádhá, with downcast eyes, bashfully stealing a distant glance at the moon-like orb of the face of the lord of lovers, as she trips with twinkling feet, all graceful in her movements, to the music of her own bangles?
16. When, $O$ Rádhá, will you fall asleep, while my hands caress your feet, after I have tenderly bathed you and fed you with sweet things, wearied with your vigil through a night of dalliance, in the inmost bower, in the delicious embrace of your paragon of lovers?
17. O that the ocean of wit, the singular ocean of love's delights, the ocean of tenderness, the ocean of exuberant pitifulness, the ocean of loveliness, the ocean of ambrosial beauty and grace, the ocean of wantonness, blessed Rádhiká, would manifest herself in my soul!
18. O that the daughter of Vrisha-bhánu, looking up all tremulous and glistening in every limb like the flowering champa, would clasp me in her arms, charmed by my chanted praises of Syám-sundar, as she listens for the sound of his pipe !
19. Blessed Rádhiká, cool me with the multiplicity of love, that breathes in the swan-like melody of the girdle that binds your loins red-
dened with dalliance, and in the tinkling of the bangles, like the buzzing of bees, clustered round your sweet lotus feet.
20. Blessed Rádhiká, wreathed with the surge of a Ganges wave of heavenly dalliance, with lovely lotus face and navel as a whirl in the stream, hastening on to the confluence with Krishna, that ocean of sweetness, draw near to me .
21. When, $O$ blessed Rádhiká, shall I rest upon my head your lotus feet, Govinda's life and all, that ever rain down upon the faithful abundant torrents of the honeyed flood of the ocean of perfect love?
22. When, $O$ Kádhé, stately as an elephant in gait, shall I accompany you to the bower of assignation, to shew the way, bearing divinely sweet sandal wood, and perfumes and spices, as you march in the excitement of love's rapture?
23. When, $\mathbf{O}$ blessed Rádhá, having gone to some secluded slope of the Jamuná and there rubbing with fragrant unguents your ambrosial limbs, the very life of Love, when shall I see your prince of lusty swains, with longing eyes, mounted on some high kadamb tree?
24. When, $\mathbf{O}$ bleased Rádhiké, shall I behold your heavenly face, clustered-as if with bees-with wanton curls, like some lotus blossoming in a lake of purest love, or a moon swelling an ocean of enjoyment, an ocean of delight.
25. Ah ! the name of Radhá, perfection of loveliness, perfection of delight, sole perfection of happiness, perfection of pity, perfection of honeyed beauty and grace, perfection of wit, perfection of the rapturous joys of love, perfection of all the most perfect that my soul can conceive!
26. O je wise, if there be any one desirous of marvellous happiness, let him fill the pitcher of his ears and drink in this panegyric, called the Rasa-sudhá-nidhi, or ' Treasury of Love's delights.'

Buland-8hahr, April 15th, 1878.
$\square$

## JOURNAL

OF THE

# ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL. <br>  

Part I.-HISTORY, LITERATURE, \&c.

No. III.-1878.

## The Song of Mánik Chandra.-By G. A. Grierson, C. S. Introduction.

In my notes on the Rangpur dialect, I promised to give an account of the song whose name heads this article, and that promise $I$ shall now do my best to redeem. I find, however, that the task has been more difficult than I anticipated. I do not doubt but that king Mánik Chandra, and his terrible wife did once exist ; but the traditions current concerning him run so counter to ascertained history, that I have been able to discover very few grains of truth amongst the legendary chaff that has accumulated about his name.

To begin with; the first name we meet with is a crux. Mánik Chandra's brother was a Pála king.

Mánik Chandra himself was certainly not a Pála, for he was a baniyá by caste, while Abul-Fazl describes the Pálas as Kayasthas." Moreover, I know of no dynasty of Pala kings, containing names ending in "Chandra," like Mánik Chandra, Gopí Chandra, or Bhava Chandra. The brother's name was Dharma Pál.

The following account has been drawn from various sources. I have consulted Bucharas throughout, and wherever his story differs from mine in important particulars I have recorded the points of disagreement.

[^25]In the Dimld Thand situated to the north-west of Rangpur, and nine or ten miles to the south-east of the sub-divisional head quarters of Bágdokará is the city of Dharma Pál. Buchanan thus describes it-" It is in the form of a parallelogram, rather less than a mile from north to south, and half a mile from east to west. The following sketch (Fig. 1) taken in riding round it, will enable the reader more easily to understand it than my account.* The defences consist of a high rampart of earth, which at the south-east corner is irregular, and retires back to leave a space that is much elevated, and is said to have been the house of the Raja's minister (Diván-khána). On the east side I observed no traces of a ditch, nor gate ; but a ditch about 40 feet wide surrounds the other three faces. $\dagger$ In the centre of each of these is a gate defended by outworks, and in these are a good many bricks. At each angle of the fort has been a small square projection, like a sort of bastion, extending however only across the counterscarp to the ditch; and between each gate and the bastion at the corner are some others of similar construction. The earth from the ditch has been thrown outwards, and forms a slope without a covered way. At the distance of about 150 yards from the ditch of the north-east and south sides, are parallel ramparts and ditches, which enclose an outer city, where it is said the lower populace resided. Beyond these on the south is another enclosure, in which it is said the horses were kept. Parallel to the west side of the city, at about the distance of 150 yards, runs a fine road very much raised; but its ends have been swept away by changes that have taken place in the rivers."

To the west of this city at a distance of two miles, was the city of Mánik Chandra, now, however, called, after his more famous wife Mayaná Matir kot. $\ddagger$

Here Mánik Chandra reigned over the half dozen square miles of territory which constituted him a rájádhirája. His wife Mayaná was deeply skilled in magic, an art which it appears in those days, though unlawful for a man, was lawful for a woman.§ She was (so says the legend) the pupil of a mighty magician who by his intense devotion to and abstraction into the Holy Name had acquired immense powers. His mere word was sufficient to strike one dead. He could cause the sea to cease to move,

[^26]and the lights in his dwelling burnt with surpassing splendour, though only fed with Ganges water.

Now this man was a sweeper.

## The Ha'di Siddha.

He was a Hádi, the caste which acts as sweeper in Bangál: In Rangpur its impurity signifies nameless abomination, a fact which should be specially noted. Rangpur forms part of Kámarúpa. Hither one of the five Pandavas never set his foot, and the land is consequently impure. Its men are not as other men, nor its laws as other laws. It has a special code of its own, most of which can be found in the Yogini Tantra; and this law allows many things (such as certain kinds of flesh eating) to its straitest sects of Bráhmans. Hence impurity in Western India frequently becomes purity in Rangpar; while Rangpur impurity includes things simply inconceivable in Arya varta.

The Hádi of the poem, and of the popular legends of the present day was a Vaishnava; and as Mayaná was also of the same sect (in which the members are practically all of one caste) it is not impossible that she should have had such a man for her Guru.

I say only " not impossible," for I consider it highly improbable, and for the following reasons :-It is evident that the true story has been much transformed in its passage from mouth to mouth, and I believe that the principle recasting (if I may call it so) was due to the influence of the Vaishnava followers of Chaitanya. Translated into common English the story is that Mayaná's chaplain was a man of remarkable sanctity, whom the populace credited with supernatural powers. He was a great saint, and his religion followed that of his historians. The Yogis who narrate his history are at the present day followers of the teachers of the religion of Vishṇu (not, be it observed, the popular Vaishnavas, vulgo Boishtoms) ; and they naturally claimed their hero as belonging to their own sect. It is peculiarly the tendency of this beautiful, almost Christian, religion to preach the doctrine of the equality of castes; -how every valley shall be exalted, and the rough places made smooth. The lowest amongst the low,-the despised and rejected amongst men, is fully capable of attaining equal holiness with the strictest Bráhman of the holiest sect which worships at the shrines of Vrindávana. Such being the case, what is more natural than that the ignorant and illiterate members of the same religion, who (like the Yogis) have the traditions of a missionary priesthood in their family, should instinctively point out how even an abominable Hádi can attain the terrible powers which their fathers attributed to a Vaśishţ̧a or to a Durvása. .

But, now that I have shown that it is quite possible for such an idea to have arisen, I would point out that the man who is now called the

Háḍi Siddha cannot have been originally a Vaishnava at all, and was never by caste a Hádi. He is still occasionally addressed as Haripa (not Hádipa, or Háripa), which is quite a possible name for a follower of Hari ; but on going back even so short a space as the first decade of the present century, we find that Dr. Buchanan, whose powers of observation are unquestioned, describes the Guru of Mayaná Mati as a Yogí by caste, whose name was Haripa while he never once mentions the fact of his being Hádi, which is now much the commoner name. Now in the Rangpur dialect, $a$ is frequently lengthened, and $r$ is interchangeable with $d$ so that the change from Hari to Hadi is easy, and such a change, having once taken common currency, would have itself suggested the idea so peculiarly Vaishnava to which I have before alluded. (Cf. Max Muller's lectures on the science of language, for evidence as to the tendency of false etymology and of phonetic decay in originating popular legends.) This Haripa, according to Buchanan was the pupil of Kanipa,* who was the pupil of Gorakshanáth. TTháná Dimlá, where these Yogís live, is close to Nipal, and we must go there to find out who Gorakshanáth is. I am now writing in Supaul, in the north of Bhágulpur, and not twenty miles from the Nipál frontier; and what I have heard about him here, confirms in a remarkable degree what Buchanan tells of him. The dwellers of the low lands will have nought of him, and we do not find his cultus till we reach the half savage Buddhist dwellers of the interior. Here we discover a curious mixture of the Mahá Bhárata and Buddhism. They say that during Yudhishţhira's journey through the pathless tracts of the Himálaya to heaven, his brethren (as we know) fell behind, one by one, and perished miserably. Here, adds the Nipali, only one survived,-the club-bearing Bhíma. He was saved by a Buddhist saint called Gorakshanáth who after performing many wondrous acts made him king over Nipál. $\dagger$

[^27]It is quite natural that the Buddhists should claim him as their saint, but in reality he was nothing of the sort. He was a teacher of the Saiva religion, and one of the reputed founders of the sect of Yogis. Whether the Yogis of Rangpur are an off-shoot of the Nipali converts, or whether Gorakshanath and his fellows came from north-eastern Bangal, or from Asam, where the Pd\&upata culturs, whose followers finally became Yogis, was established I cannot pretend to decide. I am inclined to believe in the former hypothesis, for they themselves have a tradition, that they came from the west, having formerly been pupils of Slankarachárya, who were expelled by him for indulging in spirituous liquor. Besides, they reject, to the present day, the authority of Bráhmans, and have their own priests ; and this is just what would be expected from people coming from Buddhistic Nipal. They rose too to power under a dynasty of Palas, most of the members of which family were Buddhists. Be that as it may, this much however is certain, that at the time of Manik Chandra, the Yogís practised a Saiva religion and worshipped a deified teacher of their sect, also worshipped in Nipál, named Gorakshanáth. Gorakshanáth moreover, had already supplanted Siva himself, and was alone worshipped by his followers.

The poem annexed bears abundant witness to this. At every Nodus whether Tindice digmus or not, he is brought in as a dews ax machina;

Sirth in descent from Mateyendra Náth, in the time of spiritual teachers, comes Goraksha Nath, who, according to this, ought to have flourished in the 8th century. There must however be some mistake here, for it is known that Goraksha Náth was a contemporary of Kabir, and held a controversy with him which is extant (Gorakh Nath ki Goshfhi, W. I. 213), and Kabir lived in the 15th century. Hence, unless the list of teachers in the Hafha Pradipa (W. I. 214) is incorrect, Matsyendra Náth must have lived at a much later period than that tentatively assigned to him by Wilson. Another Narendra Deva reigned in Nipal in the 12th century, and it is possible that it is he who introduced Mateyendra Náth, in which case the discrepancy would not be so outrageous. But, here another difficulty arises, we find that we must date Goraksha Néth's pupils' pupil as flourishing in the 14th century, a fact which agrees better with the theory of Narendra Deva II ; but then, what becomes of Kabir?

We have seen that Matoyendra Náth taught Pafupata Saiviem, and it is a well known fact that the Kdupháfd Yogis, to which sect those who sing the Mánick Chandra song belong, are the representatives at the present day of that form of religion. The above account in no way tallies with the tradition mentioned later on, in the text, that the Yogis wery errant pupils of Sankarfecharrya, nor is such a story borne out by the Sankara Vijaya. In chapter 41, Sankara successfully combats the Yoga doctrine, but he treats his opponents with a respect which he would never extend to backaliding disciples (S. V. c. 41. Bibl. Indica, Ed. p. 198).

That the Yogis rapidly became an important sect is evident from the numerous temples dedicated to Goraksha Náth, not only in Nipal but in the Panjab and North Weet Provinces. We read that the Emperor Akbar consorted with them. He was initiated into their learning, and, on one occarion, ate with them, at one of their festivale.
not as an ordinary saint, but leading the whole Hindu Pantheon, and the characters of the Mahábhárata to boot. It is Gorakshanáth, and not Siva, who grants a boon, or comforts a sorrowing widow on her husband's funeral pyre. As he is considered in Nipál, so he is here, a saint whose austerities have rendered him not only an omnipotent but The Omnipotent, and who has always been proof against the charms of the most wanton Apsarases ever sent for a holy man's seduction by a terrified Svarga. We are bound therefore to assume that the guru of the Lady Mayaná, whatever his name was, and whom for the sake of simplicity we can call the Siddha was a Yogi, i. e. a Saiva by religion, and professed doctrines which were professed also by semi-Buddhist races in Nipál.

As this introduction relates to the Mánik Chandra poem, I shall, now that I have stated my opinion concerning his identity, for the future call him as he is called in the modern edition of the poem, the Hádi Siddha.

## Dharma Pa1a.

The Hádi Siddha was, as I have already said, of great power, but his pupil Mayaná, by dint of continued practice of her magic art, became greater still. She could control everything but fate; and the whole of the poem is nothing but a description of her struggles with that resistless passive energy.

According to universal tradition both in Buchanan's time, and at the present day, her husband, Mánik Chandra was brother of Dharma Pála. This I have before shown, is an impossibility if the names are correct.

In order to obtain an approximate date for Dharma Pála it is necessary to consider two lists of dynasties. They are now-a-days the traditional history, and they agree with Buchanan's account. The following are those I have collected :

1. Dharma Pála.
2. Mánik Chandra (his brother ; died early).
3. Gopí Chandra.
4. Bhava Chandra.
5. A Pála Rájá. Name unknown.
6. Here Buchanan reasonably suggests a period of anarchy.
7. Níla Dhvaja.
8. Chakra Dhvaja.
9. Nílámbara.

According to Buchanan, Nílámbara was defeated by Husain Sháh about the year 1500 A. D.; and thus, allowing six reigns to a century, (a moderate estimate), we must date Dharma Pál as having flourished


Son of mánick chandea. Fig. 2.
about the year 1350 A. D. ; he certainly (if he ever existed, and if the dynasty lists are true) cannot have lived much before the commencement of the 14th century, i. e., before our English King Edward III.

Abul-Fazl gives a list of ten Pála Kings quoted by Mr. Westmacott; and they became extinct about the middle of the eleventh century thus leaving a space of 250 years to be accounted for. . Hence it need not necessarily be determined that Dharma Rajá was a member of the great family of Pála Kings. Buchanan suggests that he may have represented the remains of a family which survived the wreck of the dynasty, to save a portion of the kingdom which remained unconquered, by the successors of Adi Súra in Rangpur; and the fact is not rendered less improbable when we consider the history of the Haddi Siddha. We know that the Pala kings were, when we first meet them, Buddhists and that subsequently some branches of the family changed their religion to some one or other of the many varying sects of Hindúism. If then Dharma Pála ruled in a country in which such a holy man was arch-priest, it is rather a confirmation than otherwise of this theory. I myself think it certain that Dharma Pála was a member, or descendant of the great Pála family, for Dr. Buchanan gives an illustration of an image found in his city, which contains the typical Pála emblem of an elephant borne down by a lion. (Fig. 2.)

We thus I think can be certain of the following facts,-that early in the 14th century a king named Dharma Pála ruled over a small tract of country near the Karatoyá river in the present districts of Rangpur and Jalpaiguri. That this Dharma Pála was a member of the great Pála family which once ruled over northern Bamga. That in his territory there was a saint of considerable sanctity, then living, who professed tenets borrowed possibly from Nipal. And that close to his capital city there lived in a fortified stronghold a powerful chief named Mánik Chandra, who was married to a lady called Mayaná. It may be gathered from local tradition that Mayaná was an ambitious and designing woman, and that she acknowledged the saint above-named as her spiritual instructor.

Between the king and the chief, according to local tradition, a war arose, which ended in the defeat and disappearance of the former, and triumph of the latter, in a great battle fought on the banks of the river Hangrigosha. The battle-field is still shown, a mile or so to the north of Dharmapur.

## Ma'nik Chandra.

- After this victory, Mánik Chandra took up his residence at Dharmapur, while the Lady Mayaná remained at her old home Mayaná Matir kot
probably to be near her old Guru, the ruins of whose home are still shown in the neighbourhood.

The further particulars regarding Mánik Chandra will be gathered from the annexed poem. Who he was we cannot tell, we must be content with knowing that he was a neighbouring chief of Dharma Pála and his conqueror.

He appears to have governed at first with vigour and success. We read of rastic wealth and security, and light taration. The revenue system is worth noticing, it was a peculiarly elastic and simple land tax.* The land in those days was little more than a wild forest, and the soil poor and barely cultivated. The sparse prajás scraped with their flimsy ploughs the surface of the sandy soil immediately round their homestead and struggled lazily for bare existence. I suspect that, even in king Mánik's time, life and property were not over secure, and under these circumstances it was necessary that the taxes should be light. Each plough-owner was therefore required to pay for each plough in his homestead thirty kdoris per mensem. $\dagger$ Under the light taxation which may be inferred from this absurd exaggeration of the text, the prajás were necessarily happy and contented, until Mánik Chandra did what was in Rangpur the most unpopular thing a zamíndár could do. He engaged a Bangálí Díván. I have in my previous paper enlarged on the hatred of the Rangpurí peasantry for a genuine freshly imported native of the south, and I need not dwell upon it here. Suffice it to say that the new Díván fully bore out the character of his nation, for he immediately doubled the land-tax. The result was a rising of the peasants, and according to their account, the mysterious death of the king shortly afterwards from the effects of Rangpur fever. He left no living child, but his wife Mayaná was subsequently confined of a posthumous one. The child was not born till eighteen months after Mánik's death,-and ill-natured people might feel inclined to consider Mánik Chandra's claim to the title of father not proved ; but the poem chivalrously comes to the rescue of Mayana's reputation, and makes her pass through a long series of puerile adventures (the old tale of Orpheus and Eurydiké with the characters reversed), and finally obtain from Gorakshanáth, and his attendant gods, the boon of having a son of such perfect vigour and

[^28]virtue that it would take at least twenty-five months to fashion him. As a matter of special grace he was presented to her with seven months of his growth already accomplished, so that he was in fact born only eighteen months after his conception.*

During Mayaná's pregnancy she became satí for her dead husband, and mounted the pyre with his corpse. I need hardly say that the flames refused to touch her, although the relations of her late husband did their best to aid them, by thrusting her more and more into the flames with long poles. $\dagger$

Mayana after passing through various adventures survives them all, and in due time gives birth to a son, who is called Gopí Chandra. It is he who is really the hero of the poem, and not his putative father who gives it his name. All references to the latter end before the 154 th verse, and the remaining 550 narrate the fortunes of his son.

Apparently from the birth of her child, Mayaná deserted Mayaná matír kot and went to dwell in Dharmapur. She was a clever woman and managed to keep up without great difficulty the high rates of land revenue, which had caused the death of her husband. $\ddagger$ When Gopi Chandra was nine years old, it was time for him to be married, and so Mayaná looked round for a suitable match.

## Raja' Hari's' Chandra.

At the present day, seven or eight miles south of the ruins of Dharmapur, in the tháná of Darvání, there is a village called Char Chará.§ Here there is a large mound of earth called Harís Chandra Rájár Pát, i. e., the seat of king Harís Chandra.

Buchanan described it as a circular mound of earth about 40 feet in diameter. "In searching for materials to build a pig-stye, the heap was opened by an indigo-planter, and a building of stones was discovered. The

[^29]upper parts of this, consisting of many long stones, were removed, when a friend of more science in antiquities, recommended the planter to abstain from further depredations. In its present state the lower part only of the building remains and is a cavity of about 13 feet square at the mouth, and 8 at the bottom. The sides are lined with squared stones, which form a deep stair on each side, and the walls are exceedingly thick. My description will be more easily understood by consulting the plan (fig. 3). I have no doubt that this is a tomb."

Since Buchanan's time it has been still further desecrated, and, now, little remains beyond the mound of earth and the name.

Harís Chandra had two daughters Aduná and Padunć.* These he gave in marriage to Gopí Chandra with a hundred maid-servants to wait upon them. $\dagger$ By his eighteenth year Gopí Chandra had no child. It had been foretold to Mayana that at that age he would die unless he became a Sannyásí $\ddagger$ So he prepared, much against his will, to go forth wandering in the forests with the Hádi Siddha. His two wives Aduná and Paduná tried hard to persuade him to stay, and their arguments form, in my opinion, by far the best portion of the poem ( $\mathbf{v} . \mathbf{2 4 3 - 3 0 2 \text { ). They contain many }}$ touches of true poetry.

This fight of fancy, however, almost immediately leads us into the most unnatural-the profoundest bathos. The king tempted by his wives, in order to put the correctness of his mother's words to the test, makes her pass through the ordeal of boiling oil. Although the king has strength of mind to keep his mother in boiling oil for nine days, it is gratifying to learn that he really was a tender and affectionate son; for when he found at the expiration of that time that his mother had been boiled to death, he began to weep. Mayana of course was really not dead, she had only changed herself into a grain of mustard seed, and soon reappeared in her proper form. After the usual preparations, the king sets out on his journey with the Hádi Siddha. His minor adventures need not be recorded here. He passed through many trials as preparations for his future, and finally in an evil moment promised to let the Hádii have twelve káorís wherewith to buy gánjá. When he would have given it, he found that the store from which he intended to take it had been spirited away. Thereupon, rather

[^30]

Fig: 3.
Haris Chendra Rajaís Tomb.


Fig: 4
Sarmga or Tambúrí.


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than break his promise, he told his companion to pawn him for the money. The Hádi took him at his word to the bázár, where all the women fell in love with him, which gives rise to an amusing scene. However they could not afford thes twelve káorís demanded ; so the Hádi finally took him to the house of a harlot named Híré.

## Hi'ra' the Harlot.

According to popular tradition, Hírá is said to have lived at "Kholá Kuţá a village in the west of the Dinájpur District." This place I have been unable to identify. Mr. Westmacott, who has most kindly taken much trouble in assisting me on this point, suggests that the place may be Kholá Háţi, a village in the east of that District, where the Dinájpur and Rangpur road crosses the river Karatoyá. There were lately extensive ruins to its north, but they have been excavated by the Northern Bengal Railway people for ballast. This theory is not at all so improbable as it might seem at first sight, for every tradition leads us to believe that Híra's residence was near the Karatoyá. Dinájpur is to the west of Rangpur, and if the original belief was that Kholá Kuṭá ( $P$ Kholá Háti) was " to the west in Dinájpur" the change for "in"' to " of" need not surprise us. The locality of Híra's house is not mentioned in the poem, but a reference to $v .658$ will show that it probably was Kholá Háti.

Híré, of course, fell in love with the king, and, being a woman of property, easily found it in her power to borrow the twelve káoris from a neighbouring banker. The banker drew up the deed of transfer, conveying Gopí Chandra to the harlot's sole use and possession for a period of twelve years, and she then and there paid over the money, and took delivery. The procedure of the sale is worth noticing ( $\mathrm{vv} .537-546$ ).

After obtaining possession of the king, Híré had him bathed and adorned in gorgeous apparel ; she then sent for him and tried to tempt him, but though she exerted all her fascinations, and the king was almost yielding, she failed ignominiously, Gopí Chandra piously remembering his mother's parting words.* Indignant at her repulse the harlot went to the other extreme, and put him to perform the meanest and vilest offices of her household. The king was continually ill-used, and beaten, and one of his hardest daily labours, was carrying twelve bhángi loads of water from the Karatoyá to her house.

On the last day of the twelve years he went to draw water as usual, but his strength failed him and he fell into the river.

[^31]
## The beginning of the end.

When the king left his home, his two queens retired from the outer world and shut themselves up in a well-guarded palace. The hundred concubines appear to have become the willing property of a foundling called Khetu, whom Mayaná had cherished and brought up together with her son. This man had subsequently entered Gopí Chandra's service, in the days of his power.

Aduná and Paduná set themselves to playing dice, for they knew that as long as lucky numbers were thrown, the king their husband was well.

The dice continued to fall prosperously until the king fell into the Karatoyd, and then they fell in disarray. A parrot and his mate beheld the tears of their mistresses, and consoling them, offered to go in search of Gopí Chandra.

After some days* the birds found their master, and gave the message of his queens. The king, thereupon wrote a letter on the leaf of a wild plant which grew by, and sent it by them to his mother, who on receiving intelligence of her son summoned the Hádi, who in his turn went to the king.

The Hádi then proceeds to distribute poetical justice all round. All the woes which Hírá had inflicted upon Gopí Chandra, she is made to suffer herself. He then cut her in two, her upper half becoming a bat, and her lower half a minnow.

The Harlot's maid-servant was cursed to become as her mistress had been, and in her old age to marry a peon, who would beat her every day of her life. Finally we have the fruit of all the king's penance in his being imbued with a knowledge of the magic art by his eating a filthy mess of the Hádi's concoction, and he returns home, still however wearing his pilgrim's weeds. His maid-servant was the first to see him, but she did not recognize him. His own wives wavered in their recognition when he denied his identity. The only being that did not hesitate, was his faithful elephant who made obeisance to him while he was yet afar off.

After the usual festivities Gopí Chandra again ascended the throne, and made his subjects happy by fixing the land revenue again at the old rate of thirty káoris.

## Concluding remarks.

Such is the epic of Rangpur, containing here and there a tiny pearl of interest, hidden amidst the rubbish, which is mainly presented to our view. I have ventured to write so much about it, and to submit it to the Society for three reasons.

- There is considerable confusion hare amid dates.

First, I believe that men more competent than I, may be able to add a little to the history of the Pála kings, after considering it. Second, because it exhibits a. curious, and most instructive lesson as to how a purely Saiva hero celebrated by men of a S'aiva sect has given rise to a poem of Saiva foundation, but of Vaishnava superstructure, and sung by the descendants of these same men. Nay more, how a distinctly S'aiva sect, has become to all intents and purposes a Vaishnava one, while it still retains its old gods, and its old heroes. It would not be difficult to find parallel transformations in more modern religious history. Thirdly, and more for this reason than any other, because it is a very fair specimen of the peculiar Rangpurí patois. And here it may be noticed, that any parts purely and distinctly Vaishṇava interpolations or additions (e.g. the introductory lines) are written in a Bengali much more classical, than the rude language of the Saiva ground-work. This will be evident to any one who pays attention while reading.

The song is usually sung by four men,-and in parts, not in unison. I am not sufficiently acquainted with Hindu music to give the technical name of the chant. It certainly is the only song I have heard in this country in which harmony is introduced. The top notes of the chant are as follows:

To be sung an octave lower than written.


This is sung chant-like, so as to go once to each line, but leaving the three last notes without words. To these last three notes, the words "He! Rájá !" "He ! Mayaná !" "He ! Yame !" or some such apostrophe which depends on the person whose adventures are being immediately narrated, are sung as a sort of burden. An example will make this clear. Take the first line of verse six. It is sung thus-

8vo Basso


I do not give the harmonies of this, because I cannot. I tried to reproduce them on a harmonium, but though I believe I got the separate notes of each part correctly first on a violin, from the mouth of each
singer, when I tried them together I got nothing but a common-place sort of chant, containing one or two consecutive octaves, and not a particle of the spirit of what I had just heard sung. The above is the masic of the narrative portion of the poem. Each "duyd," has a separate melody of its own.

As the song is sung, the upper part is accompanied in unison on the saringa, of which an illustration, taken from Buchanan is appended.
(Fig. 4.) The open note is tuned to $\mathbf{E}$ flat

and the higher notes are formed by pressing down the wire on the various projecting knobs over which it passes.

In conclusion, as I stated in my former paper, the poem is in many places unintelligible to every body I have met. In such places (satya yuger Kathds) the singers have sometimes traditional interpretations. In one or two cases, however, they do not profess even to such: and, I trust, that I may be pardoned under such circumstances for giving a literal translation, without attempting to educe sense out of the arrant nonsense thus arrived at.

## मानिक चन्द्र राजार गान ।


मानिक चम्द्र राजा वर्भे वड़ सति।
छाब खानाय़ मासड़ा सारे देढ़ वुड़ि कड़ि॥
देड़ बुड़ी कड़ी बोके खाजना योगाय़।
बष्टमि पुजार दिगे पांठा गोटे खय्।
$\vartheta$
खड़ीवेचा हैये ये खड़ी भार योगाय्।
तार बट्ली छ्रय़ मास पाब खाय् ॥ E
पातथेचा हैये ये पात बाटि योगायु।
तारे बद्धी छयु मास माषा खायु।
$\varepsilon$
ऐत मानिक चन्द्र राइा सबया नाबेर बेड़ा।
एकतन येकतन कीले ये खाइळे तार दुयाएत घोड़ा।
घिने वान्द्ध नाषि पिन्दे पाटेर पाक्रड़ा।
कारो माड़ाष के ना यायू कारो पुष्कानीर जना के ना खाये।

$$
33
$$

[^32]बावाष यमके डाकिवार लागिष। गोदा यमेर कामे चिठि हाष्बोणात क्रे दिख ।

80

तोक बर्षों गोदा यम बाकघ मेर धर।
हाते गसे मानिक चम्र्र राजाक वान्धिया छाडिर कर।
चामेर दड़ि बोहार डाभ नके गिरे दिया ।
तखने गोदा यम चषिख हाठिया।
82
कत दुरे येये गोदा कत पारा माये।
कसक याइते मानिक चए्द्र राजार वाड़ी पाये।
83
छया मासेर काषिणा राजा मछेसे अितर।
तबोत खबर नाष्हि करे मयुना सुन्द्र।।
तोक बर्षों ये नेइ्रा पाँच वाक्य मोर धर।
एह कथा जानाब्रो निय् मय्नार वरावर॥
84.
₹यु माऐेर काधिजा राजा मत्रेतेर मितर।
देखा केरवार चायद राज राजेग्वर॥
ए काया अनिय़ा नेड़ा का धाषिष रेय़ा।
मयृ्नार मछले चषिस छंटिय़ाः
80
बाग हुय़ारे मय्ना मति पसार खेसाये।
खिरकिर दुया़े दियदा परनाम जानायू ॥ 8:
केगे कोने नेझा बाइलेन कि कारन ॥ 88
नेड़ा बसे सेग मा सेत समाषार।
छ्रय मासेर काषिसा राजा मइसेर भितर।
देखा कौरवार चाय राज राणेग्बर।
yo
धेयाने मय़ना मति धेया़ कैरे चाय़।
धेयानेर मध्ये यमेट नागाब पाय़ं॥
42
धानिस बाहरजा गुया मिठाभरि पान।
शे वाईबा गुय़ा काटाइर दिया करे दुर खान ॥ यू?
पानेर वुके चुनेर नेखोय़ा दिया।
छेट खिखि डपर खिखि माइक्षे तुखिया ।
42


श्रोष पुटि ज्रान दिले खिषित भरियु।।

पानेर वाटा वान्दिर माथाय़ दिय̣ा ॥ यू
निकणिज मयका मति याज्रा करिय़ा।
रे राजार महले उत्तरिस कगया। ये.
बोगे केने महायाजा डाकिले कि कारन ।
क्य मासेर काहिजा राजा मछलेर भितर।
तक्ष खवर ना करेन मय़ना सुन्दर। प०
मयुना बसे सोन राजा राज राजेग्बर।
बामार सरीरेर ज्ञान नेबो वोल सिकिय̣ा।
बामार बसेर नदी कन्दे यावे सुखाइय़ा ॥
बामार बयेसे बड़ दृ्छ यावे मरिय़ा।
दुर जने राजा कि करिम घर जुया़ हस्या ।। पर
राजा धबे स्तुल मयृगा वाक्य मोर धर।
एखनि मेर मानिक चन्र्र यमे बहया़ याउक।
बाहातेषो स्नीर जान गरेे का सनाउता।
कारीर घाग देखया हाने करिए हेषा।
ठिक दुपर भाछुयुा यम करिया गेब मेबा ॥?
मरन रहसा मारिण तुसिया।
जब जल वजिया़ राजा उठिष कान्द्यित्या। द?
जल खोबोषो खोषोाबो मयुना छद्दर।
एक भाड़ि जन दियुा प्रान रक्षा कर। है
एक सत रागी बाले महुसेर भितर।
तार हाते जल खाबो राज राणेसर।।

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एक सल रानीर हसेर उल बांद्रस टानि गोन्दाये।
तोमार छाते जल खाइले बड्ड भाग्य छय़।
$f$

[^33]
## इबाये वरिद बारम बाह अच्या बासिवा।

 ..... 4
राजा बषे स्षल मयृता बाक्ता मोर दरा।बेत्र पाठेर खाड़ा चोलो विशानाव षेषाया ।4
बडल बासिवे भाड़ब़त वम देत्र दावब हया । तैब पाठेर खाड़ा टिय̣ा पेबामु काटिय़ा। ..... \&
खेग मवे मय़्वा弓मवि हर्षे भाड़ि सेख।रांचि जिठि वाधा विक्षर पड़िड।(c
बेन घति मय̣वा मति बतुरार बाहिर हसब। बाव दिया साव जना यर्ब्नया सेन्दम्ब। ..... จ•चामेर दढ़ा दिख़ा वान्विब।बोघार मुद्रा टिया डाइ्राइवार बातिब।08
को मारेन घामाब विकर बरिखा।
मयृना मति मेळे चष्ये वामिय़ा। एव भार्ज़ि घण्ब खांबो उह्र भरिया। ..... $\theta$
तोर माइय़ा पाइयाइे गोरकनाथेर वर।गराइब पाहबे मयूना वा करो दुस्ब।हाटुख़ा याड़ि किषाइवे बामाक बेषार दुपर।-1
यमेर माइर बवार ना पारिया।
मय़्वा वलियूा राजा दिज्घ घीड छाड़ित̣।। ..... 08रे जोड निले योदा यम बांठित बान्दियृा।सात दिया़ सात इन येब चखिया़।애
ऐेत मयृना गध्रार तीरे गेष चखियात।मयृंग वसे धुन गत्र्रा बलि निवेदण।-
ये राजार पुजा खाइला श् वार वहर।एव भाड़ि इष दिया प्रान रच्चा कर ।00एक भाड़ि वदषि विय̣ा़ीष भाड़ि लबो।ताहते धर्म्मि राजा घीउ वदबा बो।Qe

कार बादे जल नियुा बाषो भात़ि भरिश़ा।
बेत धर्म्म राजाष् गेब धरिया। $x$
एर कथा स्तनिया मय̣ना होदग करिवार नागिय।
बम्ब टाबार भाए़ पाकाइवा पोलिय।－o
चौह्र ताल जलेर मर्षे मय़ता षासल करिण।
कपाले सिन्दुर मह्णान दोखल।
चातेर सांखां काल दे दिख।
बच्च टाबार दुए मुठ साखा मसके भाक्रिय।－
स्यामि हारा हया़ रे। बार कत दिन रव चाय़ारे। ध्या। वः
महलत बागिया मयदना चणिब हाटियदा।
थेन मयुना मति मन्दीरे सेन्द्दाइल।
बाग प्रदीप थाछ प्रदीप लागाइय़ा दिल।－8
यमाबयु बागिया मयुणा चलिब छाटिया।
गदोर पारे मयूना मति गेब vंिया । －
गदी दोखिया मधना भयु़्रर षरण।
巨य़ मास बोसार वदी बक्रतत पड़े खेषोया।
एक रक ढेउ उठे पर्ब्वतेर चूड़ा।
विधि धामार दु＇खेर कमाब। बेमतन विम्दार गोपाब। भाड्रा नौका बिण़ा काषि गुर्ट केमने हेे पाए़।।
यदि बामार गुर सहाए़ थाने।
0
धरम हाइल धरे，भाड्रां गौका रिए़ा काषि गुर बाहराव किराने। धुय़।
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परिधानेर साड़ी खर्द खान मयूना मती दिज जबत विकायुा।
योग बासत धरिज मयुना धरम सरत करिया। । －

कये माषेर दर्यिा इय़ दऐ पार हर्य। ع•
यमपुरि लागिया चलिल छांटिया।
बध्रिस कुटि यम दरवार बसिक्छ। $\qquad$



> येग मते मय़ा यमालय़ खाड़ा हइल।

भिता भिति यम पाबावार नागिज।। हP
यमपुरि याय़ा मय़ना पातिल धुम।
कारो उठिल पेटेर विस कारे माथार धुम ॥ cः
बोभा गुनिक छया विस भाड़िया़ नामाय़।
बौसध करिवार बाले जन जन पासाय़॥ ह8
येग मते गोदा यम मयृनाके देखिल।
बापनकार महलक लागिय़ा ए दौड़ करिल। हौ.
बापनकार महले याय़ा घरे गुकाइल।
ऐटे छहते मय़ना मति दिसा हारा हाल। हद
धेया़ने मय़्ना मीत ध्धेयान केरे चाये।
छेया़नेश मष्ये घरत कागाल पाय़ है
बो हूप धुर्रल मय़ना एकतर करिया।
माहलानी हूप हइल मुरत वद्वाइय़ा।
गोदार महले चषिल हांटियाः
गोदा गोदा वैबे मय़ना कुषिय़ा छाप़े राबो। ec
येन मले गोदा यम मयुनाक देखिख।
टाटि भाक्रिय़ा गोदो यम ए दौड़ करिल।
मार मार बबिया़ मयूना नि याय पिहिया।
एक सत हाबुया हाल वय़ निधुया़ पाथारे।
हरिन वलिया यमक नि याये पिहियात।
ऐठे हे हरे गोंदा यम दिसा छारा हरल।
रचला माब हर्ये दरियाय भाप दिब। धेया़ेने मय़्ना मति धेयांक केरे चाय़।
धेया़नेर मध्ये इच्नार बागाण पायू।
तुड़ु तुडु करिया मय़गा उस्रार काड़िल।
वेया़्षिस भहस हहल मुरत वदलाइया।
ऐे दरिया भहस पड़िस भाम्प दिया। ।
खार खाइते श यमक नि याय़ पिट्टिया।
मध्य दरियात्त यमक धरिल ठासिया़। $\quad \rho^{\circ}$

[^34]
## रेत मोदा यम बाटिया बन्जर।

डारन पिड़ेर दख्य भात्रियुया उठिया दिल बए़ ॥
$\boldsymbol{\imath}^{\circ} \ddagger$
रेटे दरते गोदा थम दिधा छारा हरल।
छेपषां मत्स घहया इलत भासिवार बागिय।।
बो रूप थुर्ल मयदना रकतर करिया।
पानकाउड़ि वानेया़ार हहल मुरत वदलाइ्या।। पाखार साटते वि धाय़ पिद्धिया
मष्य दरिय़ा गोदा यमक धरिब ठोषाइस्या।।
$\rho^{\circ} \mathrm{E}$
ऐते गोटा यम बाटिया बन्जर।
होकेया देलाख्या मयुनाक् दिज लहख़।।
रेटे एसे गोदा यम कोल काम करिल।
गचि मछछ हया कादात मिसाइल ॥
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रेटे हरते मयना मति धेया़ वैरे चाय़।
धेयानेरे मध्ये कादात बागाल पाय़॥
तुसुे तुर्डु करिया मय़्ना उसार छाड़िल।
राजछांस हस्या काद जारितेश गोदा यमक नि यायृ पिद्विया। मख्य दरिय़ात गोदा बमक धररण ठासिय़ा॥
ढेकेया पेलाया मयका मतिक्क पालाइल काँछ़या।
बो रूप थुर्ज गोदा बम एकतर करिया।। 248
धुगणिर हूप हसल मुरत वदलाइय़ा।
पातालक धागियात गेब चकिया I। 2 24
पाताबक याया मोचड़ाय़ बस दाड़ि।
रखन कि चिनिके मोक मयना मति साली।। ११४
धेयाने मयुना मति घेयान कैरें चाय़।
धेय़केेर मध्ये मयना छुगड़िए बागाल पाय̣ ॥ ? ॥
बो रूप थुर्ब मयुनः रकतर करिय़ा।
बेबद्रा हूप हरण मय़ना मुखत बदबाइस्या।।
पाताल मुवनत कारिया़ गेब चfिया।
रेटे याय़ा गोदा यमक धरिल ठांसिय़ा।
चेनेक्न चेनेक्न करिया यमब उठाइल टानिया ॥ ॥८

बो हूप चुइल मय़ना एक्षतर करिया।
बापनार हूप हहल मुय वद्नाइयात्त।
उपर केरे फेलयेा यमव किजिबार बा़िब।
किलाइते किसाइते घात हापसाइस।
चितर करिया फेलाइय़ा यमक नेदावार बागिल।।
२२३
ऐत गोदा यम बांटिया बष्जर।
घड़ानी कैतर छहये सर्गें उड़े गेब।।
२२₹
सिकिरा वाज हरण मयृना मुरत वदलाइया।
धाकास छरते गोदा यमक पोषाक्रक डाणिया ॥
२२₹
ऐटा हहते गोदा यम दिस हारा इस्या।
सलेय़ार हूप हइल मुरत वद्लाइ्या।। १२8
कठिया़ तेलीर बाड़ीक नागिया गेब चणिय़ุ।
कठियात तेलीर माचात धाफिक बसियृ।।
धेय़ाने मयृना मती धेय़ान केरे चाय़।
धेयानेरेर मध्ये सलेयार नागाण पाय।
बो हूप थुइ्ण मय़ता एकतर करिया।
विलाह हरप हहल मय़्गा मुरत वद्वाह्या।।
२२७
एक विसाइए वदली वियदाक्तिस विणाह हह्या।
कठिया तेलीर घर बहर्ल होड़िय़ा।
२マ
एक द्ड दुह दख तिन द्र प्राण।
स्वेाधिय़ा गोदा यमक कुवाधियदा नाग़ब्ब पाइल।।
२२ع
माचा दरते गोदा यमक म्रत्रिकाय़ नामाइल।
टरकिया याय़ा मय़्वा मती गरदानास धरिख।।
ऐंत गोदा यम ब्रांटिय़ा बम्णर।
 १३?
बो हूप थुह्ल यम एकतर करिया।
वैष्पव हूप हरल वम मुरत बट्लाइ्या।। १३२
काकड़ार माटियदा लहल चन्दन करिय़ा। साइलेर फल लहल माला करिय़ा।।
एखार ठाल लइल बासा करिया।.
सेवार वाड़ीक नागिया़ गेल चलियदा।

[^35]यत वैष्पवेर मध्यत रहल वसिया।।
१ ${ }^{2} 8$
षेया़े मय़ना मती धेय़ान कैरे चाये।
ध्येयानेर मध्ये बेव्घाबेर लागान प़ाय़।
१ 34
बो हप धुइल मय़ता एकतर करिया।
मौ माधि हरल मय़ना मुरत बदलाइय़ा।।
एक मारिर वद्बी विय़ाक्षिस माधि छय़ा।
सेवार बाड़ीक नागिय़ा गेष चसिय़ा।
यत बैष्घाबेर माथार उपर बेड़ाय़ धुरिया।। १₹®
बैष्पव सकल बके भाइ सेन समाचार।
बोल बैछ्या बपराधी बाक्षेन सभार मान ॥
२₹
येग मते गोदा यम मार्क देखिख।
बैक्षषेर केंधार सबत् सन्दाइल।।
२₹ट
येग मते मय़ना मति सन्दान देखिया।
उड़ाबो दिय़ा यमेर धाज़त परिज।।
माहिर कामछ़ सहवार का पारिय़ा +
योदा यम पाषाइस बाड़िय़ा।।
माछि सूप चुइल मयुना एकतर करियात:
बापनार हूप हइल मुरत बद्नाइ्र्या।।
ऐेत गोदा यमक धरिब पिट्टिया।
एक पांजा एकुया खे़े बानिक उकड़िय़ा।
p8\%
बान पुटि कुर्चनि पाकाय़ तेपथीत वसियूा।
मयुनार बमत़े यमेर कमछे वान्दने वान्द्यिया।
हातेर हेमताबेर बाठि दिया़ नि याय् डाइाइयूा।।
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मयुगा बले सन यम वशि निवेदन।
बामार स्यामी धन देबो बार इाड़िय़ा।
284
तेरमार स्यामी धन घामि ना दिख छाज़िया।
ऐटे हरते मयुका मति रोदग केरते गागिब।।
284
बामार पति गाए घरे रे दीननाथ
बामि कार बच्छे रवरे नविन वसते। धुया़।।
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तुछ़ु तुर्ड़ बरिया मयवा उनार जापिए।

पुष्प रथे गोरका विद्याधर।
ढेकि बाइने आमिक गारद सुजिष्ट।। बासायुार पिटिव गामिब भोषा मदेसर। घणुक बाने गामि ओचे हीरास बचन II पांच भाह परदब गाभिच ठाँ ठाँ। यत सत घुनि गामिब तार बेखा बोरा कार II 248 माथार चुण मय़्ना दुर बत्व बरिया। गोरक काथेर घरमत बत़िक अजियदा।।

रच्चा कर रच्चा कर गोरक विद्याधर। बामार स्यामि धन बानिछे धरिया ।।

बामार स्यामि घणक ना देये छाप्यिया।
24룰
गोरका गाथ वके कोन के $म$ चार।। यत सुनि गत परामर्स करियदा।
मय्नाक बसीर्ब्वाद देय़।।
248
या या मयना तोमाक दिसाम वर।
सात मासिद्रेजे हौक डदरेर अितर 11
24.4

येग मते मुनिगन बासीब्बाद दिण।

245
बाठार माषे चणन डनिस बतरे मरण।
सिताव करि अने छात़िर घरण।
शे गुख अजिबे का ₹बे मरन ॥
240
शे कथा छतिया मय्ना ना धाकिज इया।
बापनवार मद्षसा माइये डतारत मियृा ।।
बबो का़ा धात़ि किज हज्ञत करिया।
गझार कुसे गेष चषिय़ा।
pye
बब्बो का़़ा कात़ दिया म्टक्तिका किति निस।
बापन महणक बागियदा गमन करिख ॥
ब
1 24*

[^36]बु़ा घर भात्रिया बेगारि सालार्ज।
साइओे साइले खड़ी यासते कातिए।। $2{ }^{2}$

यत घाति सग बानिल राषो दियाँ। कांचा वास काटिय़ा मर्बलि साजारण।। ! धर्म्मि राजाक निब मष्६कि सालाइस्या। मयना मति बही षघोयाइरक कालाख्या।। \द़ः रहिगुन गान मयका गाएवार कामिब।
 उत्रर दच्चिमे चिता कारोपिल।

ख्खिट गाड़िय़ा माषाल पातिक।
2dy

खुटिर वगले $₹$ बसाइया गेब हैतेर हा़ि।
बार निचे बसाइया गेष तेजेर पाड़ी।
बरिसा तिल गुला दिब दिटाइयदा।
गुख गुख बबिया मयृता उन्रार छाष्तिए।
साच्चात गोरण भाष्ब बासियात खा़़ा हरल।
रच्चा कर रच्चा कर गोरक विधाधर।
याष्षो याषो मवृता तोमाए बिनु वर । माध मासिया घार बामिवे बलजेर मिबर।

$$
2 \&
$$

बापाल भर्षि सिन्दुर मयुपा परिते बातिब। २\&
पाठेर दाऱी़ी मयुता परिधाल करिरया।
खवर्त काटारि बामेर ठाल निल हसेते करिया।
उत्रर दच्चिने राजाक निय्य सोलाखया। 100 मयुजार डाइन हक्षोले राजा सितान दिज।
राजार वाम है मय़्ना स्सित विलः pop एकखान करिया खड़ी दिल बगटि घरे घरें। बाषास जमिने खड़ी ठेक्ष लागिस । २op चोयूा चन्द्न दिठाइण चम्भ सदागर। बनल बागाइय़ा fिते भाइ एक्य रति ।

## द्या़रेर बागत हिए गुख पारनेर बर।

तांय उका तुले दिक एकर उपर।
यत श्राक्षा सकण एक हाड़ी जल दिया।
साइभ्रत करिया एक पाक कुर पाक पाँच पाक्र दिब।
दरि वेल बनियात बानल जागाइय़ा दिज।
200
यत घड़ी प्रसा ध्रतेर बास पाइण।
धां धां करिया बमक उ्पणिवार बागिब । बात दिज नबो राइल मयุणा घलबेर भितर। पुड़तेते पोड़ा का याय़ परिधानेर कापए़ । 200 धर्म्मि राधाक पोड़ाइया मयृना कोराबे बेन हाइ। ऐेत मयุणा वैषे बाईे येन घरेर गोसाइ। 20 धर्म्मि राजाक्ष पोड़ाइया सर्गों उठिल धुय़ा।
बैसे बाईे मयृणा मति येन खांचा सेना ॥
छोट शारा उठे वले बड़ श्खा भाह।
पिक्ष देषो पिक देषो श्राष्ता सकण। <
मयृता मती बैसे बाछे बगबेर भितर।
मयदना बबे सुन क्राज़ा सात मासी ऐेे बाตे उदरेर भितर ॥ पिक ना देग ज्ञाखा सकण ।
घोट ज्राज़ा उठे वसे बड़ हाजा भाइ। चन्द्रेट बराबर चल चबिया याइ॥
छोट हसे धाग तोरा चाग्द सदागर।
कि ठेया़व देय़ बामार वरावर। Q
बाग दुया़रे सदागर पबार खेखायृ।
खेरकिर हुयाए दिया़ प्रनाम योगायू ॥
केने केने साषात्यकण बार्ला कि कारन । श्यू
सात दिग कबो राहत मयदना बगजेर भितर।
बडु मोड़ा नाह्ह यायृ मयुना सुन्द्र।
रे मयุना पाइयाक्छे गोरका नाथेर बर।
बानलत पोड़ा का याय़ जलत का छय़ तब ॥
तिन भूवन टलिया गेष का याय यमेर घर।

ताक मारिवार चाबो काष्ता सकल $1 \quad 100$

बाइस मोन पसान नेबो साइभ करिया़।।
PE
जकिया गुतियृा नेबो वाह्टेर करिया़।
बाइस मोन पासान देबो चुकस वान्वियात।
बाइरार समते मयदनाष देबो बेल भासाइ्या।
छिनान करियात याब्बो महलत रागिया।
रे कथा सनियदा घाफा का धाकिष रैया।
वाइस मोल पासान लैब साइभ करियात। pe?
मयद्ना मतिक वाहिए करिस जलिय̣ गुतिया।
बाइस मोन पासान टिल वुकत वान्धिय़ा ॥
per
घाकरार सा मब भयृनाक दिल भासाइ्या़।
किनान कारियदा श्वारता गेब चरियात।
बाठार मास बाठार दिग मय̣नार गेष पुरिय़ा।
ऐत धर्म्मि राजा करट फिरिस।

खबार जान मय़्ना मारिण तुषिया।
वाबोयदाञ कुटि कोाचड़ा पोलाइल काटिया। I।
¡cy
मैक्षाम मक्ष्राम बनिया मय̣ना निम तब तबे उठिय।
हाड़िया बोने येन देबोय़ा गर्ज्जिल।
पुले जबे महाराज म्रत्तिकाय पड़िन।
बौंया चोंय़ा करिया निनि राबो काड़िन । रहO
छोट सास्ता उठे बले बड़ ज्राजा भाइ।
किसेर ऐेले बान्द्दे चक्न देखियार याह।।
2e
एक पायु दुर पाये बाइल चणिया।
 pec
बड़ राजार पाणकी बान साजाइया।
हाबोयाएक राजाक नेबो महलक कागिय̣ा। २०•
बड़े ये पाषकी बानाइल साजाइय़ा।
धर्म्मि राजाक नसष पालकीत चड़ाइया।
२०?
य८ध । मैखास $=$ मरिषास ॥

पाक ढोल तमवुरा कांसि बाजे ठार ठार ।
करताल मेंडड़ कुर्श बाले ठांह ठाह। २०२
बन्दुकेर धुरा धुरि धुमाये बन्बकार।
बापे पुतन का चिमे डाका डाषि सार। श०ः
बा क्राबेर ऐेले हस्ल राष्येर भितर।
बल जल दिबार गा पारे म₹लेर भितर। २०8
पुले जले पेनिया बाइल ते पथिर उपर। श०्य
उ बो ईेबेक नैज मय़ा छोतालात करिया।
महला लागिया गेब चकिया। श०\&
तोक बबो वान्दो वाब्या मोर धर।

दाइया़िकिक बानिक डाब दिया।
2ot
दोलो ऐेबार गाड़ि छेद थरिज वसिया।
यत किफु दाल दिब दाइ्य़ाणिक बामियु।।
दाइस्युजि गेब मरणब लागियाः P०C
बाजि बाजि कानि काजि थरिया सात दिज परल।
स्तात दित पर्थन्त राजा सादिगा कोरारू। श2०
बाजि बाजि कानि बाजि बरिया दस दिन रहल।
दस दिग परे राजा ए दसा थरिल । २११
चिस दिने राजा चिसा थरिज, संबोर्णंग करिवार बानिब।
ज्ञात्रा सकल कासिया यक्ष करिण।
२१२
यत ब्राति सकबब भोबल कराहण।
तद घड़ि मयका मति मत्ब परस थरिण । २ः
बानि बाजि काजि बाजि करिया रक कत्सर रहल।
एक बत्सर बादे रक दिन बालिज।
बाजि काणि करिया़ पांच वत्सर हरल।
गुखर निवटे पड़िवार दिज I रुप
चारि कलमे राजाक किखा सिखाइण।
बाजि काबी बरिया़ सात बत्पर हरण ॥
नाम राजार तखनह राखिए।


बारार छोट आःयेर गाम खेतुयां बसे सर।। बाजि काजी करिया अरो बतर हइस। तखनि मयुना मति कोग काम करिख।


या या गुर व्रात्रन वाक्य बामार बबो।
दरि चन्र राजार काछे सीत्र कारियुा याब्जो ॥
श२?
तार घरे बा叉े बडुणा पडुणा कव्या दुइजन।
तार बादे कान्या कुर जन महलेर भितर।
शे कम्घा युड़िय़ा बाइस वकिषाम तोमाये ॥

दरि चन्र राजार बाड़ी गेष चलिया। दरि घन्र राजा वणिया तुषिया छाड़े इब्बो।
घरे दिज दरि चन्र राजा बाहिते दिबे पाबो।
पदिस ठाडुर वषियदा करे प्रबाम ।
दिब सिंछासन वसिबार दिण।
कर्युटर तानुण दिया जिजासा करिण।
कोने केने गुर् व्राब्तन एत डुर गमत।
मयुना पाठाइयुा दिज तोमार बरावर।
तोमार घरे कन्घा बाछे बहुना पटुना।
ताब युड़िवार चाये मयुना छु्द्र।
मयुगार पुच्र बाईे मझले भितर।
ताो वियुा दिबार चायु मयुणा सुम्द्ड।
या या बजिया ताके उनुम दिच।

भारे घइण गुया साइ\%े धहण घाव।
गुया पान काटिबार येन वागन पब जल।
गुयुा पान काटियुत सुभादुभ gुरिज।
बिवाहेट दिन तखनह धरिक ।

सनिवार दिका मयृणा बधिवास दिस। रविवार दिना विवाह करिवार साजिए। पष्य गाधि कलार गाए हरिथम्र राजार महल गाड़िल।
 २₹8
सेगाली चालुन वाति तखनए धराइल।
पष्ष बैराती तखनए बानिल डाषा दिया।।
उब्लु उनु सम्द करिवार लागिण।
२३久
बडुनाव दियात विवाश दिष घटुनाक दिष दाने।
एक सत वान्दी दिषे बावहार कारने ।
2₹ २₹§
' एका सत सालुक दिस दाने धरिया।
एक सत दस्ति दिष दाने धरिया ।
२₹®
एक सत घोड़ा दिब दाने धरिया।
एक सत गावि दिस दाने धरियाः शः
विवाए दिया राजाक विदायु दिब।
बखनए मयुना मीति यत राब्येर राजाका निमन्गल करिख॥ २₹₹
बेइत धर्म्मि राजा गोपी चम्र पाट दिब। $28^{\circ}$
बाठार बरिसे गोपि चम्र राजा।
बख्द मातार बाज्घायु सन्यास हर्ये याय़।। २8?
एक सत सन्दरी कान्दे चरन धरिया़।
ऐत धर्म्मि राजा का याब्बो बाड़िय़ा।
२в叉
ता याइब्बो का याइबो राजा टुर देसान्तर।
कारे बागिया वान्दिलाम सीतब मन्दीर घर ।
$28 ₹$
बान्द्लिाम बाऊ्रना घर काइ पाड़ काषी।
एमन वयुसे छाड़ि याबो धामार धथा गावुरानी ॥
निन्देर खमने राजा हब दरिसन।
पाबईे पोलाइव हस्ता नाह प्रानेर धन ॥
284
दस गिरिए माब्बो बहन रवे स्यामि लहखे कोले।
बामि नारी ोोदन करिव खाली घर मन्दीरे।
खाली घर चोड़ा टाटि मारे बाठिर धा।
बय़स काले युवती राउ़ी निते कालए राबो।
289

बामाक सईे करि बह्या याब्बो ॥ जीवर जीवन ध्रन धामि कान्या स乡े गेबे।
रान्धिया़ दिमु ब्मम चुधार काले। २8\＆
पिपासार कासे दिमु पानी।
हांस्स्य़ा खेचिया पे हामु रजनी । शू०
चाइल पातार दखिले कथा कहिया़ यामु।
गिरि बोकर वाड़ी गोले गुख स्याम वलिमु ॥ २ऐय
सितल पाटि विक्काइय़ा दिसु वाषीये हेबान पाब्यो।
हाउस रओे यातिमु हस पाबो। २丩マ
हात खानि दुःख हहले पाब्बो खानि यातिमु।
एरभर कौतुकर बेषा स्तित सुद्विसु，एस्तिति भुक्षाइस्यु। एय₹
यीस काले वदनत दिमु दख पाखार वाबो।
माध मासि सिते बेसिया़ रमु गाबो। २ぬ 8
माघ मासि सिते सित मरिचर भोल।
हून्र मिठा भूष्घाइमु एक सत कारीर कोला। 24．
राजा वले सम कन्या हरि चन्द्रर वेटि।
कात रशे．कर माय़ा सह्वार का परा शी रूई
वंस हरिर गुया खाइये टन्त्त करिले सेबा।
कथा कहिते उतबे दन्त गुद्नरे अमरा ॥ रू०
नारी हवु चाकान चिक्न पुखस केत्या ब्योड़ा।
दस गिरस्त वसिके बथीत नारी चोरा। शूर
नारी चोरा बथीत वैले गिरस्त ना दिवे ठांइ।
तोर कामार वउुयार बेटि कहिवार सझ्नात नाइ॥
२2e
रानी वले सुण राजा विसातेर नागर।
एक निवेदल करि तोमार बरावर।
सेमार नाकान राम खिबिका गसार माभा दिया।
तोमार नाकान डोर कपिन वान्धिमु भिंड्डियाः ॥
दुर तन वान्धिमु नेते होरारा दिया।
छामुर छय़टा दन्त फेलाइमु भाश्रिया।


बाउ टाक माथार केस मुए पेलाषो सुड़िया।हातत तुष्वा गलात के ्था उदासीगी हमु।बोमार पाईेश गिया़ मिच्ता मागि खानु ।

राजा वले जय़ ववधि ठेकितु मय़ा जाबे।
कि बामार प्रेमटा हइसो स्नीलोकर सफे। २§์ मोर सईे याबु ना बथीतर सईे यावे। सेटे बाईे वनर बाघ देखिय़ा डड़ावे। बेटे बाले बनर वाह दुर्जग वाघर भय्। २६\& सी बार पुषसे यदि पथ वइएया याये। छेन टुःखे वोनर वाषे न्नीक धरिया खाय़।। $2 \$ 0$ खावे बार का खावे वाषे पेलाइवे मारिय़ा। बेने बार मरिवि तुह बथीतर बगे याया ॥

खक खब करियुा कम्धा हासिवार लागिए।
को कय ए गुबा काया के बार पर्रताय । २द्ध
पुखसर सऊॅॅ गेषे कि सीका वाषे धरे खाये।
बो गुषा कथा भुट मुट पालावार उपाये।
200 खायुना केने बेनर वाषे ताब नाह डर।
नित कणले मरन हडका स्यामिर पदतबः। २७२ तुमि छंतु वट बच्च बामि तेमार कता। राभा चरन बेड़िया बमु पाषाइय़ा यावु को २था। २०२ यखन बाहिनु बामि मा वापर घरे। तखन केने धर्म्मि राजा ना गेलेन सद्यासि हहये। - २शः एखन हर्तु रुपर नारी तोरे योग्यमान।
 तोगारे कागे काष यौवन मोर पड़क गड़िय़। पाकिले माथार चुस यावेन सद्यास हह्या।। २® ए रक्र माबतीर घरे लहय़ा पड़े हास।


२०४। लेखिम $=$ न्याल बरिब ॥

बत काब राखिसु यौबल वान्दिया बान्दिया। निरखि भोशे प्रान स्यामी वषिया़।

बामाक विवाए करिया याषो बस चलिया कान्दो सामार लागि। तोमार बाईे बाप भाइ मेर बभागिनीर कोड गाए। बामि ईेड़े एलोम तोर राजार कारने। ध्युया।।

ק๑ธ
बडुना पडुना वाछिया विवर्ट करिण।
भाट वाज्षन दिय़ा बटुना नाम धुर्ल। poe
बटुना बाम चुह्न दासी दिस सईे।
एमन पिरिति घर भाश्रिसु केमने।
कोरा दरजाय̣ भिच्चा बये कोतन दरअायृ यामु।
बानिया जाति क्षोचि कुल हेलाते हारामु।
बामार गावालाक सुन्द्र कन्या येखानत देखियु।
भर्रिया भुरिया सेश स्यानत मरिमु।
per
सोमार नाकान सुन्दर कान्या येखानत देखिसु।
बागे मा दाब्बो दिय़ा पख्षात भिच्चा बमु ॥
pez
हाय हाय स्यामि धन काड़िजु कास राबो ।
चे प्रड़ा काले विवाँ कीरें युवायू काड़ियात याबो ।
इबो काब चाक हदे बैय़ा हात।
यावस् घुरियात कासि वत्सर पष्च्रा ः शण्य
माथा तुणियृा देख राञा डाव भारिकल।
हृय उपरत सेता करे गुया़ नारिकल।
हाते १िज़िमु मुखत दिमु गाय़ गाइ तोर वल।
बारिए पाल ये पुखस गा खाय चौद् गोख़ा रसातले याय़। २
राजा बको सु कन्या दरि चम्धर बेटो।
बथा भाश्रि काथा वनिले बो कथार मान याय्या।
बागे चड़े पष्षिर माड्डत पिके चड़े राजा।
हाटिया देखितु बड़ बाड्रणा पथे बनेका डुर।
pee

खेये वुभिणु नारिक्र प्या चेट काए भरे ।
मिऐे थाकि fिरिए वेटा भेरन खाटियृत मरे।
रानी वके सुन राजा रसिका कागर।
एक खानि निबेदन करि तोमार वरावर।। एe?
याइस ना धर्म्मि राजा परदेसक नागिय़ा।
एकटि केले दिया़ याबो केलाक नागिया।। एCP
नालिमु पाषिमु केसे कोलात करिया।
पुन्न धनक देखिया़ तोमाक पासरिसु। रह₹
तेामार माथार बन्च दख पुन्र माथामु दिया़।
कया राजार मा वरिया रान्य खाइम बसिया।। २ह8
देलेर कथा वसिके रानो देलेर कथा सुनिया। रहリ
चिकि चाम्पा कसा नयृ जबत मार्ति खामु।
गत्कर पष नय़ किड़िया छस्तत दिसु॥
२el
तोमार कापासत बेले नाइ बामि कि करिमु ॥ २टQ
पूर्ब्वकासी गुडर घान छदये जपिया।
सात मासि ळेले हर काया वदलाइ्या।।
कोलात वसाइ्यया कन्या बामाक बलिस पुत।
थे बाबेट रानी दृदय़र वसन राजा खाउक हुद।।
zee
बामि बकिणु देबेर कथा तुमि चाइलेन दुद।
विवाहिता स्यामि हब्चो केमने वलि पुत।
तोमार गरवत किल राजा भेड़ा सगाल।
कड़ि कड़ार वुज्धि नाइ सरीटर भितर॥ बाप्र राड़ी देखिया वधुक राड़ी करे।
बाड़ीर बागे भातारटि गेसे चच्तु पाकेया मरे।
हां हों वड़यार वेटि माक दिल गाली।
रनु हयु दिन चारिक सम्यास छमु कालो।
कन्यार पेंटा सश्वार ना पारियदा।
दरवार बागिय़ा गेल राजा टुलाषियात ॥
₹•8
Pe०। मिरे $二$ किये बर्घात् ध्रथा ॥ PCश। पासरिम $=$ ? सर्भ करिब ॥


बार गधि गुया़ तेर गक्हि बाब।
तार तबे वसिल राजार हाब्योयाल। 30y
ज्राज्षन सम्णन वसिक सारि सारि।
सुण्वुकर ₹िसाव देय़ विर सिं भाबएारि॥ ह०ई शेनार खाटे धाकि मयूना बपार खाटे पाबो।
सुपुच्रर दरवारत गेष मयुणा मति माबो ।
भर काचारि करे डाल्वा हौन।
हेन पति खाड़ा हहल मयदना सन्दर ॥
जननीक देखिया राजा करे परनाम।
गबात वस्त्र वान्धिय़ा करे परनाम ॥
Foc
धीषो जीबो राड़ी वेटा घर्मैं देउक वर।
यत गुटि सागरर वाला एत बारिक्बल ॥
सुए बुभा राड़ीर बेटा गेढ़्छ सद्यास छय़य़ा।
बार्ज पति बाके सन्दर बधु पायया ॥
₹2•

सत्य गेल दोया पर्ट तिरतिय़ा हइले।
कीजि युग पड़े बेटा विवाए सकाले।
बनि काष मन्द् काज पर्न बांसया।
परार धन परे खाय एकोषा वसिया ।।
राजा हहले का करे राब्यर विचार।
पुन्र छहये गा करे पितार उड्वार।
228
खी दहये का करे स्यामीर भक्ति।
सीष्ट हहये का करे गुषर बारति।
₹2\%
चारिटा भाङ तर गेब बधगति॥
गुर मा भजिले भाङ Eगाबे का खाय̣।
बराविघ्यु देष्दा छरले कागा छाड़ि याय़।
बगुने पड़िले भाए छय़ छाड़ खार।
घबत भाबेया दिबे मत्षर बाध्रार।
मृधिकायू गाड़िले भाख पोकार बाहार।
केतान दिया़ ना देखों तोर भाएर निस्तार।
₹ใ

[^37]बाका निल बमलेरे कोमन कैरे।
बथीतेर सड्ञ यार्षो। बोके बसिवे। दनि बेलेर डुभिर माबो काइरे। धुयात॥

सद्यास करिते राजा कौरे गेबन मन। चौपथर माभ कान्या जुड़िल कान्दन। कोमन कौरे येते चाबो परदेस लागिय़ा। कोमन घान बाके मयुनार नेखो परखिया। ミママ
तेब परिच्ता देबो मय़नार बरावर।
शे परिच्ताय याय यदि उत्तरिय़ा।
मस्तक नुड़िया तवे याब्बो सद्यास हह्या।।
एह कथा सुनिया़ राजा का धाकिल रैय़।
दरवार बागिया़ राजा गेल चलिया ॥
ミマ₹

दरवारे वसिया राजा वेचरित मन।
दयार भाइ गोषाम खेतुक डाके घने घन I इ२४

एह काथा हनिया गा थाकिस रेय़ा। ইマ৩ एश कथा वल गगया़ मय़्नार बरावर।
ते स परिच्चा दिवार चाये तोमार बरावर।। इश्
एह कथा छनिय़ा मय़्ना ₹ासिते लागिस।
तेमार वुद्धि नयु वधु सकलर चत्र।
यत वुड्बि सिखिया देय़ निरासी सकल॥
एक परिच्चार बद्ल सात परिच्चा दिमु।
तबु तेर राजार वेटा बाड़ी घर काड़ानु ॥
तोक बसों माइ्या खेतु वाष्य मेर धर।। हק？
काताइला पावाइला चौका नेबों वल कारोपिया।
तिनटा नारिकोलर फल तेहिरा खिचिया।। ₹ק？
 भीरस ॥
साइट्ट नेग कड़ाए दिस चौकाय̣ चड़ाइय़ा।
बासी मोन तेस दिब कड़ाइत चड़ाइ्या।। ..... ह₹₹साल काष्ठे बागुन दिष सुलकाइय़।
उपरर बावनी मारिल तुजियाः ..... ₹३8
सात दिन पर्य्यन्त जार्ब देय निदम करिया ॥ ₹弓れ
एक दिन दुई दिग पष्ष दिन हर रल।सात दिन बन्तरत कावनी उठाइस ॥तेब गरम हर्या ब्छे बागुनर समान।
एश कथा जानाइल खेतु राजार वरावर॥ ₹ぽ
तैब परिच्चा हहल गोलाम बरावर॥ ₹₹कि काज्ञा बलेग तुमि राज राजेखर।एर काथा वस गियदा माय़र बरावर॥₹₹
तेब परिज्ञा तैयार हहल राजार वरावर।राजा सबव करे मा सीज्र करे चल ॥₹80
तोर वापर खांबोँ का तेटर राजार बापर खांबोँ ।
तेामार जडुमत कि परिच्चा दिवार यांबों । ..... 283
एर कथा जानाइल राजार बरावर॥ ..... ₹82
एर कथा सुनिया राजा क्रोज्रमान हहल।धरर सेंबोय़ाबों गमका राजा खेतुक पोलाइय़ा दिब॥₹8
ऐे गामछा दिया वान्धिल भिंड़िय़ा।
मयदना मतिक दिल तेलत मोलाइय़ा। ..... 888
येन मते मय़ना मति तैले पड़िख।धां धां करिया़ बनल सर्गत देखा दिस ॥884तैबत पड़िया मयना हुविल गबा हरते।बाg्बले बाg्बले तैल सुकठिया वसायุ माथे।28！
सम्बाट देखिया राजा क्रोड्रमान हहल।
गोलाम गोलाम वबिये खेतुका ए गाबी पाड़िए।। ..... $₹ 80$
उपरर छावनी मायेर बबो तुकिया।अबो दिन भरियात जाब देब्बो निदम करियाए।885
२8०1 तैबार $=$｜｜

## एक टिग दुर दिन तिग दिन हरस।

बो रूप चुूल मय़ना एकतर करिया।
सरिसार रूप हहल कायात वदलाइया।। F8e
नखो दिन बन्तरत खेतु कावनी उठाइल।
जननी का देखिया खेतु कान्द्विार बागिल॥ हू००
एह कथा जानाइल राजार वरावर।
मा तेषर करिया गेल यमर घर॥ इथ2
कार जन्ये पागड़ि राखिक्ष मसकर उपर।

मा मा वलिया़ राजा कान्दिवार बागिल। हू₹

एक मुट खोचा लहल हस्तत करिय़ा।
बैलर माभत वेड़ाय़ छास्तियदा॥ F24
एक हाल टुह हाल तिन हास हूल।
तिन हालर समयุ गतमक्रा उठाहल ॥ मच्दा मांस नाइ मयृनार बनलर भितर ॥ ₹ ॥
सेग मरटे नस्यो कड़ाइ साइञ्र करिया।
तेपथीत नि याय़ा तैस फेखाइल ढालिय़ा ॥ इये
धां धां करिया ब्बनल सर्ग देखा दिल।

धकारने खेतु कान्दिवार बागिस।
खेतुर कान्दगे मय़नार दया़ हइल ॥ इूट
काइन्दना काइन्दना गोलाम खेतु कान्द्न चेमा कर।
मुः मयना पोड़ा का यांब्बेँ बागुनर भितर॥ उद्०
साइट मेन कड़ाइ बहल हसत करिया।
राजार बये दिब हाजिर करियात। ःद?

एका एका करियुा सात परिक्षा दिल। सात परिच्चायू मयूना उतरिया गेष ॥ ..... ₹¢?
राजा बसे सु मय़ना मति मा तुंश।तुह घान सिखियु कोन सिड्रार ठांश।₹も
मेक घान सिखिवार करो कोन बाडसर ठांश। ..... ₹द̨ 8
मुर घ्ञान सिखिनु गेरका माथर ठांइ।
तेका ज्ञान सिखिवार कंबों खोषा हाड़िए ठांह।। ..... ק)
हाड़िए कथा सुनिया़ राजा कर्नत दिब छात। बधर्म्म कथा बानिल जिकात॥ ..... ₹ $\ddagger$
हाड़ि बाड़ जाति सेतखाना निकाहया ना करे घान।
वाइस दए राजा हह्या़ करिमु हाड़िक प्रनाम ॥ ..... קछ
मयุना बसे चु याडु चुप करिया कहस कथा।
हाड़ि येन मा सुने बभिसाप टिबे मरिवु एखन ॥ ₹६तोर बगरिया प्रदीप जबे तैके बार घिये।रे हाए़ प्रदीप ध्वालाये सध गद्धार जबे।
यत गुटि प्रदीप नाइ तेकर नगरियुार घरे।बत गुटि प्रदीप हाड़िए खपरार भितरे।Boo
काहार घरे खाय़ छाड़ि का हार घरे याय़।
मुखर जोब्बोया़े दरिया़ वान्दा याय़।दरवारे थाविया़ राजा वेथरित मन।दयार मार गेलाम खेतु डाके घने घन ॥₹६\&कोाथाये गेब मार बागे पान खामु।बाप कालिया पड्यितक हाजिर करियु।।₹oz
एर बथा सुनिय़ खेतु ना थाकिस रेय़ा।पद्यितर मछलक बागिया गेब चलिया ।₹08तोक वसों पद्धित ठाकुरा वाष्य मेर धर।राजा तलाव करे मह्बर मितर।सीघ्वयति चबिय़ा याब्बो राज दरवार।
इex


घटक धुति मठक धुति परिधान करिय़ा। जोऱे जेरफ़ पैता दिते गबाल़ तुकिया । ₹ై पश्भिकार दप्तर बहल बगते डाविया। राज दरवारक लागिय़ा चरिण हांटिय़ा। मर काषारि राजा करे डाम्पा हैब। हेग समय खा़़ा दर्ण पडिसर दुमर। per धर्कावतार बसिया प्रणाम जणाइण। कुजर देवसा वरिया महाराज प्रभाम जानाइल। קoc
भाइय़ा ठानुरा वरिया पाबभत बसाइल।
बो ठाकुर बो ठा दुर दैवक्ष चुड़ामनि।
₹
कोन दिगा राजार बेटा सिथाइवे भुषि कांथा।
कोग दिबा राजार बेटा सुद़ाइवे माथा। EF?
कोन दिना महाराज मुसफ्य माखिये।
केत दिगा धर्मी राज दुर्श कर्ग ऐेदिे। POP
बोग दिगा धर्मों राज होड़़ कपिन पड़िचे।
कोन दिना दिसु मेर हातत दोया़द्स। FF?
कोग दिणा छते बामार विदेस गमत।
एइ गणा गनिया देषो बामार वरावर॥ है
सम सम बरिया पष्धिका बाहेर करिख।
बापनि सिद्वान्तर पश्निका बचे बाब्बे दिया। ₹
मद्रकवारर दिन सिलाइवे भुषि कांथा।
बुधवारर दिन मुड़ाइवे माथा। इन
द्धा्पतिवारर दिन मुसझ्ल माखिये।
सुर्रवारह दिग राणा दुर कर्ग 凶ेटिवे। श्O
स्तक्रवारर दिन राजा दुर बर्ग ऐेदिवे।
सनिवारह दिन राजा बोड़ कािन पड़िवे। इस्ट
रविवार दिन राजा हातर देायादस।
ऐे दिवसे हे राजा विदेस गमन ॥ FCE
बाड़ी दहते निय़ा यावे तेगाकाव बुजिब भरसा दिया।
किए दुःख दिवे तोमाक अर्श बाड़ी दिया । बार किछु डुःख दिवे वासा वाड़ी दियात।
धार विकु दुख दिवे बीकरा गगरत।
बान्दी चुहया खापे तोमाक ₹िता वेस्यार घरत ॥ ₹モ? केस्यार परिधान हैे बागुन पाठर साड़ी। तोर राजार परिधान हें बार आंइऐ दश़ि। अथाड़ि घानर चाडक दिवे विचिया वार्तांता। ₹Cश
विधियुा बार्त्रकि दिवे पेख़ाइया खावा।
एकेतो निदारन वेस्या बबन तैब माना ॥ ₹દ랴
वे या यावेन सेतखाना तुकिया धरवेन भात़ि।
चच्तु मश्निय़ा येगाइवेन वेस्यार वापेन पानि॥ ₹と8
प्रतेक उठियुा माइरे ते तोमाक बारनर बाड़ी।
पापर सझण्या उठाइवे पापर गना गन ॥ ecy
सिकिया बाकुय़ा दिवे दुर्टा जषर हा़ि़।
दिगठाय़ बोजन छेवे वार मार पानि । हCE

राजा बसे छुन ठालुर दुख छुख कपाजर सेखा।
मडना जिखा पायु विधाता जिखियाइछ।

कोथाय़ गेष माह सेतु बागेया़ पान खासु ।
दान दक्षिणा दिय़ा विद्या करिया दिसुः ॥ है
किछु दान दिया विदाय करिया दिल।
वापर काषर नापितक बानियुत दाजिर कर ॥ ₹CC
वपितर मघंक्य बागिया गेण चणिय़ा।
वापितक तवे चानिब डारिया।
मांइड़ चुर धहया बास चसियात
मर थाचारि राजा करे डाम्वा हैस।
हेन काबे खाड़ा हह्ज नापितर कुमर।।
$8 \circ 8$
येग मते धर्म्मि राजा गापितक देखिण। पाट दूते मछाराजा म्टत्तिकायद्यामिब। गाट मन्द्ं दाजान कोटा भाश्रिय़ा गेष॥।

802
गाह कान्दे गाछानि कान्दे गाहर कान्दे पाता। बनर दरिती कान्दे हेट करिया़ माथा ॥ $8^{\circ}$ ₹

[^38]घाटियालर घाटत कान्दे बारस काष्टन नाबो। वाइस काएन गौका कान्दे लेइस कार्टन डांड़ि। तार माभासर कान्दे विसासर काङारि। 808 दरिनर वालासाना कान्दे छोकरान हाबोखाना।
बान्दे वेस्यार तालीम खागा। 804
पिद्निरार माभात कान्दे टिटिया मद्नर।
 डाकृटरखाना सोसाखाना कान्दे ठांश ठांइ। चबटुभि गोक्कुण काग्दे सेखा योखा नाइ। 800 हातिसाबाय् छाति कान्दे पैघरत कान्दे घोड़ा। पाट मछलर कान्दने मिखे जामा छोड़ा। 805 एक्ष सत गावि कान्दे गषाये नेज दिया। बब्बो बुड़ि कुक्षा कान्दे चरनत पड़ियात। 80 e एक सत रानी कान्दे म्टत्तिकाय गैड़ दिया। बडुना पदुना कान्दे टुह चरन धरियुत।

हाय हाय् स्यामि धन पालान हाड़िय़।।
को बार पासियदा नवे छते बाद दिया।।
राजार मा मयุना कान्दे चद्बत पानि दिया़।
एक भाड़ि गध्रार जल योगाइल बानियदा॥ 89
एक नेबोयाएँ पाता कानिष योगाइया।
सर्नर वाटित लहल जल ढालियृ।। 8? ${ }^{2}$
येन मते राजार माथाय़ तुलिया दिस जल।
रान्य भोग सिंछासन करे टलमखः
जुरा धरिया़ नापितर वेटा चतुर्द्रिकात चाय़।
कार उकुम ना पायृ हाजामत धानाय़।
मयद्ना वले नापितर केटा कार पाने चाब्षो।
मोर याटुर माथा कामाइते का घिनाब्बो।
₹िया दिया वान्ति दिमु मानिक दिमु चिन ।



सकल चुल कामाइ्बो राइख बंम चुणि।
बवस्य उड़ाइडु हारिखु केन्था भुषि॥
चुर तुषिय̣ा एक सत दिन राज्जार केस म्टत्तिकाय पड़िस।

तुस तुर वरिया मय̣ना उदार छाड़िल।
बोला सत सुनि उ्द्रारत गामिब॥
$32 \varepsilon$
प्रस्परथे नामिल गेरकक विद्याधर।
ढेकिवाहने नामिब नारद सुनिषर।
৪२•

बायेयदार पिठित वामिय़ा गेल भोषा मेसर।
धनुक्वाने नामिय़ा गेब बीरामबचन । 8 २？
पांच भाइ पाखख नामिल ठांह ठांइ।
बान काटा हाड़ि सिड्वा लेखा येखा नाइ ॥ 8शः
घसिर धुला दिया वदन ढाकिल।
सम्भ्राट देखिया़ मय़ना कान्दिवार बागिखः 8२₹

माय़र टुह नय़नर तारा ₹े। बारे बोर बाका ।
बामार केवा बहल ₹ ॥ ॥ुया।
8२8

वापितर हत्तर ज्ञुर बहल काड़ियदा।
शे दुरार कानपाड़ार हत्त दिल तुसिया।। 8 शऐ
येन मते कानपाड़ा जुर हस्ते पाइल।
राम राम वबियदा राजार दुर्वर्न पाड़िय॥ ह२ः
भाठिकर कुष्डक राजाक पड़ाइल।
भगवान वस्त्र बानिय़ा येगाइए ॥
पांच वैक्याव धरियदा कापित पड़ाइषार नागिख।
ए डोर कपिण राजाक पड़ाइल। 8ワ
राम खिषिका गबे तुषि दिण।
बदुर थान हजल तुलि दिल।
82c
मार्रा केंथा भाष्रा कपित भाहुर वर्षिर्वास।
सवे मेबिया षारत बाछे चे चन्यर दास। 8品
बीचेतन्य निय्यानम्द्ध बधिक रार्ध सिता।
बीगुर वैष्प्य वम्द्ब भागवत गिता।। $8 民$ ＊२०। फाठिबर＝र्साटिकेर ॥
भिच्चा वजिया राजार चेटा कान्द्विार लागिल। चाति घोड़ा दख बन्न गोलाम खेतु मिद्धा दिल। ऐ भिच्चा गुष्र चरणत दिया परनाम करिल।
या या राजार वेटा तेमाक दिगु बर।
तिन कोग पिर्थिवि टसिया़ गेले गा याब्बो यमर घर। ..... 8קयेन मते घर्मि राजा वेना छुख सरणसर्गर सुनिगन सर्गंत चसि गेषा॥8 88
पांच लोटा जब्टे मयुना बाणान करिया। हांसिया निज घरत मयृणा सेन्दाइल गियदा । ..... 8₹2बड़ दिया एक मात पष्षास ब्यनुन रन्वन करिया।खर्वर थाबत बच दिसे परसिया।।8 ₹〔
भित्र रर भाड़िए जब दिसेक ढालिया।बम खाबो बम खाबो राज दुलाबीया।₹ंसियदा खेनिय़ा याब्षो परदेसक बामिय़ा।8 80
येन मते थाबत बम देखिख।
कपालत मारिया चड़ कान्द्विर बागिष।। ..... 825
यखन बाक्रिभाम मा रान्यत द्रर। खर्गर धालत बह खाइनु विस्तर। ..... 8ぎと
एखन छ्रुु ोोड़ाकर मिकारि।खर्नर धासत बम खाइते का पारिः।$88^{\circ}$
एक खान कलार पात बानिक काटियृा।
बाहात बम गुटिक सइल ढालियुा। ..... 889भाहुर तुख्वा बानिल धरिया।।
ताछात जल फुटिक लहल ढालिया। । ..... $88 २$हातत सुखत जब दिया कोन काम करिल।बी ह्रष्ट वबिया बम मुखत तुलियृा दिल।एक गासे दुर गासे पष्ष गास खाइल॥8 8
बम्म खाया जबर दिगत चाये।
भाह्रा तुब्बा दिय̣ा उब उर्सियृत पसाय ॥ ..... 888
म्टत्तिकाय मुख लागाइया उल चुम्बुक मारि खाइल।
देविर भाइ सनि कपाब चड़िल। ..... 884
सनि केतु राजार गर्भ वास करिल।
सकल सरीर राजार मलिन पड़िब। ..... 884
कडना करिया़ मय़ना कान्द्विए बागिस ॥ ..... 88
बामार पुच्न बड़ धन रे के रे मिकिया़ दिवे। ॥ुय़ा॥ ..... $88=$
परदेसे याइया परार पति बास।बागे खावे गिरिलोक पख्यात तक्षास।$88 \varepsilon$
बतित वैष्पा देखिया का वरिबो हेजा।गड़ छया़ परनाम बरेन यार गषस माला।$8 y^{\circ}$
सरिसाते सब दुवसाते چिण।
बखने पाすु परदेसर चिन ॥ ..... 842
पुल गोटेक देखिया पुब ना काष़िन्नु।
पाखी गोटेक्ष देखियां ढेब का मारिसु। ..... 
पर स्नीका देखिया हास्य ना करिमु।बागत मा दाय़ दिया पच्बात मिच्चा बमुः84 ₹
सेख काष्ष कड़ि टिब भोबझाय़ साजाइया।कड़ीर कथा का कान तेर गुबर वरावर।848
बाइ मस्म करिया़ कड़िक पटासु।यमर घर छारिट पाइे गमन करिसु ॥$84 y$
एक सत रानी गेब खेतुर बराबर।84
बार उागाये चौकि पहरा तेर जागाय़ थाना।बतित बेष्पव याबार ऐे वाड़ी माना।येग मते कन्या दुर्शटि मन्दीर सेन्दाइए।बिन बेड़ाने धर्म्मर कमाट बापने बामिब।8y
पासा धरिया़ बसिक बाबेा ना करिया। ..... 8yeये दिन हक्तर पाबा पड़िते बाउजिय़ा।
शे दिग मेर स्यामी याइवे मरियदा ॥
8! ${ }^{\circ}$

राज्य भार रहल उननी मायुर कोलत।

एक क्रेस टुर क्रोस पष्ष क्रोस गेब।
चरक फाटियात राजार रह पड़िवार नागिल।। 8 द्र

एक दिग दुर दिग सात दिग हहल।
किवा रान्र किवा दिन घाटिवार बागिल।
एर राजार मुलुक काड़िया बन्य मुणुक गेष।
हारि वसे उय विधि मेर कपाबर प्रण।
8 84
दम्मा कथा वसिछे राजा बामार वरावर।
किकु दुख देँ बों घड़िकर मितर।
तु区 तुर करिया हाड़ि उसार छाड़िज। सुद्राकारत हारि सिड्रा इร्रब सिख्बाइल।
ऐोट अभुल छाड़िय़ा वड़ जर्रसे पाब्बो।
बाड ढाउ सखाइल मुखे ना बाइसे बाबेत।
84
सकाकारत हारिमोष सह्मत चलिया।
दोनो हसत याय़ राजा जभ्रक ठेकिया।
इशि काटे विशि काटे रहल पड़े ध्वारे।
हाटिवार ना पारे राजा कापाब चड़ मारे।
80

बार किए्ए दुःख दिल वाबा बा़़ी दिया।
राजार काम्दनत हाड़िए दया उवजीख।
केल कदम्बर गाए धांटाय़ सिर्जाइस।
802
हच्त तबत याये राजा सहरत गोविन।
ब्बांजुलत बांजु जत चछ्छात बाइल निग।
803

वांबो उस मृतिकाय देबो च्चनेक मारि छख।
808
 ४०ः । निन = निद्रा ॥ ४०8। गु = पाइसास ॥

बांबो उस हारि म्टत्रिकाय़ दोजि दिस।
सितान दिया़ राजा निभ्राय पड़िए।
तुस तुस बरिया़ हारि उद्रार हाड़िए।
एक सत यम डाकिया षानित्य ॥
दारि बत्षे यम बाष्य मेर धर।
बात छात बोसार मां्ति एक वुक्ष उत।
ऐटे हहत वान्धि नि याबो दारियूपुर सहर॥ ॥ 800
एं कथा हुनिया यम का घाकिण रैया।
माध्रि वान्धिवे यम गेब चलिया। ॥
बात छात बोसार माध्थि एक वुक्र उब।
ऐटे हरते बान्धि नि याइण दारियापर बहर॥ soc
हगुमान बलिया जाएर हाड़िए।
किछु किद्धु बच्च माड़ाण बागाइण।
बष्च चापर राजाके तुलिया मारिस।
गुर गुर् बनिया राजा कान्दियात उठिज।। 85
मांक्षि बान्षिया़ बारिम बड़ पेनु दुख।
बार कड़ा कड़ि दे बो खांबों सुख ॥
बार का़ार गाह्मा खांबों किनियदा।
तवे तोमाक्र बइ्या़ याइ घाड़पुरक जागाइ्या।। \&
येन मते धर्म्मि राजा सम्बाद हुनिब।
राम राम वबिया कार्गत हात दिण । -8
ए गुलाक खान गुख वाप माँ ना जालों।
एमन बनाचारर सझत बाइसे कोन जग।
बनाचारर सभुत्त बाइले घबस्य मरन। 8 वy
बार कड़ार बटलत गुख वारो काबोन बबो।
बन्दा कान्दार कार्य्य नाए किरिय़त घरे याबो।।
ध्यानत बाहिए दाए़ि चमकिया उटिस।। BCO
ध्यानत हाड़ि गुख ध्यान करि चाय़।
ध्यानर माभल सेल काब्बोन कड़ी भोषार लागाल पाय̣ II $8 \subset$
एर मा मान बाईे जानत डाधर।


4. 1

तुष तुब करि हाप़ी जद्रार ₹ारि़न।

बाद मेग करिया एक सेग पाथर भोषायृ सिर्जाएल।
मात धरिया धर्म्मि राजा उुगिवार बागिष।
8e?
दे दे बत़ि बकिया हाऱ्ि काउसिबार बागिख।
एकबार दुरवार योस्या नागाइल पाइल ॥
seq
भोकप्रार गिएा सुकिया पेलाइल।
भोषार किर सुजिया पषिया गेष धान्दा।
भोषार का़ि भोषाये काए बर्थवितेर काथा।
8\&き
बयाज केन काषे।
वा जानि क्याबे किषा बाईे। हध्य़ाः B\&?


धर्म्मि राजाक लहल भोषायु मड़ियृा। दारियापुर सहरत येज चलिया। 8c*
बान्दा नेष्षो वाम्दा नेबो गाया़ाबीनी माइ।
बार कड़ा करि चाकिय़ा बान्दा धुर्वार चाइ।
बार कह़ा का़ि पाइले गाष्ना खार्वार चाइः BEE
देखि देखि के मन चेला देखिवार चार। Be\&
हात कोना धरिया राजाक वे हर कैस टानियद।

गोय़ाषिगी बत्षे गुण करि निवेदन।
स्द्दर बप देखि राजाब भातर उपर।
एबो नाकि खाबार पारे गोयाब बेाकर घर।

[^39]काड़िया मरिया टाषा देषो भोषा भरिया नेषो।
बामार महब हाड़िया बन्घ महब याबो।।

मराराजाक्र बसके तवे हस्तत धरिया।
दोषानर गणि वेज़ाय़ हांटियदा।
बान्दा गेषो बान्दा नेषो चिए़ा वेचि माइ।
येग मते चिऱ्ा वेशि राजाक देखिए।
चिज़ार दोषान खान पाषेय़ा पोषिब ।
राजार कमर धल्ये मरों वरिया।
बमेक करिया निस बोऱाइय़ा। yoy
बान्दा नेषो वान्दा बेषो दर्णाद वेचि माइ।
बान्दा नेषो वान्दा नेषो साक वेचि माइ। 404
बान्दा नेषो बान्दा नेषो बाड़ए वेचि माइ।
वम्द्रा नेषो बान्दा नेषो कासाइ वेचि माइ। थ०
येन मते काषाए वेचि राजाक देखिस।
घरर स्यामिक बाइल बाप दाय दियात ॥ थ०
येत दोकान सव फेषाइल पाकेया।
राजार बमर धरिल मरियु वसिया। यू०e.
चिड़ा वेचि उठिय़ा बके काषा वेचि उत्रिया तुइ।
हाड़िया दे राजार कमर बारो धरनु मुए।
420
राजार कमर धरिया टानिवार थागिष।
घकारण करिया राजा कान्दिवार बागिष।।
223
राभार कान्दने हाड़िए दया अरमिब।
इन्र राजाक बागिया जहलर इा़ि़।। यद?
धुम धाम करिया पाधर पड़िते बागिए।
राभार बमर ₹ाड़िय़ा सव घराधरि गेन।
थ!
छुयार इाउ़ डुया़र इाड़ वाबाए बेचि भोन।
मिजिया़ बाहेरा देखन मिजिया़ मटि वाछेरा देखन। थ२ः
येन मते बालाए वेचि सेलिटा कथा पार्ण।

बालाए काड़ा गाइन विया ये बाइण।
रे गाइन दिया डाक्रावार बागिक।
य2
गाक चुल बाटिय़ा हेराडारा दिज।
धारत ज्ञात दिया़ बाहिर बरि दिक । थ?०

बोक्ष हाड़िया गमण विजयृ ताजुप्त।
साच्चत उतरिक बाइया।
$4 y^{=}$
बान्दा नेषो बान्दा नेबो हालुयार घर।
छु्दर चेजा बान्दा चोबों तोर हाजुयार धर।
ype
स्द्र बप देखों मादर उपर।
एंबो काकि खावार पारे चासा बोकर घरा। प२०

- रहार योग्यवान बाईे हिरा बेस्यार घर।

के मत करि यावेन बटिटर मछ्षजर मितर। y2?
योड्ड योड़ दामरा धुइचे दरबोय़ाजा टाभिया।

प२マ
एक डाइ यदि मारे दामराये तुषिया।
एक छाजार टाका नेय दरबोयाधाये बसिया । प२₹
बोष्न बा़िय़ा विलय् ग्रम।
बटिर बाभणाय् याइया दिष दरिसज। 428
बका़़ खीविया एक डाॅ्र डाभ्राइक।
सम्द हसल वटिर पुरि वार्षार बानाइकः
424

बान्दि वान्दि वर्कियु डाकाइवार बागिल।
कोटेकार मधाराजा चलिय़ा बाषिब।
तहाके बाल तुर्मि चाव्बर हाकाइय़ा। प२।
एइ कथा हुनिया बान्दि का चाकिष र्या।
हाड़िए साच्छात गेष्ष चणियृत । प२०
बोने श गुरधण एत दुर गमन।
सिंछासन थाकिते केन म्टत्रिकाय़ सयदन ।
वासा खोड़ा गार बामार भोषार भितर।
एकता चेषा बाईे भोषाझ्रार भितर। पशह
बार कऱा कड़ि थाकिया बान्दा धुर्वार चार।
बार कड़ा काड़ि पाइसे गांजा विनिया खाइ।
4 룽
वाम्दा नाकि निवे तोमार र्टिरा श़ि माइ।
देखों देखों केमन चेषा देखिबारे चाइः
हात कोना धरिया बेर करिब टानिय़ा।
ढक मक करिया़ राजा उठिब ज्वलिया।।
$2 \overline{2}$

एह कथा आनाइस बान्दि नटिर बराषर।
येमन बप बाळे राजार चरनर उपर।
सेमन बप गाह वोमार मुखर डपर। पह₹
ये राजा वकियृा तर्प्य कर ए बार बत्सर।
बेश राजार नागाब पाइखु दरजार उपर। पू₹ू
एह कथा सुनिया नटि न थाकिस रेय़ा।


हाऱि बके सुन नटि बामार बराबर।
भाब चेका वान्दा चुर् बोमार बराबर। पू₹७
बार कड़ा कड़ि चाकिया़ बान्दा धुर्वार चाइ।
बार कड़ा कड़ि पाइसे गांजा किनिया खाइ॥ सFए
ए₹ काथा सुनिया नटि ग धाकिस र्ये़।
बम्दर्श साउद मघाजनक बानिष डाकिया।। पू₹ट
दोया़त खत कलम येगाइल बानियदा।
बार कड़ा बड़ि नटि बानिब गनिया ।
बेख शेख वबिय़ा हाड़ि जकुम भाका दिब।
सग तारिख बी कागअत बिखिख।।
482
हिरा नटि नामटा कागजत किखिख।
शे बार कड़ा कीज़ कागजत बिखिब।
धर्म्मर नामटा कागजत निखिय।
ऐे कबम पेलाइय़ा दिब छाड़िर बरावर। - पू8३
येन मते हाष़ि सिड्रा हस्तत कानम पाइल।
राम राम बरियात दछ्कहत करिया़ दिब ।
बार बड़ा बऱ्ि गनिया हाड़िर हस्तल दिब।

ऐ दिन हहते धर्म्मि राआ बन्बन पड़ित।
ऐे खत तुलिया मटीर हत्तन दिब। पू8द
बाम ज्रोध मनि fितिय़ा वान्धिष।
का रादी का पुबस राजाक करिक। पू,

## घोष्ठ हारियाए गमण विजये हाजुया।

साच्चत उतरिक बाइया। थ?
बान्दा ने बो बान्दा गेबो हानुयाए षर।

सन्द्र बय देखों माद्धर उपर।
एंबो काकि खावार पारे चासा बोकर घर्य प२०

- रहार योग्यवान बाईे पिरा बेस्यार घर।

केमन कारि यावेल नटिर मह्रणर मितर।। प२२
योड़् योड् दामरा धुहचे दरबोय़ाजा टाश्रिय़ा।
कोन मितकार राजा बाइसे मष्दे चणियात ।
पू२マ
एक ठाॅ्र यदि मारे दामयये तुषिया।
एक हाजार टाषा नेय दरबोय़ाअाय़ बसियदा। प२₹

बटिर बाभणाय याइया़ दिब दरिसणः। प२8
अवक़़ खुषिया एक डाप्र डाभ्राइण।
सब्द दहण नटिर पुरि वार्शार जानाइण।
424

वान्दि वान्द्यि वर्षियू डाकाइबार कानिस।
कोटेकार महाराजा चलियु बाबिब।
वाहाके बान तुर्मि चाम्बर हाकाइय़ा। पू२ई
एर कथा हुनिया बान्दि का थाकिष रया।
छाड़िर साच्चात गोले चनिया ।
ฯマง
कोनेश गुबधन एत दुर गमन।
सिंछासन थाकिते केन मृत्तिकाय़ सय़न । प२ए
वासा खोड़ा गार बामार भोषार भितर।
एक्णा चेषा बाईे भोषाइ़ार भितर।। प२ह
बार कड़ा कड़ि थाकिय़ा बान्दा धुख्वार चाइ।
बार कड़ा कड़ि पाइसे गांजा किनिया खाइ।
वान्दा नाकि निवे तोमार हिरा ऩटि माइ।
देखों देखों केमक चेला देखिबारे चाइः
$4{ }^{2}$

ज्ञात कोना धरिया बेर करिब टानिया।
ढण मब करिया़ राजा उठिब उ्वलियात।
रप देखिखे मयान भोरे। | धुयुत | ..... ฯ ミ३
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कापितेर ब्थी देखों येन धुतुरार पुल।

> तेडर बटीर बभार देखों बेबेय़ा धाटर गबोो। घ्राटत का़ि दिया़ बादमि ₹य़ पार।
 तेर कटी बप देखों येन बर्ब हुपं। छात़ि डोमे बुइय़ा बावने पा़े़ हुव॥
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धाविवार घर दिते इर्बर खरुड़।
सिकिया वाद्रुया दिसे दुर्टा चबर दाधि।
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राजार चुकत चड़िक ठसक मारिय़ा।
छिनान करे हिरा नटी छास्यिा रोकियुया ॥ y
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धाड़त हसत दिया राआक्ता बहेर बेंरे दिया। भूe०
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सारी स्या पाखी हुनिब पिक्झिरार माभात । YCE
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चानर खेढ़ निचिया कन्यार बाजुत पड़े।
बेने 2 माब्बो रोदन कर नाट मन्दिर घरे।
कव्या बसे सुण बाएा पच्चि सकण।
बार बतृसर गेब तेर बावा राबोदा करिय़ा।
तेर वत्सर भार पाइल का बाइल पिरिया।।
«०२। राबादा = وعد8 ||

बाइज केने नेर इजर पसार पड़िन बाउधीया।
का जानि तोर पिता गेष मर्या़ । बामार दुए भाइक देबो मा छाड़िय़ा। ोोगटे बाईे बामार पिता बासि ता कास कर्या। याष्षो $₹$ वाबा परदेस बागियदा।
कोटे बाईे तोमार पिता बारस तबास करिय़ा॥
foy
बनगीर चरनत काखी परनाम करिण।
दधिन पाठने पाखी उड़ाबो दिया गेष ॥
सात दिन मरि पाखी उङ़़ते बागिकः
बातेबे धर्म्मि राजार बागाब का पाइल ॥
गदीर पाड़त बाते बट बार पाइक्ए।
बटर ठाषत पाखी परल उड़ाबो दिय़ा।
पष्चिम ठाल हरते पाखी पुर्ब्ब ठाल याय़। भार धरि धर्म्मि राजा अल भरिवार बाये। घलत नामियदा दन्त मात्भिवार नागिण। माधार उपर पाखि राजार उड़िवार बागिब ॥

तोरा गार्षिल इल राजा मेपी चण्।
बोमार खवरत बासि माह दुर जन ।
हत्त बाखेया दिय।
उड़ाब्यो दिया़ पाखी दुर्टा बाजुत पड़िज। 42
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शे रह्न दिय्या बेखन सिखिवार लागिल।
यत दुसार कथा राजा सिखिवार वागिष।
समाबो हछसे निवेग उड्बार करिया।
छुमाबो हइसे चुएवेत पापत पोषिया।।
एह बिखन दिस तोर वराइर बरावर।
राजार करनत पाखि प्रभाम जानाइया।
मयूवार महथात पाखि गेका उढ़ाबो दिया ॥

चाब छेन्दा करिया बेखन दिब देलाइ्या।
देख़ देख रे वृ़ा साबी तोर सुख्ड खान पषिया ॥
चुमाबे सरले निवे उड्ञार करिया ।
बाम ख्रंिया केषल पड़िवार नातिब।
बभारन बरिया पाखि बान्दिवार बातिब।
वियाने गियृाबे यादुरे।
रविर भालाये मेब्ध बामार वाहारे। ।धुया। ए२?
ध्यागत मयूणा बुद़ी ध्यात करि चाये।
जैह ताब धबर भितर हाड़िए बागाब पाय़। द्श
खरपा घार मार्षे तुणिया।

बरदि सागर दिया याे़े मासिया।

बक्षर चायछ़ हाड़िक कबिया मारिल।
ध्यानत बाईिल रानि चमकिय़ा उठिल।
(2)

घ्यानत हाड़ी गुख ध्याज करि चाय़।
ध्याजर माभात मयनार बागाण पाय़।
याँबों बाँबों दिदि राजाब लातियाये।
बोर वेटाब उड्रार करिसे पिदे खांुु गाश्षा ॥ द्ध
यदि बाबे छार्रार ज्ञान बर्प देखिव।

से घाटत राजार वेटा जल भरे बसिया।

डर हरते देखिक राजा हाऱिर चबर।
डुरटा पाड़ि थुर्बे दुरटे माप्रिया।
$4{ }^{\circ}$
माधार चुल राजा दुर बर्ष करिब।
राढ़िर चरनत राजा पढि़ भजिया।
रे धर्म्मि राजाक मोब पर्रयू मध्दिया।
गटीर मर्षणत गेब चखिया।
¢ ${ }^{2}$
गटीर मर्षणत याया हाड़ि जक्रार छाड़िए।
डुम दुम करि पुरि वड़िवार बागिए।
4?
गटी बहे बाम्दी वेटि बार माने चाबो।
के ानटे बार बथीत बाइले पिदाये करि दाबो। ..... 48
एर बथा चुनिया बान्दी बाइण चबिया।हात़िक्ष देखिया बान्दी गेण पिरियात।(32
एह काथा चनाइल कटोर बरावर। बथीत कोजा हारि़ नझेष्रा। ..... (?एह कथा स्षनिया़ बटी कोरन काम करिल।घरर भितर नटो बुकिया रहिण ।〈३ं
बटी गुकाइया रहण मने बार मने।हाति़ सिड्रा जानिते पाइल घन्तर ध्याने ।हातर बासा गड़ि मारिए तुलिया।।f(
तेकाष बसों बासा गसि़ वाक्य मेर धर।(?)
एक बाँ्रा पाइसे सहल बात्ञा पाहण।
गर्ष्जिया हिएा मटीर महलत सेन्दाइल। ..... < ${ }^{\circ}$
ढेकाइते $P$ वटि बाइर केरे बानिण।बार कड़ा कड़ि हाड़ी तखण उठाइल॥बार बत्सटिय़ा खत बटी बानियूा येगाइक।(82
बार कड़ा कड़ी गनिया़ मटीर शातत दिज ॥ ..... (88
बटीर हातर खत खान छाड़ीर हातर दिस। राम $२$ बणिया खत थाड़िया पेनाइल। ..... (8)
एक हिड़ा गह्रार जब हाड़ी बाभिस येतमाइय़ा। सात अड़या़ धरिक मटीक चितर करिया। ..... 48
वारस मेनिय़ा खड़म राजार चरणत सागाइय़ा।
नटीर वुकत राजाक दिज चड़ाइया। ..... (84
येतके हैसे नसे बार चड़े।बर्षिस पाष्मर बटीर माड्री गुड़ा करे।(8§
राम २ वरियाय येन अल मब्ताकत ढाणी दिल।
यत विकु पाप गुना दुरे चकिया गेक । ..... 480
किनान करिया राजा बहुत्त हर्ब बति।
भिजा वस्त्र पेषाया पिन्दे सकषा पाठर धुति। ..... 85
छाड़ी बसे राजार वेटा बाक्य मेर धर।बारो बत्पर तप करे बटी मह्रणर भितर।किजु बाष्क सिड्ब कर बटीर बरावर।(88

बा या दिरा कटी तेका दिनु वर।
बगडुल पर्ताख छर्या थाक्ष राज्यर भितर।
मनि वाव्य ब्टथा वा हर्ण।
बगदुब बप हःये सर्गत उ़े़ गेष।
बाम एक्ष दिया मटीक धरिब।
नटीक धरिया़ दुए खान करिस। 442
बाग धर दिते सर्गत उड़ाइया।
पाइ धर दिल दरियास केषाइया। \&
दरिया़त पड़िया बटी दोहाइ फिराइल । \&र 8
या या बटी तेका दिनु बर।
चेका माइ हर्टय़ा थाका अबर भिसर।
या या चापाइ वान्दी तोक दिनु वर।
वेस्या हस्या धाव राज्यर मितर।
छुय़ान कांजन खाषो कामाए करिया।
सेस कालत घरेक पाइक मातार।
उकिया गुख़िया माश्रिवे तोर वचिस पाष्नर ॥
या या दिरा धग कऱी तेषक दिनु वर।
खोबाहाटि हहया थाक खोबाशाटि सहर।। हूट
दिरार बाड़ी धर गद्ध मख्य करिया।
जान सिखिवार राजाक बह गेष धरिया।
तोष बलों राजार वेटा वाक्ष मेर धर।
किछु मिच्चा करि षान वम्दरर मितर।
सिस्य गुख वान्धि खाइ परदा सहर॥
हामित राजार वेटा गामे प्रष्चथारि।
कोमत कैरे मिच्चा करे निद्धय़ ना जानि।
गेटा चारिक कथा यखम राजाका सिखाइल।
छाते पात्र निया गमक धरिल।
छाड़ी बबे छयरे विधि मेर कर्म्मर पण।
मेर घरर चेषा कोना सर्ब्षाहर सुन्दर।
गिरिए घर बड वेटीक करिवे पागल।
बे प्रही कोटलोयाब हहल मुरत बदबाइया। घर घर उड़का बाधिक्त जागाइख़ा। ..... (48
हापान भापान हिलाब ऊुर्।
मिब सिक्र ना पाइया याने छाउ़ोर पडुर। ..... 4
मिच्चा बधिया राजा गमन करिण।
तुरू तुर करि दाड़ी जसार हाऱिख ॥ ..... ff
सर्ग दहरते पांच बन्बा डहारे बामाइब।पांच चाब्ब बन्म खानिया बेगाइब।\&
बापना बंसर बस खाइस।राजार भागर बम बतने राखिख।
बाऱाइ पुटि जान बमत इाड़ि टिथ । ..... (f)
चुब्न धाड्रार बघक धुर्ब माखिया।मेख़ा मिसरि रस दिया़ धुर्ब माखियुत।〔\&
साइल केष्बा डुरा चुर्न ढाकिया।मिचा रप धर्म्मि राजा बेढ़ाय़ चेंचाइया।\&o
हापरे भापरे राजाका हिषाय़ छुद्धर।मिका सिक का पाइय़ा मेब हाड़ीर जजुर।।गुख धन तेर देषर क्षेका देखिजु निद्य निठुर।
मिक्र सिक ना देय़ हिलाय कुद्धर ।40
बाइ पाइस का पाहस भिच्चा वेटा मेर सेवा गाइसया।for
एका सतीर नागाब पानु पन्थे बषिया़।।तांय़ गुटिक बन दिया गेहल बासिया।बापनकार बंसर बम खाइस वसिय़ा।तेर मागर बन थुचि यतने करिया ।108
पुणिते पड़िते राअा बदर काएस गेब।
बम्न देखिया क्याबत चह़ दिस।(0)
एमत बम का खायु धामार कुष्ता सकल।केह बद्धर गागत्र पानु राज राजेखर।स)
तुर तुर करिया़ ₹ाए़ि उद्यार काड़िख।
बार बत्सर खिदा सरीरत नागाइल ॥ ..... 100
दि दि खिन $P$ करिया एक मास खाइल।
बम्टत मिठा राजा सुखत बागिब। ..... 10c
पिर एक्ना गासर बेषा ज्ञात कोना धरिल।

कऱा का ज़ी करिया़ धाड़ाइ गत खाइण।
बाड़ाइ पुटी धान तखनइ सिखिख।
for
जाने ध्याजत वान्दि दिण ऊजी।
योदा यमर मायदर सम्र कैष कोजाकोषी।
घाने ध्यानत बान्द्रि दिस चुड़ा।
गेदा यमका करियूा दिब खोंड़ा ॥
तुष तुष करिय़ा दाख़ी उन्बर काष्षिण ।
बाड़ीर क्या वार्षा राजार मनत पत़िज।। \&
विदायु देबो श गुर धरम तरि।
बारक रूे देखि बासि घर दिरि वाड़ो।।
हातर बास तुषिया़ दिष राजार हातर डपर।
छा़ेरेर घरनत राजा परनाम जानाइण ॥
बासी मोगी बाला बहल घाद़त करिय़ा।
रासा दिया चरिया यायु राजा दुलाणीयाः ॥ \&
हा़़ी सिज्ञा हाते खण खण थरिया।
बक्र छाड़ीय़ा राजा नियाय गमन ।
बापनकार महलत गिया गेण चशियुा।
तुर तुष कारिय़ राजा सिंनाद बाजायै।
निम्द्स धारिण बन्बा चेतन हया याय् ॥
बिन खड़ी दाज्ञा घढ़ि बाजिवार बागिख।
बिन घायुण टुग्ष चाडण ड्यणीय़ा पत्रिब॥
दाटि $₹$ मदीम चजिवार नागिक।
सरदि सागरत राजा बहिवार थागिष ।
औौर्खान मधुक्र भासिय़ा डठिष।
दी ब्द्दाबन राजा मुख जस हइस।
गर्भवति गारी सब प्रसब हद्रा
घथीत घाइण रे।
बामार द्रजार माभा रे। हुयाः है।
बोनट्टे गेच बान्दी बागये पान खासु।
बोन्टेकार बरीत बाइछे बिदायु कारि दिसु ॥

मिध्बा निके बान्दी साजान करिया । ..... (c)
भिज्ञा नेषो बथीत गोंसाह।
गिरिए घरर बान्दी पिरिया घरत बाइ। ..... (cs
दच्चिन भागीया बथीत हामि काम घ्रक्तारि।बान्दी हाड़र हातत मिच्चा कहते वा पारि।(ex)यदि भिच्चा देय तबे साः्वानि सकण।
तवे भिच्छा गरते पारि बर्थीतर दुरामर। ..... ede
थाक $२$ बथीत ₹ेखणा वठिया।
बत चान का पाब्बो भिच्चा पोड $₹$ बरिया। ..... <ce
कान्दिया गेल बान्दी कन्धार वराबर।दच्चिन भागीया बयीत हामरा काम प्रतथारि।बान्दीर हातर भिच्चा हामरा थहते गा पारि।\&c
यदि भिच्चा देग ते $म$ ार साइबानी सकाणयेल मते कन्या दुश्टा सवाद सीकिण।
भिच्चा धरि कन्या दुर्टा खाज़ा ₹स्या रटिण। ..... ECEविन छोड़ानि धर्म्मर बपाढ घापने खसिक।
भिच्चा धरि बडुना पदुना बाष्टिर हस्या बाइल। ..... -0•
मिच्चा नेषो मिच्छा नेबो बयीत गोंसाइ।निरिए घरर बड बेटि पिरिया़ घरत बाइ।-0\%पुरव भागीया षथीत ₹ाभि नाम त्रस्नचाटि।

सी बोतार मिच्चा हामि बहते का पारि।
यदि मिच्चा देय़ तोमार माथार बतर।
तबे भिच्चा बहते पारि बथीतर कुमर।
ठांरेया ठांटेया बनी बाद्रुभ्ज देखाइल।
लीर बाहुुण देखि तोमार हत्तर उपर।
तोमरा ₹न बामार माथार बतर।। 008
तोरा बथीत हारि घथीत एक गुखर सिस । -०य
सन्बा वालन एक वाड़ीत उसरिगु याय़ा।
ठाषरि कालाइर डाइल दिल वियरि धानर चाइल॥
$0 \cdot 4$
ताहाके खाइल हाडतासी हह्या।
भेद् वरिम हहया से गेब मरिया।
कांछे़्रे पाइला डार्भ माइस्ष बांक्षेत गेपाल डार्र।
भागत धाकियदा बाझटि चेाड़ा मेक कस्ये दाग।
Oos

कानटि गेष बाम्दी बागेय़ा पाम खाख्घो।
हस्तिर दाखका काटिय़ा देब्यो॥ voe
मेर सेटायमि निवे चिन करिया।
विदेसी बथीत छइले फोलावे मारिया। ११०
इसित दारका दिखे काटिय़ा।
दुर हहते ब्बाइसे हक्ति बाइल चड़िया ॥ ११?
दुर हरते राजाक परनाम करिस।
संड़ दियात धरिया़ राजाका कान्धत चड़ाइल॥ ण२२
एक घड़ि चाकिले हस्ति घैर्य्ष धरिया।
यावत ना बाइसे कन्या बलना कारियाः। १२₹
₹स्तिर पिटि हरते राजा म्रत्तिकाय नामिषा।
छस्त धरि कान्या दुर्टा राजाका मन्दीरत लहया गेष।
हासिया खेलिया़ कन्या चिना पुक्रा दिब ।
$0 \uparrow 8$
केमन गुख तेक ज्ञान दिस सरीरर भितर।
केमन कारि याबो तेर मायूर बरावर। 025
सेनाली मोमरा हरल काया वदषियु।
मयनार मह्ती गेल चलियात।

मयदना मति चोरखा सुझे उड़ाइयूत दिस॥ ง૨૭
ऐेत मय़्ना बज वड़ नाटक।
चटकिय़ा धरिल चड़कार छतर।। 0 Oe
बाये ₹ वाका मेर दुखिनीर टुबालीया। v?
माथार केस राजार दुर बर्ज्द करिया।
जननीर चरने राजा पैल भजियाः।
मथु नापितक बानिस डाकिया।।
राअा किरा सुद करिवार बागिब। बामने कासिया नेबद भाना दिल ॥
op?

संकीर्षम राजा करिवार लागिल।
सात गोला धान खयरात करिल॥ ज२२
गमीर ने दुस धरिया वैतरनि हरल पार।
राजार पिता माता वैदुम्ठे हरल पार।
७२३
पष्ष बोटा जबे मय़ना किनान करिया।
हासियाष्णी घरत सेन्दाइल बहर दिया।।

$$
\text { ৩२ } 8
$$



I am sorry to say that the above text was copied out by an energetic bábu who had the greatest contempt for the dialect it illustrates．He showed his contempt by carefully correcting the text，wherever it differed much from his idea of the sádhw bhasha．I did not discover this until the first two handred and fifty verses had been printed off；so，thus far，the above must be taken cum grano salis．The principal improvements will be noted in the terminations of the ganitive and locative．I may point out here，that Rangpuri possesses an instrumental ending in $\mathbb{T}$ ，which may easily be confused with the Bangálí locative．Thus हाते in Rangpurí means＂with a hand＂，while in Bangali it means＂in a hand，＂of which the Rangpuri would be बातन．

## Translation of the Song of Ma'nik Chandra.

1. Think on the name of Ráma, meditate on him with a single mind. If thou utterest the name of Ráma what can Yama do. 2. The wicked man did not utter the name of Ráma in the sloth of his tongue : and even though it was a receptacle of ambrosia, his body was devoured by poison. 3. Who walketh uttering the name of Ráma, along with him goeth a servant of Ráma armed with bow and arrow. 4. The ship that is called by the name of Ráma, hath for its pilot the Holy Master himself. Opening out his arms he crieth out "Come, I will ferry thee across." 5. I have placed the worship of Ráma upon my head. I pause awhile from considering his virtues, and sing the virtues of one who hath accomplished (his path of holiness). By praising him I obtain the accomplishment of my desires.
2. Mánik Chandra was a very pious king in Banga. Each month he used to collect a tax on each plough of seven and a half gandas* of káoris. 7. The people paid a tax of seven and a half gandas of káoris, and on the day of the Ashtami pújá used to bring him a herd of goats. 8. The fuel-seller, who supplied him with fuel, had six months' taxes remitted to him in consideration thereof. 9 . The leaf-seller, who supplied him with bundles of leaves, had six months' tares remitted to him in that consideration. 10. Such a king was Mánik Chandra that his ra'iyats' fences were built simply of thin reeds; the man who lived at hap-hazard, even he had a horse at his door. So proud were they, that not even the maid-servants wore sáris made of jute. 11. No one had need to use the foot-path of another, and no one had to drink the water of another's tank. $\dagger$
3. From the south there came a Bangála with a long beard; and that Bangálá, when he came, made money from the country. 13. Where the tax had formerly been $7 \frac{1}{8}$ gandas he took 15 gandas. 14. They sold their ploughs, they sold their yokes, and some sold their ploughshares; through the distress caused by the taration, some even sold their children at the breast. 15. The misery of the poor unhappy widows became very lamentable; all through the country the villages became broken up. 16. The little ra'iyats said to the big ra'iyats "Brothers, let us all go to the pradháns." $\ddagger$ 17. Saying, "What advice will all the pradháns give," all the ra'iyats after consulting together, went to the house of the pradháns. 18. "What advice shall we adopt, brothers, and what course of conduct? The king within the kingdom hath become unjust." 19. The Pradháne said to all the ra'iyats, "This advice I have no power to give ; come to Siva. Let us see what command the mighty Bholánátha will give us." 20. All

- A bxdi is five gandas or twenty.
t i. e., every one had his own private path to the hát, and his own private tank.
$\ddagger$ The Rangpurf term for the village head-man.
the ra'iyats after consulting together, went to S'iva's (temple). 21. Calling him "S'iva Thákur," they cried with a loud voice. S'iva Ṭ̂́kur was in the temple, and put his foot outside the door.".22. When they saw S'iva, all the ra'iyats made obeisance. Tying their clothes round their necks, did they make obeisance.

S'tVA spake.
23. "Long may ye live, long may ye live, O ra'iyats, may Dharma bless you. May the days of your life be as many as the sands of the sea. 24. Why, why 0 ra'iyats, have ye all come?"

## The Ra'tyats spake.

25. "What advice shall we adopt, and what course of conduct. The king within the kingdom hath become unjust." 26. The ancient S'iva meditated, and after meditating looked up, and found in the fate of the king that the limit of his life was six months distant.

## S'iva spake.

27. "If ye tell this word unto Mayaná she will assuredly destroy my kingdom of Kailása."

## The Ra'ifats spake.

28. "One oath, two oaths, three oaths in the name of Hari. If we speak thy word, may we die in great sin." 29. All the ra'iyats, after consulting together, went to Sríkalá hát. 30. They filled an earthen pot with incense and vermilion. They filled a coop with geese and doves. 31. They also took a white goat, tying him with a rope. Fasting on a Sunday, they took them to a tirtha on the Gangá. $\dagger$ 32. They tied the goat at a place sacred to Dharma on the banks of the Ganga, and sacrificed it there. $\ddagger$ 83. They offered several geese at the ghát, and burnt incense and vermilion there. 34. They rooted up unblown binná grass and brought it. And then wringing out his languti, he (S'iva) gave vent to the curse; and that curse they (the ra'iyats) took up in the corner of their garments.
29. On the Sunday S'iva gave the people this curse. On the Monday the fever seized the king. 36. On the Tuesday the king became weak; on

[^40]the Wednesday he ceased to eat or drink. 37. On the Thursday the king gave up the ghost ${ }^{*}$ : and on the following Tuesday, Chitra Govinda, the accountant of Yama, opened out his account papers. 38. He found in the account papers, that Mánik Chandra had six months to live; and turning his head, he began to speak to Saman Rájá Yama.

## Yama spake.

39. "A king within his kingdom hath become unjust. Bring hither that king within the house of Yama." 40. He began to call for Abal Yama. He sent a letter (for the king) by Godá Yama.

Yama spake.
41. "I tell thee Godá Yama, and take thou heed unto my words. Bring Mánik Cbandra Rájá here, with his hands andl neck tied." 42. He took his leathern rope and his iron hammer, and tied them in a knot; and then Godá Yama started on his journey. 43. Many miles he went, many roads he met. He went a great distance and reached the house of Mánik Chandra. 44. During the six months' illness within the palace, the fair Mayaná did not enquire about the true state of affairs.

## The King spake.

45. "O Nengá my servant, I tell thee, carry my message: go to Mayaná and tell her about this. 46. Say, 'For six months the king hain been ill within his palace. The King of Kings wisheth to see thee." " 47. Nengá heard these words and did not tarry. He went off to the palace of Mayaná. 48. Inside the door the Lady Mayaná was playing dice, and through the lattice of the door Nenga made obeisance to her.

## Mayané spake.

49. "Why, why, 0 Nengá hast thou come ?"

## Nengí spake.

50. "Hear, $O$ lady, hear the news; for six months the king hath been ill within his palace. The King of Kings wisheth to see thee." 51. The lady Mayaná became absorbed in contemplation, and, in her contemplation, her eyes fell upon Yama. 52. She took a bangálá betel-nut and sweet mítha bhari pán leaf, and divided the nut into two pieces with a knife. 53. In the pán leaves she put a little lime, and folded together the het khili and the upar khili. $\dagger$ 54. She put sisteen scores of charms on the top of

- Or perhaps "lost his power of sensation."
+ The little conical shaped parcels of prepared pd́n, which we see in the bxzárs, enclosing a piece of betel-nat and some lime, are called khilis. The outside wrapping is made up of two leaves, of which the lower one is called the hef khili, and the upper one, the wpar khili.
it ; and put the plate of pair on the head of the maid-servant. 55. The Lady Maraná went out, seeing that it was a lucky time, and arrived at the palace of the king.


## Mataní spafe.

56. "Why and wherefore did the great king summon me?"

## The King spakt.

57. "The king hath been ill for six months in his palace, and the fair Mayaná did not enquire about him."

## Mataní bpake.

58. "Hear, 0 king of kings. Learn the magical arts which I have acquired, and then the river of my life will dry up upon thy shoulder.* 59. In my life time great trees will live and die, and we two shall live together in everlasting youth."

## The King 8pake.

60. "Hear, O Mayaná: let Yama carry off me, Mánik Chandra; but nevertheless let not the knowledge of a woman be heard by me." $\dagger 61$. The king, although offered the arts of women, neglected them; and at exactly midday Cuckold $\ddagger$ Yama started. 62. He brought the thirsts of death and struck him with them. The king arose crying " Water, water. 63. Give me, $\mathbf{O}$ give me water, $\mathbf{O}$ fair Mayaná. Give me one vessel of water, and save my life."

## Mayaní spake.

64. "There are a hundred queens in thy palace. Drink water at their hands, 0 king of kings."

The Knge spakr.
65. "Water, at the hands of even a hundred queens, would smell of fish. It is when I drink at thy hand, that I find great solace."

## Mayaní spake.

66. "If I go now to bring thee water, that cuckold Yama will bind thee and carry thee away."

- i. e. thou wilt live as long as I.
+ Lit. my womb.
\$ The word Bháduyá is an abusive term, and means, more correctly, a man who makes money by the sale of his wife's person.


## The King spake.

67. "List 0 Mayaná. Take heed to my words. Place the knife for sacrificing goats upon my bed. 68. When that cuckold Yama cometh, like a Daitya, or a Dánava, him will I strike and slay with the sacrificial knife." 69. As soon as the Lady Mayaná took the vessel in her hands, many men were heard to sneeze, ${ }^{*}$ and many death-watches sounded. 70. Just as the Lady Mayaná passed outside the house, seven men from the seven quarters came in with a noise like thunder. 71. They tied him with leathern thongs, and with an iron mallet they began to beat him.

The King spake.
72. "Who beateth me so often? The Lady Mayaná hath gone to fetch me water. Let me fill my belly with one vessel of water."

## The Yama spake.

73. "Thy wife hath got a boon from Gorakh Náth. If Mayaná meet us, little good will it bode us. She will kneel upon us, and beat us this very midday." 74. Being unable to bear the beating of Yama, the king gave up the ghost, uttering the name of Mayaná. 75. That ghost took Goda Yama and tied it up in his languti, and to the seven quarters went off the seven men.
74. But Mayaná went to the banks of the Gangá $\dagger$ and spake " Hear, 0 Gangá, I make known unto thee my petition. 77. There is a king whose worship thou hast enjoyed for these twelve years; give one vessel of water and save his life. 78. For one vessel of water thou shalt have forty-two vessels ; therefore do thou restore to life a pious king."

## Gangí spake.

79. "For whom thou art taking thy vessel full of water; that pious king hath himself been taken away." 80 . On hearing this Mayaná began to weep, and hurled away her vessel worth a ldkh of rupees. 81. Mayaná dived fourteen fathoms beneath the water, and sat in contemplation, and saw that the vermilion on her forehead had become discoloured. 82. She saw that her shell bracelets had turned black, and she broke on her head the two bracelets worth a lákh of rupees.

Thr burdee of her song.
83. "I have lost my Lord. How many days must I wait and watch for him."
84. Mayaná walked to the palace. When the Lady Mayaná entered the temple, she lit both the front and the rear lamps. 85. Mayaná walked

[^41]to Yama's abode ; the Lady Mayana arrived on the banks of the dread river. 86. When Mayaná saw the river she became fearful. It is a river six months wide. The ferry-boat finishes its voyage in a year. Each wave seems vast as mountain peak.

## The Burden of her song.

87. "My fate hath become a lot of misery, as Krishṇa was of Bindá. The boat is broken and the ropes are worn; how can I pass over, 0 my guru. That is, if my guru is by me to help me. 88. I will hold the rudder of virtue. 0 my guru , the boat is broken, and the ropes are worn, but I will cross over."
88. Half her scarf she spread upon the water, and thinking upon virtue, she took her magic seat. 90. Mayaná uttered the words "tudu, $t u d u$," and the journey of six months was accomplished in six quarters of an hour. 91. She walked to Yama's palace, where thirty-six krors of Yamas were sitting in the hall of audience. 92. As soon as the Lady Mayana stood in Yama's abode, on this side and on that side the Yamas began to run away. 93. When Mayaná came to Yama's palace, she spread great alarm; some got colic and some got pains in their heads. 94. She became a Muhammadan doctor and a Hindu doctor, and extracted the poison from their bodies; but when she came to give them medicine every one ran away. 95. As soon as Godá Yama cast eyes on Mayaná, he ran away as fast as his legs would carry him to his own palace. 96. He went to his own palace and hid himself in a room, and from where she, the Lady Mayaná, was, she lost sight of him. 97. The Lady Mayaná went into contemplation and gazed about, and in her contemplation she saw him in his room. 98. Mayaná collected herself together, and laid aside her own proper form. She put on the appearance of a gardener's wife, and went into the palace of Godá Yama. 99. "Godá, Godá", Mayaná cried to him with a loud woice. 100. As soon as Godé Yama saw Mayaná he burst through the tatí walls of his palace and ran away". 101. Mayaná cried " már mar" and chased him through a treeless field, where a hundred ploughmen were ploughing. Like a deer did Mayaná chase Yama. 102. Thence Godá Yama lost his senses and turned himself into a prawn, and jumped into the sea. 103. The Lady Mayaná went into contemplation and gazed about, and in her contemplation her eyes fell on the prawn. 104. Mayaná uttered "turu turu" with a terrible cry, and changed herself into forty-two buffalos, who jumped into the sea. 105. Eating cress she chased Yama. In mid-sea she caught Yama by the neck. 106.
[^42]There Godá Yama, mighty as the thunder-bolt, burst the staff she held in her right hand and fled. 107. Thence Godá Yama lost his senses and he became a minnow and began to swim in the water. 108. Leaving her former shape, Mayaná concentrated herself and became a Pánkáuri and Vánoyár," by a change of her form. 109. With flappings of her wings she chased him, and in mid-sea she snapped up Godá Yama in her bill. 110. Then Godá Yama, mighty as the thunder-bolt, thrust Mayaná off, and ran away. 111. Thereafter what did Godá Yama do? He became an eel, and hid himself in the mud. 112. Thence the Lady Mayaná went into contemplation, and her eyes fell upon him in the mud. 113. Mayaná uttered "tudu, tudu" with a terrible cry, she became a swan; pecking at the mud she chased Godá Yama, and in mid-sea she seized Godá Yama by the neck. 114. He thrust off the Lady Mayaná and fled away. He cast aside his former form, and Godá Yama concentrated himself. 115. He took the form of a maggot and went off to Pátála. 116. When he arrived at Pátála, Yama twisted his beard (boast. fully). "Now, how will the syálí, the Lady Mayaná, recognize me." 117. The Lady Mayaná went into contemplation and gazed about, and in her contemplation her eyes fell on the maggot. 118. Leaving her former shape Mayaná concentrated herself, and became an ant by a change of her form. 119. She went to the world of Pátála, and, seizing Godá Yama by the throat, gradually pulled him up out of the ground. 120. Leaving her former shape Mayaná concentrated herself, and became her ownself by a change of form. 121. She threw him down on his face, and began to belabour Godá Yama. She continued belabouring him till her hands were weary. She then turned him on his back, and began to kick him. 122. Then Godá Yama, mighty as the thunder-bolt, became a house pigeon and flew off to the sky. 123. Mayaná changed her shape, and became a falcon and a hawk, and she pecked at him and cast Godá Yama down from heaven. 124. Thence Godé Yama lost his senses, and became a mouse changing his form. 125. He went to Kaţhiyá the oilman's house, and hid himself under his máchá. $\dagger$ 126. The Lady Mayaná went into contemplation and gazed about, and in her contemplation her eyes fell upon the mouse. 127. Leaving her former shape Mayaná concentrated herself, and became a cat by a change of form. 128. She changed herself from being one cat into forty-two cats, and surrounded the house of Kaţhiyá the oilman. 129. One danda, two daṇ̂as, three dandas passed, and the ill-natured woman caught good-natured Godá Yamá. 130. She made him descend from the mícha, and with a sudden leap the Lady Mayaná seized him by the neck. 131. Thence Godá Yama, mighty as the thunder-bolt, slipped out between the interstices of her claws and fled.
Two kinds of fish-eating birds. † A bamboo bench.
132. Yama left his former shape, and concentrated himself. He became a Vaishnava and changed his form. 133. He used the earth castings of crabs instead of sandal-wood paste, and made his rosary of Sáil seeds. 134. Hopefully he took a branch of a castor-oil tree (for his stick), and going into a Vaishnava pújá house, sat himself amongst the worshippers. 135. The Lady Mayaná went into contemplation and gazed about, and in her contemplation her eyes fell upon the Vaishnava. 136. Mayaná gave up her former shape. She concentrated herself, and took that of a bee. 137. In the place of one bee she became forty-two bees, and set out for the place of worship, and she flew around the heads of all the Vaishnavas there. 138. All the Vaishnavas said, " Brothers, hear the news. What sinful Vaishnava is in this assembly P" 139. As soon as Gode Yama saw the bees, he slipped under the quilts of the Vaishnavas. 140. As soon as the Lady Mayana found out where he was, she settled down upon Yama's nock. 141. Not being able to bear the stings of the bees, Godá Yama ran away from the place. 142. Mayaná laid aside her beeshape, and, after concentrating herself, took her own form. 143. She seized Godá Yama, and plucked up from the ground an armful of elayá grass. 144. Fifty-two times sisteen scores of ropes she twisted, sitting at a place where three roads meet,* and tied her own waist to that of Gods Yama. Then she carried off Godk Yama beating him with a rod of cane.

## Mayaní spake.

145. "Hear, O Godá Yama, while I make my petition. Set free my husband, who is my only wealth."

## Godí Yama spake.

146. "Thy husband I will not set free", and thereupon Mayana began to weep.

## The burden of her song.

147. " My husband is no longer in my house, O lord of the unhappy. For whom shall I abide in the days of my youth?"
148. Mayaná uttered "tudu, tudu" with a terrible cry, and all the Heavenly Munis came down on hearing her voice. 149. In a chariot of flowers, came Gorakh the Vidyádhara. Riding upon a flail, came Nárada

[^43]the best of munis. 150. On the back of Vásoyá came Bholá, the lord of the world. Riding on a bow and arrow came Ráma Chandra and Lakshmana. 151. The five Pápdava brothers came down here and there; there is no counting the number of munis who came from heaven. 15\%. Mayana parted her hair in two, and fell at the feet of Gorakh Náth.

## Mayaná spake.

153. "Help, help, $O$ Gorakh the Vidyadhara. He hath carried off my husband, who is all my wealth. He will not give back my husband, who is my wealth."

## Gorakh Na'th spakt.

154. "Hear my words. All the munis have taken advice, and haveBessed thee, Lady Mayaná. 155. Go, 0 Mayana, we give to thee a boon. Let there be a fæetus developed for seven months now within thy womb." 156. Even as the munis blessed her, her body which was as light as solá (pith) gradusily became heavy.

## The Munis spares.

157. "In eighteen months, it will be born, in its nineteenth year it will die. But, if it worship a Hádi's feet with steadfast mind, it will not die." 158. On hearing this Mayaná delayed there no longer. She started for her palace and arrived there in safety. 159. She took nine káoris in her hand, and departed to the banks of the Ganga." 160. With the nine Záorís she bought a piece of land, and then returned to her own palace. 161. She broke up the old house and made a bier, and with it went some firewood on litters on men's shoulders. 162. Oil, ghi, mustard, and sessmum began to go. She called all her relations, and she cut some fresh bamboos and made a bier. 163. She took the pious king away uponthe bier she had prepared, and the Lady Mayana herself was carried off upon the door of the house. 164. Mayana began to sing the Song of the Excellence of Hari. She began to praise him as she was carried to the river's bank. 165. She built a funeral pyre running north and soutb, she buried posts and made a platform. 166. By the side of each post she set a jar of $g h i$. Beneath each of them she set a jar of oil. Mustard seed and sesamum she scattered over the pyre. 167. Mayaná uttered the words "Guru, Guru" with a terrible cry, and Gorakh Náth came there and stood visible.

## Mayaní bpake.

168. "Protect me, $O$ protect me, $O$ Gorakh the Vidyádbara."
[^44]
## Gorakh Níth spake.

"Go forth Mayaná, I have given thee a boon. Within the fire thou shalt perceive the cold of Mágha. 169. Mayaná began to spread vermilion all over her forebead. 170. She put on a silken scarf. She took a golden knife and a mango branch in her hand, and she laid out the king towards the north and south. 171. Mayaná laid the king's head on her right hand, and she put her own head on his left hand. 172. In each household a citizen gave one piece of firewood. The pile of firewood almost touched the sky as well as the earth. 173. Water and sandal-wood did Chandra, the merchant, scatter upon the pyre. Not a single near relation was present to set it alight. 174. One who lived near the door of the king,-a bráhman guru,-stretched forth his hand and applied the torch. 175. Each relation cast one vessel of water on the pyre. Together they lustrated the pyre, once, twice, and five times. Saying "Hari bol," they set it alight. 176. E'en as the fire smelt the smell of the ghí, it blazed up with a great roar. 177. For seven days and nine nights Mayaná stayed within the blaze, and even her apparel though offered to the flames did not take fire. 178. Mayaná burnt the body of the pious king, and placed the ashes in her lap. There sat Mayaná, like a Gosvámí in his house. 179. Mayaná burnt the body of the pious king and the smoke rose up to heaven. There sat the Lady Mayaná like unmelted gold. 180. The little relations said to the big relations, "Brothers, thrust at her. Let all the relations thrust at her." 181. The Lady Mayaná is sitting within the fire. She cries: "Hear, 0 relations, I have a child of seven months in my womb. Let not all the relations thrust at me." 182. The little relations said to the big relations, "Brothers, let us go to Chánd the merchant, and ask his advice. 183. Ye know Chánd the merchant from childhood. Let us see what answer he will give." 184. Behind the door sat the merchant playing dice; and through the lattice, did they make reverence to him.

## Cha'nd spake.

185. "Why, 0 relations, why and wherefore have ye all come?"

The Relations spafe.
186. "For seven days and nine nights Mayana hath been in the fire, and yet the Fair Mayaná hath not been burnt."

Cha'nd spake.
187. "This Mayaná hath obtained a boon from Gorakh Náth. Fire doth not burn her, nor doth she sink in water. Were the three worlds to come to an end, she would not go to Yama's abode. And yet, 0 relations, ye wish to slay her. 188. Sit ye in a place where three roads meet, and
twist of grass fifty-two krors of ropes; carry ye off a stone weighing twenty-two mans. 189. Thrust her forth from the fire, and tie ye the twenty-two man stone upon her chest. 190. Cast ye Mayaná and the ashes of the fire away on the stream, that they may float away. Then bathe ye and return to your homes." 191. On hearing this the relations no longer stayed. They carried away the stone of twenty-two mans. 192. They thrust the Lady Mayana forth from the fire, and tied the stone of twenty-two mans on her chest. 193. They cast her and the ashes upon the stream, and bathed and returned to their homes.
194. At the expiration of eighteen months and eighteen days Mayaná became filled, and then the (future) pious king turned himself in her womb. "I die, I die," said Mayaná, and she began to weep. 195. She brought into use her magical art called charupá (the art of cutting), and by it she cut open her fifty-two krors of ropes. 196. "I die, I die," said Mayané, as she landed at the foot of a Nim tree; and as she ascended, a sound was heard like unto the roaring of heaven in the intermediate quarters. 197. The Maháraja fell upon the ground amid the after-birth and birth waters; and he began to cry, saying "omyá and chomyá." 198. The little relations said to the big relations, "Brothers, let us go and see whose child is crying thus." 199. They took one step, and they took two steps, and they arrived at the spot. Mayaná said unto them. "Hear, $O$ relations and mark my words. 200. Decorate the pálki of the old king and bring it here, and take this child-king to the palace." 201. They decorated the palki of the old king and brought it, and they mounted the pious king within it. 202. Big drums, and little drums, guitars, and cymbals sounded in all directions. Cymbals, side drums and kettle-drums sounded in all directions. 203. There was firing of guns and a thick darkness caused by the smoke. Father could not recognize son; he only could call for him. 204. There was a poor man who had a child in the kingdom, and he could not give it food and water in his own house. 205. So he cast it down at a place where three roads meet, amidst its after-birth and birth waters. 206. That child did Mayaná also take up into her bosom, and carry to the palace.

## Mayaná spake.

207. "I say unto thee, my maid-servant, pay attention to my words." 208. The maid-servant went and called the wet-nurse and brought her. 209. The wet-nurse cut the navel strings of both the children. She took all the presents that Mayaná gave, and went to her own house. 210. What with to-day and what with to-morrow seven days passed, and during the seven days the king caused a concert of flutes and drums to be made. 211. What with to-day and what with to-morrow, ten days passed, and after ten days the king held the first \&ráddha after his father's death. 212.

On the thirteenth day the king held the final sráddha, and held a concert of drums and eymbals, and all the relations came and sacrificed. 213. He gave a feast to all his relations, and at that hour the Lady Mayaná first touched fish. 214. What with to-day, and what with to-morrow, a year passed, and after one year another day came. 215. What with to-day, and what with to-morrow, five years passed, and she gave him to be taught by a gurr. 216. He taught the king to write in four lessons. What with to-day, and what with to-morrow, seven years passed. 217. The king was then named. Mánik Chandra Rájá's son was called Gopí Chandra. 218. And his younger (foundling) brother was called Lankeśwar "Found in the Field.": 219. What with to-day, and what with to-morrow, nine years passed; and then, what did the Lady Mayand do? 220. She spake as follows to the Guru brahman.

## Mayaní bpake.

221. "Go, go, O guru bráhman, pay attention to my words. Go quickly before the king Harís Chandra. 222. He has two daughters in his palace, named Aduná and Padunk. Arrange a marriage between them and my son, and return." 223. The Reverend Bráhmay on hearing these words did not delay. But hastened to the palace of king Haris' Chandra. 224. He cried out with a loud voice "Ho! King Haris' Chandra." $\dagger$ The king was in his house and he stepped out. 225. The reverend and learned Brábman made salutation. 226. The king gave him a godlike throne to sit upon, and after supplying him with camphor and betel, enquired as follows. 227. "Why and wherefore, 0 guru bráhman, hast thou come so great a distance?"

## The Bráhman spake.

228. "Mayand hath sent me to thy presence. In thy palace are two damsels named Aduná and Paduná. The fair Mayaná wisheth to form a marriage with them. 229. Mayaná hath a son within her palace, and to him doth she wish to give them."

## The King bpake.

230. "Go, go, I consent," and ordered him away. And the Bráhman on hearing this returned to Mayand. 231. They took a load of betel nuts and a load of pán leaves. And five bráhmans began to cut the . betel and the pán. 232. They cut the betel and pan and searched for a

- He is also called Khetu, or Khetuwh, and appears to have become Gops Chandra's servant. He took over his concubines when the latter weat on his pilgrimage. See also note to verse 290.
$\dagger$ Compare note to v. 21.
lucky day, and then did they fix the time of the marriage. 233. On the Saturday, Mayana fasted, and on the Sunday, she made arrangements for the marriage. 234. They planted five plantain trees in King Haris' Chandra's palace, and they lit the golden lamps and the censers on the day fixed. 235. They then sent for five singing women, and cries of "ulu, wlu" were heard around. 236. He gave Aduná in marriage, he gave $\mathrm{Pa}-$ dunḱ, and he gave a hundred maid-servants to wait upon them. 237. He gave as wedding-presents a hundred villages, and a hundred elephants. 238. He gave as wedding presents a hundred horses and a hundred cows. 239. After giving them in marriage he allowed them to depart. And immediately afterwards the Lady Mayaná sent an invitation to all the kings of all the kingdoms. 240. From that time that pious king was called Gopí Chandra.

241. After eighteen years, at the advice of his aged mother he became a Sanydsi. 242. A hundred beautiful damsels, weeping, fell at his feet, " 0 pious king, do not depart and leave us."

The Queen spake.
243. "Nay, nay, thou shalt not go, my King, to a far country. For whom but thee, have I built up this cold dreary house (of my life). 244. I built a humble dwelling, nor yet is it sullied by old age. Why art thou leaving me in my youth, and turning my bridehood into vanity $P$ 245. In my dreams shall I see my king. I shall throw my arm on the couch; but the wealth of my life will not be there. 246. Behold, everyt mother and sister of a man of modest wealth shall have her master to sleep apon her bosom, while I, unhappy one, will remain weeping in an empty house. 247. When a house is empty and the doors are closed, men come and kick the walls outside. In the time of her youth all voices cast scandal at a widow. 248. Therefore shalt thou take me with thee. I am the life, the wealth of thy life ; let thy damsel go with thee. 249. In the time of thy hunger I will cook thy food. When thou art thirsty I will give thee to drink. 250. In mirth and laughter will I pass the night. 251. If we have a long field to traverse, I will wile away the time in talk. When we approach the dwelling of a householder, there will I reverence thee like my guru. 252. A cool mat $\ddagger$ will I spread for thee ; on a pillow shalt thou rest thy feet. Laughing and joking will I shampoo thy -body. 253. When I hurt thy hand I will shampoo thy feet, and amidst our sport and laughter, I will devour thy bosom, and thou shalt devour

## - Lit pent-roofed.

+ Lit. ten. This use of "ten" for "every," is of frequent occurrence in Rangpur. Thus Dac jam ki kay ? is the stock expression equivalent to "What do people eay ${ }^{P \prime}$
$\ddagger$ Vulgo, Seetul-pat.
mine. 254. In the hot season will I fan thy countenance with a palm leaf. In the cold month of Mágha I will nestle into thy body for warmth, 255. In the cold month of Mágha I will cook for thee spiced viands.* Indra's favourite sweetmeat, the lap of a hundred wives, will I alone cause thee to enjoy."


## The King spake.

256. "List, $O$ daughter of king Harís Chandra. In many varied ways art thou displaying thy charms, nor can I bear them. 257. Thy teeth are white as the solá pith, from eating the Vansa Hari nut. When thou speakest, they glisten (like white flowers), and the bees come humming towards them. 258. If thou goest with me, thou wilt be a woman of fresh and fair appearance, and I will be a man clad in one rough blanket. When they see us, all the people will say-'There goeth a pilgrim, but he is a stealer of women.' 259. And if they say this, no householder will give us shelter. In thy word and in mine, $O$ daughter of a prince, will they put no trust."

## The Queen spake.

260. "Hear me, my King, thou loved one not to be deceived. $\dagger$ One petition, and no more I make unto thee. 261. Like thee will I put around my neck a Ráma rosary. Like thee will I wear nought but a single tight and scanty cloth. 262. My two breasts will I tie up in tattered clothes. I will break six of my front teeth. My tresses which hang down unto my knees, them let me cut and cast away. 263. I will take in my hand a hollow gourd. I will cast a rough blanket round my neck. I too will become a pilgrim. Following thy footsteps will I beg for alms."

The burden of her song. $\ddagger$
264. " 0 ! the pipe of S`yám. My mind whirls. My eyes flow with tears."

The King spake.
265. "O mighty fate. I am encompassed amidst a net of charms. What love is this which I have for a woman. 266. If thou goest with me, thou wilt be going with a pilgrim. There there are tigers of the wood, and when thou seest them thou wilt be afraid. There there are tigers of the wood, and great is the fear of them that be mighty. 267. When a

- Lit. curries made of cold weather chillies.
+ Lit. "English."
$\ddagger$ This Duyá forms the first verse of a song in honour of Krishna, which is given in the appendix.
man and a woman, in such plight as thou and I, go along. the road; the tiger of the wood seizeth the woman and eateth her. 263. Whether the tiger eat thee or eat thee not, he will assuredly kill thee. Why therefore wilt thou kill thyself because thou wouldest follow an ascetic."

269. The damsel began to laugh freely.

## The Queen spake.

"Who sayeth these words? and who believeth them ? 270. What tiger slayeth and eateth the woman that goeth with her husband? These words are but to deceive, and a pretext for thy flight. 271. Let the tiger of the wood devour me, I fear him not. It is better to die at the feet of my husband than to lead a life of perpetual disgrace. 272. Thou wilt be my banyan tree, and I will be thy creeper. To thy feet will I cling, and then whither wilt thou flee? 273. When I was in my father's house, 0 pious king, why didst thou not then become a pilgrim? 274. Now I have become a comely woman, and worthy of thee. If thou leavest me and becomest an ascetic, I will surely die. 275. Let the stream of my youth fall down before thee. When the hairs of my head turn gray, then do thou turn pilgrim. 276. The branches of fair jasmines bend down to the ground (with age). I am now a full grown woman, and how long shall I retain my comeliness? 277. How long shall I keep my youth, e'en though $I$ bind it and tie it down. For continually my heart weepeth for my husband."

The burden of her song.
278. "Thou hast wedded me, and thou art going. I weep for thee. Thou hast thy father, and thy brethren ; but I, unhappy one, have none. I have left them all for thee, 0 king."
279. He had chosen Aduná and Paduná, and had married them. A bhaffa bráhmạ had named her Aduná. 280. He himself had called her Aduná and given her maid-servants.

## The King spake.

"How can I break such love in my house? 281. I will take alms from one door, and will go to the door of another : easily will I lose my Kshetri birth and my Baniyá caste. 282. Where'er I shall see a woman like thee, my youthful lovely wife, there weeping will I lay me down and die. 283. Where'er I shall see a woman like my lovely wife. First will I address her as 'mother,' and then will I ask for alms."

The Queke spake.
284. "Alas, alas, my own husband, thou hast uttered a black word. Thou hast married me in my childhood, and thou desertest me in my youth."
285. "Now also wait thou with thy hand upon thy heart. Until I return after fifty years have passed away."

The Quekn spake.
285. "Lift up thy head, 0 king, and see a pair of juicy cocoa-nuts over my heart. The pair of cocoa-nuts shine forth with lustre. 287. I will open the nuts and put them to thy mouth, thou hast not strength in thy body (to pluck them). It is a fruit, which if a man refuse, he will suffer the pangs of hell four times fourteen times.

## The King bpake.

288. "Hear me, $O$ lady, daughter of Harís Chandra. When a secret hath been divulged, the meaning of its words become plain. 289. In front rideth an elephant's maháut, behind him the king. Far have I gone, and (I have learned that) the great house of my pilgrimage is at a far distance. 290. I have tasted the fruit of the cocoanut and my belly was not filled. In vain have I, a householder, suffered* in my servitude."

## The Queen spakr.

291. "Hear me, my king. My pleasant loved one, one petition have I to make unto thee. 292. "Do not, $O$ pious king, go to a far country. Give me one little child, that I may keep him in my lap. 293. I will keep him and nurse him in my lap, and I will touch thee when I see my darling child. 294. I will place the sun-shade and staff of thy royalty over my child's head. I will be the mother of the king and will enjoy the kingdom." 295. The queen spoke of a child, and the king heard her words and said,

## The King bpake.

296. "What thou desirest is not a chiní champá plantain, that I may mix it with water and give it thee to eat. It is not the fruit of a tree, that I can pluck it, and place it in thy hands. 297. Fate hath not given thee a child. What can I do ? 298. I will repeat the charms of the gurus of old, and will become a seven months' child within thy womb. 299. Thou shalt call me 'son.' Thou shalt open the covering of thy breast, and shalt give me milk."

## The Quems spake.

300. "I spake to thee of a child, and thou speakest to me of milk. Thou art my wedded husband, how can I call thee 'son.' 301. I knew

[^45]not, $O$ king, that there were but a sheep" and a jackal within thy heart. Not one káorí of sense hast thou in thy body. 302. (Thy mother) because she is a widow, wisheth to make her daughter-in-law a widow too. Even if my husband pass her house, (jealously) doth she turn her eyes upon him."

## The King spake.

303. "Ha! thou daughter of a vile one ; thou hast abused my mother. I might have stayed a few days, but I will go to-morrow." 304. He could not bear the childishness of the damsel, and so the fair king went to the place of audience. 305. (There was a grove) of twelve supdrí trees and thirteen tál trees, and in its shade sat the king's son. 306. The bráhmaņs and the relations all sat in a row, and Bír Simh, his Bháṇ̣árí, gave him the accounts of the kingdom. 307. On a golden seat sat Mayaná with her feet on a silver stool. The Lady Mayaná went to the audience of her good son. 308. The full cutcherry hummed with the noise of the crowd, and there the fair Mayana stood. 309. When the king saw his mother, he made obeisance; as he made obeisance, he tied his cloth around his neck.

## Mataná spake.

310. "Long live the widow's son. May Dharma bless him. May the years of his life be many as the sands of the sea. 311. I thought the widow's son had gone to be a pilgrim ; but lo, till to-day he is here with his fair wife. 812. The Satya Yuga is passed, we are in the second Yuga, the third Yuga will come. But in the Kali Yuga sons will marry early. 813. The Kali era is a foul era, and hath now approached. Each sitteth alone and enjoyeth another's wealth. 314. Kings will no longer do justice in their kingdom, and sons will no longer offer sacrifices for their fathers. 315. Wives will no longer be faithful to their husbands. Pupils will no longer reverence their teachers. 316. Behold, four miscreants went to destruction. 317. The miscreant who doth not reverence his teacher, him even jackals will not eat. Even crows will not touch the body of a Vaishnava. 318. Let a miscreant be cast into fire and he becometh dust and ashes. Let him float upon the water and he becometh food for fishes. 319. He is buried beneath the earth and he becometh food for worms. No where do I see salvation for a miscreant."

The burding of her song.
320. "My darling blue lotus, how canst thou become an eremite? Men will say there goeth one who hath no mother." 321 . The king made up his mind to be a pilgrim, and at a cross-road his queen began to weep.

[^46]
## The Queen spake.

322. "How canst thou wish to go to a far country? Oh wait and pass the charms of Mayaná through an ordeal. 323. Oh put her to the test of burning oil. If she survive that ordeal, then shave thy head and go forth a pilgrim." 324. The king heard this and hastened to the hall of audience. 325. He sat in the audience chamber, and could not make up his mind. Often and often he called for his servant Khetu, his younger brother.

The King spake.
326. "My servant Khetu, take heed unto my words. Go" unto my mother's palace." 327. On hearing this, the servant did not delay. 328. "Say this to Mayana-('Thy son) would put thee to the test (of burning oil')." 329. Hearing these words, Mayana laughed. "This is not thy thought, but a conspiracy between thy wives. All the thoughts they teach thee, will become barren. 330. Instead of one ordeal, I will pass through seven, and then will the Prince leave his house."

## The King spake.

331. "I say unto thee, Khetu, and take thou heed unto my words. 332. Build thou up a furnace deep and wide. Strip off the three fibres of three cocoa-nuts, and place the bare (nuts round the furnace as supports for the cauldron)." 333. Khetu set a cauldron holding sixty mans upon the furnace, and into the cauldron he poured eightyt mans of oil. 334. He cast upon the flames fuel of sál wood, and set it blazing. Over all he placed a cover. 335. For seven days he ceaselessly added fuel. 336. One day, two days, five days passed. After seven days he lifted the cover. 337. "The oil is hot, even as fire," such words did Khetu speak unto the king. 338. "Thy servant was ordered to make (preparations for) the ordeal by oil. 339. What command hath the king of kings for his servant?"

## The King spake.

"Go and say this unto my mother. 340. 'The ordeal by oil is ready before the king. The king doth summon thee ; $\mathbf{O}$ Mother, come quickly'."

Mataná spake.
341. "Do I eat at thy fathers' hand, or at the hands of the fathers of the king. At thy command, what ordeal shall I pass through ?" $\mathbf{3 4 2}$.

* Note the force of व्ब here, and in vo. 328 and 332. It has entirely lost any special meaning of its own; and is used as a pure expletive to add strength to an imperative.
$\dagger$ Sic in original.

These words Khetu told the king, who heard them, and became furiously enraged. 343. The king took his evening towel for washing his body, and flang it to Khetu. 344. And Khetu shook that towel, and with it bound tightly the lady Mayaná, and cast her into the oil. 345. Even as the lady Mayaná fell amid the oil, the flames rushed up with a roar to heaven. 346. Mayaná sunk into the oil up to her neck, and, as she did so, she took the oil into her hands and patted it into her head as if she were bathing. 347. Seeing calamity (approaching) the king became furiously enraged. He called Khetu, calling him, "Slave, slave," and began to abuse him. 348. "Lift up the cover and place it over my mother, and for nine days continuously, do thou add fuel to the flames." 349. One day, two days, three days passed away. But Mayaná concentrated herself and took the form of a grain of mustard. 350. After nine days, Khetu lifted up the cover and when he could not see the queen, he began to cry. 351. Thus did he say unto the king. "Thy mother is dead, and gone to Yama's abode. 352. Wherefore dost thou keep thy pdgari on thy head? Behold (I am unclean) and the assembly of bráhmaṇs will not drink water at my hand." 353. The king cried "Mother, mother" and began to weep.

## The burden of his song.

354. "Fate hath made me motherless, $O$ lord of the unhappy. Such was written in my destiny. No longer will I see my mother." 355. He took a handful of twigs in his hand and began to search amidst the oil. 356. Once, twice and thrice he searched. At the third time of searching he fished up the towel. No trace of Mayana's body was within the fire. 357. Sisteen men took the cauldron on their shoulders, and they flung out the oil at a place where three roads meet. 358. With a loud roar the flames rose to heaven, but Mayaná in her form of a mustard seed remained hidden in the $D_{u b}$ grass. 359. Suddenly Khetu began to weep, and when she heard the sound of his weeping, Mayana felt pity for him.

## Mayana' spake.

360. "Weep not, weep not, Khetu, my servant. Cease thy tears. I am Mayaná. I have not been burnt within the furnace." 361. He took up the sixty-man cauldron in his hand and brought it before the king. 362. Mayaná in fact underwent seven ordeals, and passed them all.

## The King spare.

363. "Hear, O lady Mayaná, my mother. From what siddha hast thou learnt thy magic arts?"

## Mayana' spake.

364. "Thou askest me from what holy man I have learned my arts. I have learned them from Gorakh Náth himself. 365. I tell thee, learn
thou thy knowledge from Kholá the Hádi." 366. When the king heard the name of a Hádi, he stopped his ears with his hands. For she had uttered an impious word with her tongue.

## The King apake.

367. "A Hádi is of a vile caste. He cleanseth privies and doth not bathe. Shall I, a king, make obeisance to a Hádi for twenty-two dandas !

## Mayane bpakr.

368. "Hear me, my child, speak thy words in a whisper, so that the Hádi may not hear. If he cursed thee, thou wouldest die at once. 369. Thy subjects feed their lamps with oil and ghí: but that Hádi feedeth his lamp with merely Ganga water. 370. As many lamps as there are in the houses of thy subjects, so many hath that Hadi in his little hut 371. In whosesoever house he eateth, to whosesoever house he goeth, simply at the word of his mouth he causeth the sea to stop its motion." 372 . The king sat in his audience chamber and could not make up his mind. Repeatedly he called his servant Khetu, his younger brother. 373. "Where hast thou gone, my brother? First would I eat pann," then I would have the pandit of the days of my father come to me." 374. Khetu heard these words and made no delay. He hastened towards the pandit's house. 375. "I say unto thee, 0 reverend pandit, and pay thou heed unto my words. The king would see thee in his palace. Haste thee to the hall of audience." 376. He dressed himself in a dhuti of modest kind. Loosening out his brahmanical cord, so that the threads appeared in pairs, he passed it round his neck. 377. He took his papers relating to the Almanac under his arm, and proceeded to the king's hall of audience. 378. The hall was full, the crowd gave forth a confused noise. At this time did the pandit, the son of a pandit, present himself. 379. "Incarnation of justice" he said and made obeisance. "Tutelary Deity of my family" said the king making obeisance in return. 380. He called him " Reverend Brother," and made him sit upon the couch. " $O$ reverend Sir, thou art the crest-jewel among prophets. 381. What day will the king sew for himself a beggar's wallet and quilt? What day will the king shave his head? 382. What day will the great king besmear himself with ashes? What day will the pious king pierce his two ears? 383. What day will the pious king wear nought but a languti? What day will I carry a beggar's platter in my hand? 384. What day will I start for a far country? Read me aright, and prophesy me this." 385. Taking every precaution to ensure good luck, he produced his Almanac. Such power was there in that Almanac that it could speak itself.
[^47]
## The Book spake.

886. "On Tuesday will he sew his wallet and his quilt. On Wednesday will he shave his head. 387. On Thursday will he besmear himself with ashes. On Friday the king shall pierce his two ears. 388. On Friday the king shall pierce his ears, and on Saturday shall he put on a languti. 389. On Sanday the king shall take in his hand a beggar's platter; on that day the ling shall set out for a far country. 390. He will take thee from thy home and will give thee advice and hope. For some days he will distress thee in the midst of the forest. Other sorrow will he give thee in the sandy waste. 391. Other sorrow will he give thee in the city of S'rikala. He will pawn thee for food in the house of Híra the Harlot. 392. The Harlot's dress will be a linen sárí bright as fire. Thy dress, 0 king, will be a knotted rope. 393. Unsifted rice will she give thee and brinjals full of sceds. She will give thee brinjals full of seed, and thou wilt burn them and eat them. A pitiless harlot is she ; thou wilt be forbidden oil and salt. 394. The harlot will seek the privy, and it wilt be thou who wilt cleanse it. Thou shalt close thy eyes, and proffer her the water of her sin.* 395. Early in the morning shalt thoi rise, and she will beat thee with a broom. Thou shalt lift up the bed of her sins, of countless, countless sins. 396. Bhángi ropes will she give thee and a bhángí stick and two water jars. Twelve loads shalt thou measure out every day."

## The King spake.

897. "Hear, Reverend Sir. Happiness and misery are written in our destiny. Methinks, I see death written by the Creatorin my fate. 'Tis not in two syllables and a half that it can be cancelled." 398. Brother Khetu, where art thou gone? First would I eat pán. Then would I give the Brál.man a present and bid him good speed." 399. He gave him a present and bade him speed. "Make present the barber of my father's time." 400. He went to the nápit and called him to the king, saying "Brother, fetch thy razors and come." 401. The hall was full. The crowd gave forth a confused noise. At this time did the barber, the son of a barber, present himself. 402. Even as the pious king saw the barber, he descended from his thronet ; and as he did, the theatrum of the temple, and other walled buildings fell to the ground. 403. The forest trees, and the shrubs, the vers leaves of the trees began to weep. The forest deer bent their heads

- Not a literal translation.
+ The word used is "póf". A paf in Rangpur is the term used for one of those solid blocks of masonry found here and there in the district. Kings of the olden days are said to have sat upon tham, and there to have dispensed justice. One of thum, however, (Harfo Chandra Rajar Páf, see fig. 3), is almost certainly a tomb.
and wept. 404. At the ghát of the Ghátwál there were twenty-two kahans" of ships, and they all wept. Twenty-two káhans of ships wept and twenty-three káhans of boatmen, and amongst them Vis'ves'var the boatman also wept. 405. The deer-park wept and the children's summerhouse. Even the school of harlots wept. 406. The Titiyá Manjar wept within its cage. And nine budis $\dagger$ of dogs wept as they were hunting. 407. The hospital and the toshd-khána wept at intervals. Water-houses, sum-mer-houses and cow-houses $\ddagger$ (?) wept in countless number. 408. In the elephant stalls, the elephants wept. In the stables, the horses wept. In the throne-room, all the dresses were wet with tears. 409. A hundred cows wept, throwing their tails round the king's neck §; and nine budis of dogs wept at his feet. 410. A hundred queens rolled upon the earth and wept. Aduná and Paduná clasped his feet and wept.


## Aduna' and Paduna' spake.

411. "Alas, alas, my husband, my wealth. Thou art deserting me. Who now will protect me, and bring me ghi and rice to eat?" 412. The king's mother wept with tears falling from her eyes, and they brought a jar of Gangá water. 413. They brought a leaf of a Newáij tree, and they poured water on him from a golden cup. 414. As they poured water on the head of the king, the royal throne quaked. 415. The barber grasped his razor and gazed around. But he received no order to shave the king.

## Mayaná spake.

416. "O barber, towards whom art thou looking? Scorn not thou to shave the head of my darling. Diamonds will I give thee and mounted work; pearls will I give thee as a token. 417. Shave off all his hair, leave only one crown-lock. If thou shavest it off, thereby wilt thou lose thy quilt and wallet." 418. He took his razor in his hand and for a hundred days the king's hair fell upon earth. It became a hairy Gangá and began to flow away. 419. Mayaná uttered "Tudu, Tudu" with a terrible cry, and sixteen hundred Munis came down on hearing it. .420. In his chariot of flowers descended Gorakh the Vidyádhara. On a flail came riding Nárada, best of munis. 421. On the back of Vásoyár descended the mighty Bholánáth. On bow and arrow came down Ráma and Lakshmaṇa. 422. In different directions descended the five Pánḍava brothers. There

- $\Delta$ káhan $=16$ pans of 20 gandas or 1280.
$+\mathbf{A}$ budi $=5$ gandas or twenty.
$\ddagger$ The meaning of gokula here is unknown to every one whom I have consulted.
§ I know of no other flight of poetry equal to this in the whole poem. I have tried hard to persuade myself that the translation is incorrect; but in vain. The words are too plain to admit of any other meaning.
is no counting the number of Hádi Siddhas, with their ears cut. 423. A Hádi hid his face with the dust of cow-dung fuel ; and seeing danger at hand, Mayana began to weep.

The burden of her song.
424. "The apple of his mother's eyes. Alas, my child! Who took my own away ?" 425. They snatched the razor from the hands of the nápit, and gave it into the hand of the ear-cutter. 426. Even as the ear-cutter took the razor in his hand, he cried "Rám, Rám" and cut both the ears of the king. 427. They fastened to the king's ear an ear-ring of crystal. They clothed him in a cloth covered with holy symbols. 428. Five Vaishnavas came and dressed the king in a languti. A languti with a string did they put upon him. 429. They placed round his neck a Ráma rosary. They put into his hand a gourd-platter. 430. A torn quilt, a torn languti, a torn (heart at) departure. All the followers of Chaitanya were collected near the door. 431. Holy Chaitanya and Nityánanda, also Rádhá, Sítá, and the High Priest of the Vaishnavas sang the Holy Lay. 432. The king's son began to weep, and cried for alms. His servant Khetu gave him alms : elephants, horses, his royal staff and umbrella. Those alms he placed with reverence at the feet of his guru.

## The Guru apake.

433. "Depart, depart, 0 king, I give to thee a boon. Thou shalt go to the three corners of the earth, but shalt not go to Yama's dwelling. place." 434. As the king turned his head to one side, all the heavenly Mumis returned to heaven. 435. Mayaná bathed herself in five lotas of water, and glad in heart she entered into her own home. 436. In a moment,* ahe cooked a dish of rice and fifty curries. She touched it, and placed it in a golden dish. 437. She filled a golden vessel with water. "Eat, eat my darling. Happy and light of heart, go thou on thy pilgrimage." 438. When he saw the rice in a (golden) plate, he struck his forehead with his hand, and wept.

## The King apake.

439. "When I was lord of my kingdom, $O$ my mother, then did I eat rice in many a golden dish. 440. Now I am a beggar, not worth a single kéorí. I cannot eat from a golden plate." 441. He took a plantain leaf and cut it. Thereon he placed a little rice. 442. He took the shell of a broken gourd and from it hedrank a little water. 443. He washed his face and hands with water. Then what did he do ? He uttered the words "S'rí Krishna" and ate the food. 444. One mouthful, two

[^48]mouthfuls, five mouthfuls he ate. Then he looked towards the water, which was trickling out of the broken gourd. 445. He put his face to the earth and sipped up, the water, and as he did so Devi's brother S'ani* came over his destiny. 446. S'ani and Ketu took up their abode in the king's heart. And all his body became defiled. 447. Then Mayaná wept in pitiful accents.

## The burden of her song.

448. "My son is all my fortune. Who will make us meet again. 449. Thou art going to a far country. Thou wilt dwell in the house of a strange woman. First the householder will eat and then he will think of thee. 450. When thou seest an Atíta or a Vaishṇava do not thou despise him. With thy head touching the ground reverence thou him who weareth a rosary. 451. When thou shalt see the mustard plant scanty, and the dub grass thin ; then wilt thou know that thou art in a far coun. try."

## The King spake.

452. "If I see a flower, I will not pluck it. If I see a bird, I will not fling a stone at it. 453. If I see another's wife, I will not smile at her. First I will call her mother, then will I ask for alms." 454. She put sixteen kahans of káoris in his wallet. "See that thou tellest not thy guru about these kdororis." 455. "In dust and ashes will I spend the money. Following the Hádi will I go to Yama's abode."
453. The hundred queens went to Khetu. But Aduna and Paduné went to their own palace. 457. In that palace, there were guards in twelve places, and thirteen thándes. No Atíta or Vaishṇava was allowed to enter that house. 458. And e'en as the two damsels entered their dwelling-place, the doors of virtue shut themselves without keys. 459. They eet themselves to play at dice in silence.

## The Queen spake.

460. "What day the dice will fall from my hands in disorder, I shall know that that day my husband is dead."
461. The burden of the kingdom remained in the lap of Mayaná, the king's mother. And the Hádi and the king started for a city in a far country. 462. One kros, two kros, five kros he went. And the king's feet were cut and covered with blood.

## The burden of his songe.

463. "Alas! Fate, sitting in a lovely place, hath written misery on my destiny." 464. One day, two days, seven days passed. Night and

[^49]day he journeyed on. 465. So the king left his home and went to another country, and the Hadi said, "Glory to fate. This is the fruit of my destiny."

The Hápi spake.
466. "A proud word did the king speak concerning me. Verily, in a short space, I will bring him into trouble." 467. "Tudu, Tudu," cried he, with a terrible voice ; and in the atmosphere that wondrous Hádi created a forest. 468. They passed through a small forest, and came to a great one. The spittle in the king's mouth was dried up, nor could he speak. 469. In the vacant atmosphere the Hadii went along. While the king toiled slowly along, thrusting the jangal aside with his hands. 470. Prickles pierced him and thorns pierced him. His blood poured forth in streams. He could not travel further, and (in despair) the king struck his forehead with his hand.

The burden of his song.
471. "To whom shall I tell my woes. Even my guru hath- become pitiless." 472. More pangs he gave the king. He took him through a sandy waste. At the king's tears the Hádi's heart was touched, and he created a pleasant Kadamba tree upon the road. 473. The king went to a place deep (under the foliage) by the foot of the tree, and sleep came upon him in handfuls,

## The King spake.

474. "What with ploughing through water, and what with ploughing through sand, I have undergone great hardships. Place thy left thigh upon the ground, that I may rest awhile. 475. The Hádi laid his left thigh upon the ground, and the king rested his head upon it and fell asleep. 476. The Hádi cried "Tudu, Tudu" with a loud voice, and summoned an hundred Yamas.

The Hádi spake.
477. "Hear, $O$ ye Yamas, take heed unto my words. Build ye a road from hence to Daryápur, seven cubits broad and chest high." 478. The Yamas heard his words, nor did they delay. They departed to build the road. 479. From thence to Daryápur they built the road, seven cubits broad and chest high. 480. "Hanumán" he cried with a loud voice, and made them plant trees at intervals along the road. 481. He smote the king with a slap like a thunderbolt, and crying "Guru, Guru" the king arose, weeping.

## The Ha'di spake.

482. "I have built a road with great labour. Give me twelve keiorís, that I may buy happiness and enjoy myself. 483. I would buy and eat
twelve káris worth of gánjá : then will I take thee on to Ghádapur." 484.
When the pious king heard these words, he closed his ears, and cried "Rám, Rám.".

The King spake.
485. "I know nought of such a thing, 0 father guru. He who goeth with such a transgressor, will surely die. 486. Nay, nay, there is no need of binding me. Instead of twelve káorís take twelve káhans, and return unto thy house." 487. The Hádi was in contemplation and suddenly started. 488. He went into contemplation and gazed about, and in his contemplation his eyes fell upon the sixteen káhans in the king's wallet.

## The Ha'pi spake.

489. "His mother excelleth me in charms. She hath put sixteen Káhans of kcaroris in his wallet." 490. He cried "Tudu, Tudu"" with a loud voice, and took the sixteen kaihans of kedoris, and flew up into the sky. 491. He created two stones weighing half a man each, and put them into the wallet. And the pious king took his bhat and began to eat. 492. "Give me, give me the káoris," he began to coax. But after saying so twice or thrice, he became angry. 493. The king opened the wallet and became amazed. Wonderful thing! No kéoris were within the wallet.

The burden of his song.
494. "Why do my eyes dance in my head? I know not what is written in my fate. 495. Why, why, $O$ father guru, hast thou wrongfully given up pity? In my wallet there are no káoris. Give me, unhappy one, in pawn for the káorís I have promised." 496. Immediately the Hádi called his mother-earth to witness. "I call thee to witness, that he himself hath offered himself in pawn. 'Tis not the Hádi who hath given him." 497. He put the pious king in his wallet, and took him to the city of Daryápur.

## The Hápi spake.

498. "A man for pawn, a man for pawn. Take him, 0 mother, thou seller of milk. I would pawn him for twelve káorís. I wish to get twelve Kdoris to eat gánjá."

## The Gowálinf spake.

499. "See, see, we would see what kind of pupil this is of thine." 500. He pulled the king out by one hand, and the king arose radiant in person.

## The GowÁliní spake.

501. "I perceive that he is of beautiful form and accustomed to eat royal food." Can such as he eat in the house of a Gowáliní? 502. Fill up my milk-pail with money, and fill up thy wallet again. Leave my quarter of the town, and go thou elsewhere." 503. He seized the king by the hand, and wandered about amongst the shop lanes. 504. "A man for pawn, a man for pawn, $O$ mother, thou seller of crushed rice" and as soon as the crushed rice-seller saw the king, she upset her stall of crushed rice. 505. She clasped him round the waist, saying, "I die (of love for thee)"; and with great difficulty the king separated himself from her. 506. "A man for pawn, a man for pawn, 0 mother, thou seller of turmeric. A man for pawn, a man for pawn, 0 mother, thou seller of ság. 507. A man for pawn, a man for pawn, 0 mother, thou seller of vetch. A man for pawn, a man for pawn, 0 mother, thou seller of pease." 508. And as soon as the seller of pease saw the king, she immediately called her own husband her father. 509. She upset her stall ; she caught the king by the waist exclaiming "I die." 510. The crushed rice-seller arose and said to the pease-seller "You get away. Let go the waist of the king. I first caught hold of hin." 511. They both caught him by the waist and began to pull; and of a sudden the king began to weep. 512. The Hádi felt pity at the tears of the king, and called on Indra with a loud cry. 513. With great noise, hail began to fall in the bazár. And they let go the king's waist, and every one went to her house. 514. "Don't stop up the door, don't stop up the door, 0 sister, seller of pease. Don't you see that I'll catch my death out here in the wet"? 515. And when the seller of pease heard that word, she made a great fuss, and left the door free for passengers. 516. The Hádi took the pestle for pounding pease, and with it began to pound the king. 517. He cut the king's nose, and his hair, and made proclamation by beat of drum. He put his hand upon the king's neck, and pushed him out from that bazár. 518. He left that locality, and went to Vijaya the ploughman, and stopped before him. 519. "A man for pawn, a man for pawn, 0 house of a halwó." 520. "Outwardlyt he is of comely form. How can he eat in the house of a ploughman? 521. Fit for him is the house of Hírá, the harlot; but how wilt thou go within her house? 522. She hath hung a pair of drums by her door, and if the king of any quarter come to her abode, 523. And if he strike the drum one blow, she will demand a thousand rupees at the door." 524. Vijaya went away with them', and showed them the harlot's house. 525. He took down the stick and smote the drum, and by its sound his arrival was made known in the house of the harlot. 526. She

[^50]began to call to her maid-servant. "The king of what country has now come? Allow him to enter, and fan him with a chámara." 527. The maid-servant heard her, nor did she delay, but went into the presence of the Hádi.

The Maid-bertant spake.
528. "Why, Reverend Sir, hast thou come so far a distance? Why hast thou left thy throne, to lie upon the earth?"

The Hápi spake.
529. "It is not bamboo oil vessels, nor bazdr cups that I carry in my wallet. Herein have I a pupil. 530. I would pawn him for twelve Kdorís, to buy gánjá that I may eat. 531. Will Hirá, the harlot, take him in pledge?"

The Mam-fertant spake.
"Let me see, let me see what sort of pupil he is." 532. He pulled him forth by one hand, and the king arose radiant in person.

Tife burden of her song.
533. "On seeing his beauty, my eyes run with tears." 534. The maid-servant told the harlot what she had heard. "The king is more beautiful in his feet than thou art in thy face. 535. The king for whom thou hast been offering sacrifices these twelve years; him thou hast found at thy very door." 536. On hearing this, the harlot did not delay, but went before the king.

## The Hápi spake.

537. "Hear, oh harlot, what I have to say unto thee. A good pupil is this whom I would pledge with thee. 538. I would pledge him for twelve káoris, that with them I may buy gánja." 539. On hearing this, the harlot did not delay, but sent to the bazár for a saud banker. 540. She collected the paper and pens and counted out twelve káoris. 541. In a clear voice, the Hádi told the banker to write, and he wrote the year, the date, and the word S'ri on the paper. 542. He wrote the name of Hirá, the harlot, on the paper and alsothe twelve káorís. 543. He wrote the name of Dharma on the paper, and threw the pen to the Hádi. 544. And when that mighty Hádi took the pen in his hand, he uttered the words " Rám, Rám" and made his signature. 545. She counted out the twelve káorís and gave them to the Hádi, who on his part made over the king to the harlot. 546. And from the day that the Hádi gave the deed into the harlot's hand, the king lay pawned with her. 547. The Muni Hádi tightly tied up the passions of the king and made him neither a woman nor a man. 548. When Hírá, the harlot, turned her head to one side, he
buried the twelve kóoris in the earth. 549. And when the pious king turned his face away, he turned himself into a golden pumpkin and went to the regions of Pátála. 550. Beneath fourteen fathoms of water he took his magic seat, and for twelve years he stayed there in contemplation. 551. When the king turned round again, and could no longer see his Guru, he began to weep.

## The Harlot spake.

552. "O king, why dost thou weep? For thy sake I have been doing penance these twelve years. 553. Where art thou gone, my maidservant? Bring me pan to eat* and then bathe the king, and make him put on all the radiancy he can." 554. The maid-servant brought the king after bathing him. The harlot well knew how to spread a bed. 555. Over a coarse mat she spread fine mats as high as the chest, and over all she laid an indra-kambal. $\dagger$ 556. She made ready cloves, nutmegs and camphor for eating : so much, that there would be no counting the number of times the king would spit. 557. As soon as the pious king entered into the room, she took him in her lap, and sat him on the bed, and offered him a vessel of pán. 558. "Eat a khili $\ddagger$ of $p a ́ n$, and eat a single betelnut, 0 king. Lift up thy head and gaze upon this luckless harlot." 559. The king was pleased in his heart when he saw the cloves, nutmegs and camphor, and at one time she gave him four or five khilis. 560. Once, twice, and thrice he bruised the khili in his fingers, and then the warning of his mother came into his remembrance. 561. "Thou art going to a far country. Thou wilt dwell in the house of a strange woman. First the householder will eat, and then he will think of thee. 562. When thou seest an Atíta or a Vaishṇava do not thou despise him. With thy head touching the ground, reverence thou him who weareth a rosary. 563. If thou seest a flower, thou shalt not pluck it. If thou seest a bird, thou shalt not break its eggs. 564. If thou seest another's wife, thou shalt not smile at her. 565. When thou shalt see the mustard plant scanty, and the $d w b$ grass thin, then wilt thou know that thou art in a far country." 566. When the words of his mother came into his mind, the king cried, "Rám, Rám," and flung the khili of pán away. 567. Thereupon the harlot became angry, "Why, O king of kings, dost thou not eat the pán ? For thy sake I have been doing penance these twelve years." 568. She took five khilis in her own hand, and put them in the pious king's mouth, but he cast them out, saying " thu, thus." 569. As the king moved

[^51]from place to place and sat down, the harlot followed him and sat close up to his body. 570. She began to scatter white and red sandal-wood over his body, but the king began to call her "Mother, mother", and she replied "My heart doth not let me, 0 king, be called ' mother' by thee." 571. The harlot placed the king's hand upon her heart, but he called her mother, and asked her to suckle him. 572. Once, twice, and thrice the king became angered. He even three or four times abused the harlot.

The burden of his song.
578. "I tell thee the words of thy heart. Unholy is such love. Vainly hast thou lit thy wax candle, and passed a waking night. I am blessed by Ráma ; and Kubujá was not (loved by Krisḥ̣a) as Rádhá was. 574. A harlot hath no loveliness within her, her beauty is nought but copious locks of hair. She is but a gift fit for a barber, like the dhatura* flower. 575. I see a harlot's dealings to be like a ferry-boat. Men pay kióris at the landing-stage, and pass over. 576. I see thee, 0 harlot, to be like traffic in things of no value. Thy beauty is like that of a dark well. Low caste hádis and doms as well as bráhmaps, bathe (to wash off the defilement) after touching thee." 577. For four watches, the harlot argued, but still the pious king addressed her as "Mother." 578. Once, twice, and thrice did the harlot become angry, at last she kicked the pious king off the bedstead. 579. She called for her maid-servant, who turned the king out with her hand on his neck. 580. The harlot's dress was a linen sári bright as fire; but the king's became a knotted rope. 581. Unsifted rice and brinjals full of seeds she gave him; brinjals full of seeds, and he burned them, and made chutney of them. A pitiless harlot was she ; she forbade him salt and oil. 582. In the cold month of Mágh, she gave him an old tattered aári, and a goat hut to live in. 583. Bhángi ropes she gave him, and a bhángi stick, and two water-jars. Twelve loads of water did he measure out the livelong day. 584. If one amongst the twelve was not supplied, in payment for it seven men would beat him. 585. He took bhángi ropes and a bhángi stick and two vessels of water; and he went to fill them at the Karátoyá river. 586. One, two, or three loads he filled. The whole day the Maháraja was carrying the twelve loads. 587. Seven vile men seized the king and laid him on his back and then the harlot would put on her feet golden pattens. 588. Híra, the harlot, after bathing would laugh gleefully, and proudly stand upon the king's chest. 589. After bathing her body, she shone with excessive brilliancy, and she took off her wet clothes, and put on a dry linen sári. 590. The wet clothes she would wring out over the king's face. At midday the king would cover his face and

- Fair to look upon, but has no scent.
weep. She then would seize him by the neek and thrust him out. 591. What with to-day and what with to-morrow twelve years passed. 592. He took bhangi ropes and a bhangi stick and two water-jars, and went to draw water at the river Karatoyd. 593. On the bank of the river, the king became giddy and fell into the river. "Alas! I heard not the words of Adaná and Paduná, and have lost my life through attending to the voice of an old mother."

594. Even as the pious king mentioned the names of the damsels, the dice fell from their hands in disarray. And lamentably they began to weep. 595. "Twelve years have passed and my husband doth not let his voice be heard, and now the thirteenth year has come. 596. To-day why have the dice fallen in disorder? Of a surety my husband is dead and gone."

The bubden of her song.
597. "My love, how may I go forth? To-morrow at dawn and in a lonely place will I tell thee the tale of my woes. He playeth his pipe in Vrindávana : and my heart saith unto me, let me go and see Krishna.". 598. The two sisters went out to the theatrum of the temple in tears. And a jay and a parrot from their cage heard them weeping.

## The Jay spake.

599. "O parrot, my elder brother, let us see why our mother weepeth." 600. They united their strength and burst the bars of their cage, and through the broken walls they flew away. 601. After resting* for a moment on the straw of the thatch, they each alighted on the arm of the damsels. "Why, why, mother, art thou crying in the theatrum P" 602. Ths damsel said, "Listen to me, ye two dear birds. Your father should have returned according to his agreement after twelve years. It is now the thirteenth year and he hath not come. 603. Why did the dice fall in disorder from our hands? Of a surety I believe that your father is dead and gone." 604. "Mother, let us two loose. We will search where our father is." 605. "Speed ye, speed ye, my pretty children, to a far country, and find out where your father is." 606. The birds made obeisance at the feet of their mistress, and flew away in a southern direction. 607. For eeven days the birds flew, but found no trace of the king. 608. On the banks of the river there were a banyan and a píppal tree, and the birds flew and rested on a branch of the banyan tree. 609. The birds flew from the western branch to the eastern branch, and underneath them passed the king bearing his burden. 610. He descended into the water and cleansed his teeth, and over his head the birds began to hover.

- Lit. Scratching.


## The birds spake.

611. "Art thou the king Gopí Chandra? We two brothers have come for news of thee." 612. He stretched forth his arm, and the two birds settled down upon it. 613. The eyes of the king flowed with affection, as he commenced the tale of his woes. 614. He plucked the leaves of some wild plants (that grew by), and with his teeth he mended a reed pen. 615. He cut his left thigh with his little finger, and wrote a letter with the blood. All his woes he wrote within it. 616. "If thou art a good mother, thou wilt rescue me. If thou art a bad mother, thou wilt leave me in sin." "This letter give ye to your grandmother." 617. The birds made obeisance to the king and flew off to Mayana's abode. 618. They made a hole in the roof and threw in the letter "See, see, oh Grandam, see if thy head* is in this? 619. If thou art a good mother thou wilt rescue him." 620. She opened the envelope and began to read : and lamentably the birds began to weep.

The burden of her sona.
621. " My son left me in the morning. I fear that he hath died in the fieree heat of the sun." 622. Mayaná went into contemplation and gazed around, and her eyes fell upon the Hádi sitting beneath fourteen fathoms of water. 623. She brought into play her magic art called kharupá (or cutting), and she cut away the Hádi's seat of contemplation and himself. 624. He began to float away through the cold gea; but Mayaná seized him by the hair and pulled him on land. 625. She struck him a slap forcible as a thunderbolt; and the Hádi who was still in contemplation got up with a start. 626. In his contemplation the Hsdi gazed around, and his eyes fell upon Mayaná. 627. "O sister, I am going to the king. I will first rescue thy son, and then will I eat my ganjá.

## Mayana' bpare.

628. "If I find that my son hath learned only a few charms, I will burn thee, 0 Hádi, to ashes, and send thee to Yama's house." 629. The Hiadi started, and arrived at the ghát where the king was sitting. 630. As soon as the king saw the Hadi's face, he laid down the two water-jars and broke them. 631. He divided his hair in the middle and fell at the feet of the Hádi. 632. Thereupon the Hádi put him into his wallet and carried him off to the harlot's house. 633. When he arrived there, he attered a loud ory, and the whole city began to quake with a rumbling noise. 634. The harlot said to her maid-servant " Daughter, see who it be. If it be a beggar, send him away." 635. The maid-servant hastened to the door and when she saw the Hádi she returned to her mistress. 636.
[^52]She said unto the harlot, "It is not an Atíta, but the Hádi the lord of Lanka." 637. When the harlot heard this, what did she do $P$ She went inside the house and hid herself. 638. The harlot said to herself " I am hidden." But the mighty Hádi saw her by his power of contemplation, and grasped his staff. 639. "I tell thee my staff, and pay thou heed unto my words. Bind Hírá, the harlot, and bring her forth." 640. The staff received one order as if it were a thousand, and with a roar it entered the harlot's house. 641. It thrust the harlot forth, and then the Hádi took up the twelve káoris. 642. The harlot brought forth the deed executed twelve years ago, and he counted into her hands the twelve keáoris. 643. She gave the deed into his hand, and the Hádi said, "Rám, Rám," as he tore it up. 644. The Hádi brought a cauldron of Ganges water, and seven vile men seized the harlot and threw her on her back. 645. He put on the king's foot pattens weighing twenty-two maunds, and stood the king upon the harlot's breast. 646. As he swayed upon her in mounting, he crushed the harlot's thirty-two ribs into small pieces. 647. As soon as the Háḍi sprinkled water on the king's head, saying "Rám, Rám," all his sin was put away from him. 648. After bathing his body, he shone with excessive brightness, and he took off his wet clothes and put on a dry linen dhuti.

## The Ha'di spake.

640. "O prince, pay heed unto my words. For twelve years the harlot hath done penance in her house. Do thou fulfil to some extent her desires. 650. Go forth, 0 Híré the harlot, I give to thee a boon. Become a bat within the kingdom." 651. The Muni's word was not spoken in vain : she became a bat, and flew up to heaven. 652. He caught hold of the harlot in his left hand, and divided her into two parts. 653. The forepart flew up to heaven, but he cast the rear-part into the sea. 654. As she fell into the sea she cried " dohái."

## The Ha'pi spake.

655. "Go forth, $O$ Hírá, thou harlot, I give to thee a boon. Become a minnow, and dwell within the water. 656. Go forth, go forth, 0 Chápai, thou maid-servant, I give to thee a boon. Become a harlot, and live within the kingdom. 657. In thy youth earn thy living out of the work of thy caste ; and in thy old age, take a paik for thy husband. He will beat thee and kick thee and break thy thirty-two ribs. 658. Go forth, 0 wealth of Hirk, $I$ give to thee a boon. Come into the town of Kholáháti, and be a petty bazár made of tiles." 659. He utterly destroyed Hirá's house, and then took the king away to teach him magic arts.

## The Hádi spake.

660. "I say unto thee, 0 king, and take thou heed unto my words. Go thou into the market and beg for alms. Let us sit together, as garw and disciple, in the town of Pardá."

Tife King spake.
661. "I am a king's son, and have become a Brahmáchárí. How can I beg? I know not how to do it." 662. So the Hádi gave him three or four directions, and the king took a platter in his hand and went to beg.

The Ha'pi spake.
663. "Victory to fate, this is the fruit of my works. I have in my house a pupil, beautiful in every limb. He will drive the daughters-inlaw and the daughters of the householders mad. 664. He changed himself into Nengadi the Kotwál and went about fastening the door bars in every house. 665. He is bending forward entreating for alms, and they are setting the dogs at him. He will not get any alms, and will return to the Hádi." 666. The king went about begging, but the Hádi cried out with a loud voice. 667. And from heaven there came down at his call five damsels, who placed five dishes of food before him. 668. He ate his own share, and put aside that of the king with care, and in it he put two and a half times sixteen scores of charms. 669. He mixed it with spittle and phlegm, and added to it the juice of refined* sugar. Sáit seeds, kelá seeds and durá seeds he added to the mess. 670. Meanwhile the pious king went about crying for alms. 671. He bent forward entreating for alms, and they set dogs at him. He was unsuccessful in his quest, and returned to the presence of the Hadi.

## The Knig spake.

672. "O guru, the people of thy country I have seen to be pitiless and stony-hearted. They gave neither alms nor charity, and set the dogs at me."

## The Ha'pi apake.

673. "Thou hast not obtained alms. It mattereth not, my son. Accept the leavings of my food. I met a pious woman on the road. 674. She gave me a little rice. I have eaten my share, and carefully put some aside for thee." 675. With tottering steps the king drew near the food. And when he saw it he struck his forehead with his hand. 676. A rice which my dogs would turn aside from ; such have I, a king, come to eat. 677. "Iuudu, Tudu," said the Hádi with a great voice; and the king felt an-hungered as if he had fasted for twelve years. 678. He took

[^53]his first mouthful with expressions of disgust, but it came to his taste like sweet ambrosia. 679. When again he put forth his hand to take a mouthful, he snatched at it, thrusting aside the Hádi's hand, and took two and a half mouthfuls at once. And therefrom he learnt two and a half times sirteeen scores of charms. 680. By his charms in his meditation he bound up his top-knot as a woman ties it, and embraced the mother of Goda Yama. 681. By his charms, in his meditation, he tied up his topknot as a man ties it, and lamed Godá Yama himself. 682. The Hádi uttered the words "Tudu, Trudu" with a loud voice and thereupon the affairs of his home came in the king's remembrance.

## The King spake.

683. "Give me leave, 0 guru, and let me journey forth in the bark of virtue. Travelling in a chariot of light, would I see my wife and home, and then return to thee." 684, He placed his staff in the hands of the king, who thereupon fell at the feet of the Hádi. 685. The king carried the stick over his shoulder (although it weighed) eighty maunds; and started off for his own home. 686. The mighty Hádi langhed aloud, and the king left him and started on his journey. 687. He reached his palace, and cried "Tudu, Tudu" with a roar like a lion. The damsels were asleep but now awoke. 688. Without being struck, the gongs at the gate sounded; and without fire being applied, milk and rice began to boil. 689. In all the little bazars the lamps began to blaze. The king began to float in a sea of delight. * 690. A swarm of bees flew up around his head. The king saw the delights of holy Vrindávana before his eyes. And all pregnant women gave birth to their offsprings.

The Queks spake.
Thi burdek of her song.
691. "A pilgrim hath come, and standeth in my door. 692. Where is the maid-servant. I would first eat pán, $\dagger$ and then (would I enquire) whence the pilgrim hath come, and dismiss him." 693. The maid-servant made ready alms. 694. "Take alms, 0 reverend pilgrim, I am the maid of a householder, and would return within the house."

## The King spake.

695. "I am a pilgrim from the south : I call myself a Brahmáchárí. I cannot take alms from the humble hands of a maid-servant. 696. If a lady give me alms, then this pilgrim's son can take it."

[^54]t See note to v. $\mathbf{3 7 3}$.

## The matd-servant spake.

697. "Wait awhile, 0 pilgrim, thou who sittest and beggest shamelessly. Long will it be before thou obtainest alms, even though thou criest for them." 698. The maid-servant went weeping to the damsel. "He is a pilgrim from the south, and calleth himself Brahmáchárí. 699. He taketh not alms from the hands of a maid-servant, but saith, 'Let the ladies give me alms.' " 700. When the two damsels heard this they took alms and arose. Behold, without a key the door opened of itself. 701. Aduná and Paduná went out with the alms. "Take alms, take alms, $O$ reverend pilgrim. We are the daughters-in-law of a householder, and would return within the house."

## The King spake.

702. "I am a pilgrim from the east. My name is Brahmáchárí. I cannot take alms from the hand of a woman. 703. If the umbrella* that shadeth thy head can give me alms, then can this pilgrim's son accept them." 704. The ladies pointed out the ring upon his finger. "We see a woman's ring upon thy hand. 705. Thou art the umbrella of my head. Thou art a pilgrim, and I am a pilgrim, pupils of one guru."

## The King spake.

706. "One evening I stopped at a house, and they gave to a man thákari kálái dál and áus rice. 707. He ate it greedily, and was attacked with cholera and died. 708. First one man took something $\dagger$ off his body, and then another; and as my share they gave me these two rings."

The Queen spake.
709. "Where is my maid-servant? First will she eat pan. $\ddagger$ Then shall she cut the rope which ties the elephant. 710. If this be my husband, he will recognize him. If he be a pilgrim from the south, he will trample him to death." 711. She cut the elephant's rope, and the elephant came from a distance. 712. While yet afar off he made obeisance to the king. And when he approached, he lifted him on to his shoulder with his trunk. 713. The elephant awaited awhile and stood steady, that the damsels might approach. 714. The king descended from the back of the elephant, and the damsels took him by the hand and led him within the house. Amid laughter and jokes, they began to speak familiarly with him.

[^55]$\ddagger$ See note to $\mathrm{v} . \mathbf{3 7 8}$.

The Queek spake.
715. "How hath the Guru taught thee magic arts? Let us see how thou wilt approach thy mother." 716. He changed himself into a golden bee, and flew to his mother's palace. 717. He appeared in Mayaná's house, and, uttering a loud cry, made her spinning-wheel fly up into the air. 718. But Mayaná also was skilled in charms, and with a jump she seized the spinning-wheel by its head.

## Mayaná apake.

719. "Come, come my son, the darling of an unhappy one." 720. The king divided his hair and fell at the feet of his mother. 721. He sent for Mathu the barber. He began to clear off his vow, and the Brahmans came, and collected materials for sacrifice. 722. The king began to perform the celebration of the office of sankirttana and gave away the contents of seven barns in charity. 728.† He himself crossed the Vaitarani on the tail of a cow, and his ancestors crossed (the river of life) into paradise. 724. Mayaná bathed herself with five lotas of water, and laughing returned quickly $\ddagger$ into the house. 725. After cooking a dish of rice and fifty different curries, she cleaned three (brass plates) with tamarind juice. 726. Mayaná summoned the Haddi with a loud voice, and he immediately came and stood before her. 277. The first plate she gave to the Hádi. The second she took herself, and the third she gave to the king. 728. After washing their hands and mouth, what did they do? They uttered the holy name of Krishna, and, beginning their meal, ate one, two, and five mouthfuls each. 729. After eating and drinking, their hearts were glad, and they washed their mouths with water from a golden vessel. 730. Then the Hádi, who came from paradise, placed his feet on the head of the king, and returned to his own place. 731. They cleaned the king's throne ; and Hanumán took the staff and umbrella of royalty, and marched about ; and the throne-elephant approached dressed in his trappings. 732. The king clothed himself magnificently, and the elephant mounted him on his shoulders by his trunk. 733. He took the king to the throne, accompanied by the music of drums and trumpets; and bowed himself down before it, and with his trunk placed him upon the seat. 734. Then the king immediately fixed the land revenue at one and a half scores of kciorís, (as it had been in old days) and ever since reigned happily within his kingdom.
[^56]
## APPENDIX.

The following are the lines referred to in the note to verse 264. I give them as an example of the very peculiar nature of the dialect. It is difficult, and requires a very literal translation, which I give.

The word for "fresh butter" appears in two forms,— यनि and ॠवनि ; and it is worth noting how the latter has remained almost unchanged from the time of the ditareya Bráhmana.*

> घामर बโीशरे मल मजाखुरे।
> इए़ श बयाण धोरे।
> माय़ बछे़ेरे थाड़ जफरे।
> यभिन पुष्पर पाष्ना
> पेये पार बत्र चिन्ड $\|$
> मायूर बचने बाडु जठिया बरिक्च।
> नेसिते का पारे बांदि घसिते लागिक।।
> बाडु गेष जिनाने चभ्रा रल घरे।
> एधिन† बवनि बाटे चरे २ ॥
> जिणान करिया घरे नामि याए̣।
> जाम सिस्ष्ब वसिसे दिस माये।
> बनन्दित हया बाडु चिर चनि बाय़ ॥
> जिर अनि बाया घाडु तुद्ट हत्रो मब।
> उपम नित्रार बरे करे बात्रवन $\ddagger 11$

0 the pipe of Šyám (Krishṇa). My mind whirls, my eyes continually run with tears. The mother said " 0 Yadu, how art thou sleeping on the deep bed of flowers in the north ?" Hearing the mother's voice, Yádu sat up ; he could not open his eyes, and began to rub them. Yádu goes to bathe ; Yasódá remains in the house, and divides out this rice-milk and fresh butter.

After finishing his bath, he goes towards the house-his mother gives him a grand throne to sit upon; being pleased, Yádu eats the milk, and the fresh butter.

After eating the milk and fresh butter, Yádu's mind becomes satisfied; and he washes his mouth with water in a grand golden pot.

- Ait. Br.I. 3. नवतीतेणाभ्यष्बफ्ति॥


The Lokaniti translated from the Burmese Paraphrase.-By Lieut. R. C. Temple, B. S. C., Offg. Wing Officer, 1at Goorkhas.

## Introduction.

There is probably no book so universally known to the Burmese as the Lokaniti, pronounced in Burmese Lawkanidi. It is read in all schools of any standing whether they belong to the Government or to enterprising Hpongyis or Priests. It has been copied into hundreds of palm-leaf MSS with more or less accuracy according to the learning of the various scribes, and about five years ago the Roman Catholic Missionaries published it at Bassein in Burmese and Pali, and soon afterwards the Government itself published an edition of it in Burmese and Pali in an issue of 10,000 copies. The book is as its title signifies a collection of Proverbs or Maxims on subjects of every day life, and as it now stands, is not I think of any great antiquity. It has a semi-religious character which it bears in common with many Buddhist works of a similar nature, and seems to belong to a series of books of Proverbs, though of very different dates to it, which are known respectively to the Burmese as the Dammanidi, Yazanidi, and Lawkanidi, i. e., Books of Proverbs concerning the Law and Religion (" the Law" having much the same signification to a Buddhist as it had to the Jews of the Bible), the King and Common Life. These titles are in Pâli respectively Dhammanîti, Rajjanîti and Lokanîti.

I was never able in Burmah to find out much about the history of this book which is professedly merely a collection of passages from older religious works, although I have personally and through the kindness of several friends made many enquiries from the Burmese Sayds or learned men. According to one account, it was written originally (date unknown) in Sanskrit (? Pâli) by the Pôngnâ (Brahman) Sànnêkgyaw (Burmese name) and paraphrased into Burmese in 1196 Burmese Era ( $=1826$ A. D.) by the Hpôngyî U Pôk of the Mahâ Oung Myê Bông Sàn Ok Kyoung (the Great Brickbuilt Monastery in the Sacred Place) at Ava. This U Pôk's name as priest was Sêk-kàn-da-bî, to which the king of Ava added the titles of Thîri Thàddamma-daza, Mahâ Damma-yâza Guru, (= Sanskrit, Sri Saddharmadhaja, Mahâ Dharmarâja Guru) or the True Teacher of the Law, the Great High Priest, Master of the Law. Again one of my correspondents writes that the author was a priest " with no very extraordinary knowledge of Pali" who either collected the maxims from old books or what is more probable collected some of them and added others of his own composition. This opinion is corroborated by the unequal merit of the original Pali verses, and by the many grammatical and other errors observaH H
ble in them even upon a superficial examination. Lastly in one of the MSS. in the Bassein District there is a preface partly in Burmese and partly in Pali, according to the usual custom, which was forwarded to me. This contains much the same information as the account above given, and is almost identical with what is given as the last or 165th sloka of the Government printed edition of the Lawkanîdi, a rendering of which will be found at the end of the following translation of the whole work. From these sources of information it is difficult to tell whether the book was compiled or only revised by the Hpôngyí Sêkkàndabî, but I think the latter is probably the correct assumption.

The Lokaniti is divided into seven khandas or chapters, each containing a series of proverbs on the subject of the chapters. These subjects are (1) the Wise, (2) the Good, (3) the Wicked and Foolish, (4) Friendship, (5) Women, (6) Kings, (7) Miscellaneous Subjects. In the first of these chapters, and in fact throughout the whole work, there is a strong religious element, but they contain at the same time many spicy bits of shrewd worldly wisdom, while the quaintness of the similes with which the proverbs abound should I think of themselves attract attention.

In reading the rendering of this book it must be borne in mind that it is a Buddhist work, and that such words and expressions as "the truth," "the Law," "God," "angels," " the world to come" and so on, have a Buddhist and not a Christian signification. However, it bears so strong a resemblance to our own " Proverbs of Solomon, the son of David, King of Israel," that I thought it advisable to translate it into Biblical language, deeming that the Buddhist mode of religious thought would be more forcibly brought before English readers by that than by any other mode.

Lastly, when making the following translation in 1875, I had the assis-- tance of Moung Shwê Thâ, a well-known "Munshi" of Rangoon.

## THE BOOK OF THE PROVERBS OF COMMON LIFE.

## Glory be to him that is blessed, that is holy, that is the Author of all Truth.*

## Chapter I.

1. Making my obeisance to God, $\dagger$ the Law, and the Assembly of the Perfect, $\ddagger$ I have written in one book, called the Book of the Proverbs of
[^57]Common Life, many things from out of many holy books; which things I have briefly set forth in the language of the Scriptures.*
2. The Book of Proverbs that speaketh of divers matters is unto man as an heart ; $\dagger$ as father and mother, as a teacher, as a friend; therefore he that knoweth this book is as one that hath seen and heard much and becometh excellent and wise.
3. He that is idle from whence shall he obtain knowledge? He that is without knowledge, from whence shall he obtain riches? He that is without riches, from whence shall he obtain friends $P$ He that is without friends, from whence shall he obtain happiness? He that is without happiness, how shall he do well? He that hath not done well, how shall he attain unto the perfect state ? $\ddagger$
4. There is no wealth like unto knowledge, for thieves cannot steal it: in this world knowledge is a friend and leadeth unto happiness in the world to come.§
5. Think not the wisdom that seeth and heareth a little thing, and ponder this in thy mind. It is a drop of water that falling often times on an ant-hill filleth it.||
6. Think it not a small thing to be learned in thy books or with thy hands : if thou learn well but one of these only thou canst live.
7. Not every mountain hath precious stones; not every elephant hath a charm ; if not every forest hath the sandal-wood; not every place hath a wise man.**
8. Surely he that is searching after knowledge should go with much yearning to the place where he heareth the wise man is that is filled with knowledge.
9. By degrees wisdom is learnt: by degrees riches are gotten: by

- Ot Pali Language or Magadhi Language. The Pali language is literally "the langrage of the Scriptures." The following is from Childers' account of the Pali language-"The true or geographical name of the Pali language is Mágadhî, ' Magadhese language', or Magadhabhâsâ, language of the Magadha people." The word pali in Sanskrit means "line, row, series" and by the South Buddhists is extended to mean the series of books which form the text of the Buddhist Scriptures. Thence it comes to mean the text of the Scriptures as opposed to the commentaries, and at last any text or even portion of a text of either Scriptures or commentaries. Palibhise therefore means "the language of the texts," which is of course equivalent to saying "MAgadht language." Childers' Pali Dict. Preface, footnote.
+ Or solid thing, or pith, or core, or best part.
$\ddagger$ Or the night of perfect rest, or nirvâna, or nâgbàn.
\& Or life to follow.
IOr hill of white anta.
- Or charm against danger.
- Or a wise man of great fame, or a wise man of the Council of the King.
degrees he climbeth that climbeth a mountain : by degrees desire is appeased : by degrees anger cometh : by degrees are these five things.

10. The knowledge of seeing and hearing : the knowledge of the statates*: the knowledge of reckoning : the knowledge of carpentry : the knowledge of the Books of Proverbs: the knowledge of healing by charms : the knowledge of music : the knowledge of throwing : the knowledge of shooting with the bow : the knowledge of the ancient writings : $\dagger$ the knowledge of medicine : the knowledge of jesting : the knowledge of the stars : $\ddagger$ the knowledge of juggling : the knowledge of the Book of Words :§ the knowledge of the arts of messengers: the knowledge of the ways of speech :|| the knowledge of charms: these are the eighteen kinds of knowledge.
11. In the world if none asketh aught of the wise man he is like a drum that is not beaten; if any asketh aught of him then his wisdom floweth forth as the rain : but the ignorant man whether any asketh aught or asketh not alway talketh much.
12. In the world the knowledge that is only in the books, $\mathbb{T}$ or the riches in the hand of another, when thou hast cause to use them, then the knowledge that is only in the books thou canst not call knowledge nor the riches in the hand of another riches.
13. In the world by the stalk of the water-lily thou shouldest know the water whether it be deep or shallow : by his deeds and the manner of his speech thou shouldest know a man whether he be base-born or of high birth : by his words thou shouldest know a man whether he be wise or a fool : by the green herb and the parched thou shouldest know the land whether it be rich or poor.
14. In the world he that hath a little knowledge thinketh that little knowledge much and is proud: wherefore is it thus? A young frog that hath not seen the sea thinketh the well wherein he dwelleth to be a great water.
15. In the world if a man gather not knowledge in his first age : if he gather not riches in his second age : if he keep not the law in his third age : how shall he begin these things in his fourth age?
16. My beloved children, learn knowledge and wisdom : wherefore are ye idle? My beloved children, learn knowledge and wisdom every day. He that hath not knowledge and wisdom becometh the servant of another and rightly unto him that hath knowledge and wisdom is homage paid in the world.
17. In the world the mother is an enemy to her children, likewise the father is an enemy to his children; wherefore is it so? In the time of their

- Dammathàt.
§ Or Sànchàn.
† Or Puranas
\| Or Thàdda.
$\ddagger$ Or Vedas.
© Or on the palm-leaves.
youth they make them not to learn knowledge : therefore their place is not in the midst of the assembly, as the place of the bittern" is not in the midst of the wild-duck. Because they make them not to learn knowledge are they called their'enemies.

18. Doth any sharpen the thorn that groweth in the valley? my son, $\dagger$ it becometh sharp of itself. My son, $\dagger$ hath any given his keen eyes to the deer? my son, $\dagger$ they are keen of themselves. Doth any give the sweet smell to the lily that is in the mud? My son, $\dagger$ the smell is sweet of itself. Doth any teach his good manners to the child of high birth? My son, $\dagger$ he must teach them to himself.
19. The betel-nut that is without lime hath an ill-savour : he that hath not riches hath an ill-savour when he putteth him on ornaments : that which is eaten without salt hath an ill-savour : he that hath not knowledge hath an ill-savour when he writeth a book. $\ddagger$
20. He that listeneth and marketh carefully with his might becometh filled full of knowledge. By learning knowledge increaseth : from the knowledge that is learnt cometh understanding.§ He that hath understanding of that he should know hath happiness ever with him. \||
21. In the world both unto the ox and to the man is the appetite and lust and sleep, but learning is unto the man alone; wherefore if thou fall short of learning thou becomest as the ox.
22. In the world there is no friend like knowledge : there is no enemy like disease : there is no lover like unto thyself : there is no strength like unto fate.
23. In the world the place of tine duck is not in the midst of the crows : neither is the place of the lion in the midst of the oxen; neither the place of the horse in the midst of the asses: nor the place of the wise man in the midst of fools.
24. Surely though the ignorant man sit at the feet of the wise all his days he knoweth not the law : wherefore is it so? It is even as the ladle knoweth not the taste of the pottage.
25. Surely he that is wise if he sit at the feet of the wise even for a moment, quickly will be know the law : wherefore is it so? It is even as the tongue knoweth the taste of the pottage.
26. The strong man goeth not to the battle if he be not armed; likewise the wise man speaketh not but according to the scriptures; even as the merchant that goeth on a journey afar goeth not without companions; nor journeyeth any anywhither by himself. If
27. In the world, if he lose his wealth, if there be sorrow in his mind,

| - Or paddy-bird. |  | Or the meanings are known. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\ddagger$ Or Sir, or my mesters. | II Or beareth happiness. |  |
| $\ddagger$ Or secred verse. | IOr without companions |  |

if there be evil in his house, if any deceive him, if any mock him ; the wise man telleth not of these things.
28. In the world he that knoweth what he should say whatsoever happeneth ; that knoweth whom he should love; that knoweth how to be angry : the same is called a wise man.
29. He that would eat of good things without money ; he that would fight without strength; he that would dispute without knowledge : these are like unto madmen.
80. Going often times unto the house of another, not being called; dispating often times with another, not being questioned; being proud of his own conceit : these three things are a sign of the mean man.
31. He that is not comely babbleth much : so he that hath a little wisdom showeth it publicly : so the pot that is not filled with water troubleth the water:* so the cow that giveth not milk kicketh.
32. The young frog when he sitteth him down $\dagger$ thinketh, Now am I a lion, but when the crow snatcheth him up he coareth him saying, Friend, friend : likewise the fool that hath no wisdom thinketh himself wise, but when the wise man asketh him a question, then he speaketh unto him kindly saying, My lord, my lord.
33. Because the young frog sitteth in the like manner, shalt thou say, It is a lion? because the pig grunteth in the like manner shalt thou say, It is a leopard $?$ because the cat hath the like colour and form shalt thou say, It is a tiger $P$ because their form appeareth the same in thine eyes shalt thou say, All wise men are equal in knowledge ?
34. No ruler is satisfied with his wealth ; so also is no wise man satisfied with the good word: as the eye is not surfeited by looking on the beloved, nor the sea surfeited with water.
85. It is not right that ho fail in wisdom and learning that hath come to a full age, if he be of them that are noble. It is even as the acacia flower $\ddagger$ that hath no smell.
86. In the world though a man be base-born he becometh a minister of the king; though a man be a fool's son he becometh wise ; though a man be the son of him that hath no riches his wealth becometh abundant : therefore be ye not scoffers of men.
37. Whoso learneth much by his yearning after knowledge cannot interpret that which he hath learnt, as the dumb cannot tell that which he hath seen in his dreams.
88. The potter striketh not the pot to break it, but that it may be-

[^58]come goodly; so the teacher beateth not the scholar to make him misera. ble, but that he may increase in knowledge and wisdom he beateth him.
39. If any bind the flower of the periwinkle tree in the leaf of the butea tree, then to him it is not the flower of the periwinkle tree only that hath a sweet smell, for the leaf of the butea tree likewise smelleth sweetly : therefore it behoveth to follow both the wise man and them that cleave to him. Here endeth the book concerning them that are wise.

## Chapter II.

1. Be ye companions with the righteous and keep ye company with the upright : the upright man knowing the law of the just becometh excellent and is not wicked.
2. Forsake the company of the wicked, but cleave unto the righteous for he is worthy of companionship. Work righteousness day and night, remembering alway that all things change continually.*
3. The fruit of the water fig tree when it is ripe without is red, but within it is altogether full of flies: as it is with these so is it with the heart of the wicked.
4. The fruit of the jacat tree when it is ripe without seemeth covered with thorns, but within it is full of sweetness: as it is with these even so is it with the heart of the righteous.
5. In the world the sandal-wood though it be dead $\ddagger$ loseth not the sweet smell; neither loseth the elephant his comeliness in the eyes of men on the place of battle; nor the sugar-cane his sweetness in the mill : even so he that is wise and good forsaketh not the law though he become poor and wretched.
6. That which is called a lion though he be an-hungered eateth not of any green thing; that which is called a lion though he become lean eateth not of the flesh of the elephant : for being noble he keepeth the law of the noble.§ So he that is born noble though he become poor doeth not that which is not noble.
7. In the world the sandal-wood\| is sweet, and sweeter than the sandal-wood is the moon; but sweeter than sandal-wood and moon is the righteous word of a righteous man.
8. Let not the words of the righteous tranggress even for a moment, saying, Behold I the sun that hath rays innumerable riseth in the West: Myinmof boweth his head : or the fires of hell are cold, or the lily flowereth on the mountain-top.

[^59]9. The cool shade of a tree is sweet; and sweeter than the shadow of the tree is the shadow of thy family, thy father and thy mother; and sweeter than this is the shadow of the learned; and sweeter yet than this, is the shadow of the king : but very much more sweet is the sweetness of the law, that is called the shadow of the good God.
10. As the humble-bee desireth the flower, so loveth the righteous to be of good report : as the fly hankereth after all manner of rottenness, so longeth the wicked man after sin.
11. He that hath a wicked mother speaketh wickedness, and the son of a wicked father worketh wickedness: but if his father and his mother be both of them wicked, then both that which he saith and that which he doth becometh evil.
12. He that hath an excellent mother speaketh righteously, and the son of a good father worketh righteousness: if his father and his mother be both of them good then all that he saith and all that he doth becometh excellent.
13. There is need of the brave man in the place of battle : there is need of the skilful word in the time of wrath : the friend is wanted in the time of eating : or if there be any trouble before thee, then there is need of the wise man.
14. When one dog seeth another he showeth his teeth that he may oppress him : in the like manner when the wicked man seeth one that is righteous he vexeth him that he may cause him hurt.
15. In the beginning the foolish man of himself doeth not that which he hath to do, neither maketh he another man to do it : then doeth it carelessly in haste and sorroweth afterward.
16. In the world he that turneth away wrath is not troubled even for a little, and God, beside other good men, praiseth him that is grateful. It behoveth every one to be patient of the angry word, and him that is thus patient God, beside other good men, praiseth, saying, Behold! this man is good.
17. In the world he is miserable that must live in a narrow place full of uncleanness ; and more miserable than he is he that must live among his enemies that love him not; but yet more than he is he miserable that must live amid the ungrateful.
18. Teach them continually that thou shouldest teach, and keep them alway from evil-doing. Is not this the good word ? Let him that is instructed love the upright man that instructeth him, but let him not love the unjust man that is wicked.
19. Honour him that is greater than thou and thou shalt be rewarded: keep thou the brave separate one from the other and thou shalt conquer : make thou a little present to him that is lesser than thou and thou
shalt win him : be thou diligent and thou shalt overcome him that is thine equal.
20. In the world not every one telleth of the poison, saying, This is poison ; but of the goods of the priest they tell, saying, Truly this is poison : for the poison slayeth but once, but as for the goods of the priest they kill for ever.
21. By his swiftness is known the goodness of the horse: by the weight of his burden the goodness of the ox: by the much milk she giveth the goodness of the cow : and the wisdom of the wise man by the wisdom of his speech.
22. The riches of the just though they be little are like unto the water that is in the well, for they are a place of refuge unto all : but the riches of the unjust though they be great are like unto the waters of the sea, for in them is no place of refuge neither for them that bathe nor for them that drink.
23. The rivers drink not of their own water, neither eat the trees of their own fruit, nor fall the rains in every place: likewise are the riches of the just man only for an help unto others.
24. Desire ye not that which ye should not desire, neither think ye that which ye should not think; but meditate ye carefully on the things that are," loving not to make your time profitless.
25. Without endeavour it cometh and with endeavour it cometh not. Is not this word true? For the possession of riches cometh neither unto man nor unto woman according to their endeavour.
26. Whosoever loveth the wicked : whosoever loveth not the righteous: whosoever loveth only the law of the unjust: by these things shall he be destroyed. Thus shall it be with him. Here endeth the book concerning them that are good.

## Chapter III.

1. Love not the wicked man greatly : it is as the pot thou bearest on thy head that is not full of water and maketh a noise.
2. The snake hath an evil temper and likewise hath the wicked man an evil temper, but the temper of the wicked man is more evil than the temper of the snake; for the temper of the snake is quieted by the charm, but how shall ye cure the temper of the wicked man?
3. When the foolish man knoweth his own foolishness, then, though he be foolish, shall he be called wise ; but when the foolish man thinketh himself to be wise though he be still foolish, then shall they say of him, Verily this is a fool.

> - Or of nature.
4. Whatsoever evil the foolish man doeth, it profiteth him not; and though he thinketh it to be even as honey, whensoever his evil deed prospereth then doth misery fall upon him.
5. The foolish man when he hath strength in his body becometh wicked and striveth after the goods of another by force: the foolish man that hath little wisdom when his body is destroyed goeth down into hell.
6. In the house it is the rat that maketh mischief : in the forest it is the monkey : among the birds it is the crow, and among men it is the teacher of false doctrines.*
7. The night seemeth long to the wakeful man : the way seemeth long unto him that journeyeth : likewise his life seemeth long to the foolish man that knoweth not the righteous law.
8. The man that hath an evil mind seeth the fault of another though it be only as a sesamum seed : but though his own fault be as a cocoanut, he seeth it not.
9. If thou wouldest be wise show not thy fault unto another, but strive to learn his fault. Wherefore should this be so ? Hide thy faults as the turtle draweth in his head and his members, but mark well the faults of others.
10. When the foolish man praiseth the wise, it is called chiding, but if the wise man praiseth the wise, then is it called praise indeed.
11. Make a present and thou shalt win the covetous: bow down before him and thou shalt win the haughty: follow after him $\dagger$ and thou shalt win the foolish : speak the truth and thou shalt win the wise. Here endeth the book concerning them that are wicked and foolish.

## Chapter IV.

1. If a stranger work for thine advantage then is he as thy brother, and if thy brother work not for thine advantage then is he as a stranger : so the sickness that is part of thee $\ddagger$ is not for thy profit, but the medicine that cometh from the desert§ profiteth thee greatly.
2. He that speaketh slightingly behind thy back, but speaketh kindly to thy face; shun thou him as a friend that hath such an heart, as the bee avoideth the poison that is in the pot.
3. If thy riches decrease thy friends cast thee off; likewise desert thee thy wife, thy children, and thy brethren; only will they shelter them under thy riches: wherefore in the world thy greatest friend is thy wealth.
4. In the world thou canst only know thy servant if be be good or bad when thou usest him: so only canst thou know thy brethren in the

[^60]time of danger : so canst thou know thy friends when thy riches are few : so canst thou know thy wife when thy wealth is fled.
5. Whosoever increaseth thy prosperity call him thy friend: whosoever giveth thee food call him thy father and thy brother : whosoever loveth thee him also call thy friend : and whosoever being happy maketh thee happy call thy wife.
6. Make not a great friend of thine enemy, neither make close acquaintance with thy friend, for when they are angry they will discover thy faults.
7. Whosoever hath once quarrelled with his friend if he wish to be one with him again, he must pursue him unto death,* as the mare doth that is with young.
8. So long as thy desire be not fulfilled bear thine enemy on thy shoulder: but when the time of the fulfilment of thy desire cometh, then destroy thou him as thou wouldest break the pot thou carriest against the rock.
9. That which remains of thy debt : that which remains of the fire: those also that remain of thine enemies often times increase again : therefore leave thou none remaining.
10. Whosoever hath a face as fair as the water-lily: whose speech is sweet as the sandal-wood, and whose mind is as the poison that slayeth quickly : put not thy trust in such an one.
11. Trust not the master that is rough : still less put thy trust in the master that is quick to anger : still less in him that praiseth not : still less in him that is an oppressor.
12. Keep the thing that is horned fifty cubits from thee : keep the horse one hundred cubits from thee : keep the elephant that hath tusks one thousand cubits from thee : keep the bad man from thee altogether.
13. An evil abode; a wicked husband; a wicked people; a wicked friend ; a wicked wife; a bad servant : these must be kept afar off.
14. Whatsoever friend cometh forward when thou art oppressed with sickness; when thou art an-hungered; when thou losest thy wealth; when thou art in the hands of thine enemy; when thou art before the king; when thou art in the place of sepulture : only such a friend canst thou call a friend indeed.
15. Whosoever speaketh fair words hath many friends, but the harsh man hath but few. Seest thou not here the parable of the sun and the moon? Here endeth the book concerning friendship.

[^61]
## Chapter V.

1. The beauty of the black cuckoo is his voice : the beauty of a woman is her love for her husband : the beauty of the uncomely is their knowledge, and the beauty of the priest is his long-suffering.
2. The wealth of a woman lieth in her beauty : of a man in his knowledge : of a priest in his well-doing : of a king in the strength of his armies.
3. A priest is comoly if he be lean, as a four-footed beast is comely when he is fat: so a man becometh comely when he is wise and a woman when she hath an husband.
4. Be the harper never so good, if he play not on the harp for five days only his skill is fled; be the archer never so skilful if he shoot not with the bow for seven days his cunning deserteth him : so the honour of a wife if she be a month separate from her husband is destroyed, and the disciple is lost if he be but half a month from his master.
5. The buffalo rejoiceth when he is in the mud, and the red duck when he is in the lake: so the woman rejoiceth when she hath an husband, and the priest when he doth according to the law.
6. Thou mayest praise the corn* after thou hast eaten of it, so thou mayest praise thy wife when she is become old : so likewise thou mayest praise the army when it returneth home after the enemy is conquered, and thy grain after thou hast stored it in thy barns.
7. The woman that hath been put sway from two or three husbands; the scholar that hath learned in two or three schools; and the bird that hath escaped twice or thrice from the net knoweth well the way thereof.
8. Tame the wicked by beating: tame the bad husband by firm words: tame the bad wife by keeping away the money from her, and the greedy man by making him an-hungered.
9. The night that hath no moon is not good to look upon; nor the sea that hath no waves; nor the lake that is without wild-ducks; nor the damsel that is without an husband.
10. It is the husband that should bring the riches, and it is the wife that should keep them. Is not this saying true? For it is the man that should be the leader of the womant as the needle is of the thread.
11. Every river is crooked : every forest is full of fire-wood : every woman when she is in a quiet place doeth evil.
12. The woman that is a disputer; that is envious and a backbiter; that is covetous of whatsoever she seeth ; that cooketh much and eateth of it ; that eateth before her husband ; that goeth abroad to other's houses:

[^62]her husband should put her away though she hath borne him an hundred children.
13. The woman that delighteth in her husband when he eateth and when he adorneth himself, and as a mother correcteth tbat which is wrong ; that is much ashamed as a sister when she seeth that which is not decent or that which should be hidden; that is respectful as a slave before her husband when he hath business; that obtaineth a companion to consult in the time of trouble; that giveth joy in the hour of sleep; that is clever to make herself comely; that is patient in the time of anger : that woman he that is wise calleth excellent, and when she is dead she is counted among the angels.*
14. The maiden whose flesh is as the colour of gold ; that hath eyes black as the hart's; whose waist is small and whose loins are broad; whose leg tapereth as an elephant's trunk; whose hair untied curleth at the tips; whose teeth are level ; that hath a deep navel ; that is pleasing in her carriaget : thou shouldest wed such an one even if she be of low birth.
15. The eighth month $\ddagger$ is the most excellent among the seasons; so the most beautiful is the best among women; even so the eldest is the most excellent among sons and the North among the four quarters.
16. The woman that in each life§ desireth steadfastly to become a man must bear herself towards her husband respectfully, even as the wife of the chief of the Spirits\| beareth herself respectfully to him.
17. Whatsoever man in each lifed desireth steadfastly to become a man goeth not near the wife of another, as he that would wash his feet shunneth the mud.
18. If he that hath become old take to wife a young girl, whose breasts are small as the fruit of the fig-tree, not being able to deal with her according to her desire, then she doeth him an injury.** Believe her not if she saith she knoweth her old husband only : wherefore being wedded to a young wife he shall come to ruin by reason of her. Here endeth the book concerning women.

[^63]
## Chapter VI.

1. A king sleepeth but one watch of the night : a wise man sleepeth but two: but he that is wedded sleepeth for three and the beggar sleepeth all night.*
2. In whatsoever place there is none that is rich ; no wise man that seeth and heareth much; no king; no river; and likewise none to heal: in the place where are not these five remain not even for a day.
3. In whatsoever place there is none to love, none to desire, none that is friendly, none to teach wisdom and learning : remain not in that place even for a day.
4. In the world the house is desolate wherein are no children and the kingdom desolate that hath no king: so the mouth of him that hath no wisdom is dumb $\dagger$ and all is desolation to him that is poor.
5. In the world he that would be rich becometh a trader: he that would be learned serveth him that is wise: he that would have sons marrieth a young wife: and he that would be a ruler doeth the desire of the king.
6. The priest that is not content cometh to ruin, as a lord of the world, if he be satisfied, cometh to destruction : so an harlot is ruined if she become modest, or she that is pure if she lose her modesty.
7. The strength of a bird is as the heavens : the strength of a fish is as the sea : even as the strength of a king is as a weak man and the strength of a child is a cry.
8. Long-suffering, wakefulness, industry, almsgiving, mercy, prudence: these six things are the glory of kings, of rulers, and of parents. This is the glory they desire that are good.
9. In the world kings command but once; priests and teachers $\ddagger$ speak but once ; prophets§ teach but once: and after their manner doeth\| the good man that is worthy to be loved.
10. In the world the idle man is evil if he be married, so is the priest evil if he keep no guard over his body or his mouth or his heart : likewise is the king evil that doeth aught without thinking of it, and the wise man that is wrathful if his wrath escape him.
11. In whatsoever place there are many great men ${ }^{1}$ each desiring to be called a wise man and longing to be the chief of all : the work of those men cometh to nought.

> Or for four watches.
> $\ddagger$ Or quiet or desolate.
> $\ddagger$ Or Brahmans or Pongnas.
> $\$$ Or saints or gods and the holy.
> II Or followeth their teaching or doeth the law of their meaning.
> © Or chiofs.
12. Every king should of himself know his revenues whether they be less or more, and his provisions if they be enough or not : of himself he should know his servants if they do not their business; that he that is worthy of disgrace may be disgraced, and he that is worthy of greatness may be made greater.
13. In the world turn thy back toward the sun and thy belly to the fire, pay respect with thy whole body to the great man,* and by wisdom find a way to the world to come. $\dagger$
14. In the world touch neither fire, nor water, nor a woman, nor a fool, nor a snake, nor a prince, but pass them by or instantly they will take away thy life.
15. In the world if any hath a bad wife, hath rude servants and evilminded, hath a snake in his house : verily he shall die.
16. In the world by teaching wisdom to him that is very foolish, by living with a very wicked wife, by keeping company with the unjust shalt thou become less even though thou art a wise man.
17. In the world if the son do an evil deed thou sayest, His mother doeth it: likewise if the disciple work evil thou sayest, The master doeth it : so if the people do wrong thou shalt say, It is the king that hath done this; and if the king himself do evil then shalt thou say, This is the work of the High Priest. $\ddagger$
18. By his kindness§ a king should conquer him that is wrathful and proud, and him that is dishonest by his honesty : even as he overcometh the sour man by a present and by his truthfulness the liar.
19. In the world the rude man is tamed by a gift and by a gift cometh every good thing ; for he that bringeth gifts and fair words gaineth respect from another because he payeth it.
20. Gifts and offerings bring \| love in the world, as a sour mind bringeth 9 hate : so also gifts and offerings bring $\|$ many followers even as a sour mind bringeth ${ }^{\|}$loneliness.
21. In the world thou canst conquer the enemy thou desirest to conquer, if he use not his advantage when it is great, for then thou becomest his equal : it is as thou makest a rope of grass and with it bindest an elephant.
22. A king that hath his fill of armies, if he be not able to conquer

- Or lord or master.
+ Or offer respectfully thy back to the sun, thy belly to the firo, thy whole body to the great man, and thy wisdom to the world to come.
$\ddagger$ Or the Parohit or Chief Brahman.
§ Or withoat anger.
$\|$ Or are the medicine or charm for.
I Or is the medicine or charm for.
his enemies, what profiteth him his power? It is as a fire, that is kindled in a place where is no wind, that burneth not.

23. None gratifieth his lust as a king, so none taketh either his form, or his speech, or his ornaments,* or his clothing or his jewels or anything that is his.
24. The king is not my kinsmant ; the king is not my wife's brother $\ddagger$; the king is my master§ : keep these alway in thy mind.
25. When thou waitest on the king stand not afar off; neither approach very close; nor go between him and the wind; nor keep in front of him ; nor look from a place lower than he, nor yet from one that is higher : these six things thou shalt not do: keep thyself from these as thou gaardest thyself from fire.
26. Be thy glory as the glory of the God that knoweth all things, if thou obtain not the favour of the king, $\|$ it becometh thee not: for it behoveth the ruby that is of great price to be set in gold. $\ddagger$ Here endeth the book concerning kings.
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## Chapter VII.

1. How shall the priest do his duty that keepeth close acquaintance with a woman? or how shall he have a tender heart that eateth much of flesh? How shall he speak true words that drinketh strong drink? or he know shame that hath strong desire? How shall he obtain knowledge that is very idle? or he gather riches that grovelleth?
2. He that is a drunkard; that goeth abroad at wrong times; that goeth often times unto feasts; that is a gambler; that hath evil friends; that is an idler: he that doth these things cometh to destruction by reason of them.
3. In the day time speak not without looking first, and in the night time without asking first, but bear thyself as the hunter that is fearful of danger and looketh to and fro in the forest.
4. The prophet** Byasa saith of five kinds of men that they are dead while yet alive : these are they that are poor, that are sick, that are ignorant, that are debtors, that are about the king.

- Or his flowers and sweet smelling things.
+Or spouse.
$\ddagger$ Or sister's husband.
§ Or lord.
|| Or the refuge that is called the king.
II Or the ruby of great price if it be set in gold becometh goodly.
** Or teacher.

5. It is the wisdom* of the wise man that he seeth danger ere yet it cometh and avoideth it from afar, neither is he afraid when he seeth that it hath already fallen on him.
6. In the world he that sloepeth over much, that is forgetful, that taketh his ease, that hath much sickness, that is lazy, that is atrong in his lusts, $t$ that is eager for whatsoever is new : thene seven know mot the Scriptures. $\ddagger$
7. Go to the poor, thou gift : for he that hath many gifts is surfeited. Go unto the valley, thou Angel of the Rain; for the sea is surfeited with water. Such is not the law, but the deed is thine own. §
8. In the world when any hath finished that he hath to do he regardeth it no more|| : therefore whon thou hast aught to do, leave undone a remainder thereof.
9. In the world cotton is light, but lighberal is he that is wantom, and lighter still is he that hearkeneth not unto his parents and his tesobera, and lighter yet than all is he that beedeth not the word of the excellent God.
10. In the world the sunshade** that is of stone is of worth, $\dagger \dagger$ and of greater worth $\ddagger \ddagger$ is it to hearken to the Angels, and greater atill is the worth $\ddagger \ddagger$ of the instructions of thy teachers and parenta, but the woand of the excellent God is the most worthy§§ of all
11. In the world thy right hand is called the slave of the body and his little finger the sleve of the ear and the nose and the eyen, but the left hand is called the slave of the feet.
12. The angel|||| Kuwera dwelleth in the midst of the betel-leaf : at the bottom thereof there dwelleth a spiritøTI and at the top thereof there dwelleth a devil.*** Wherefore when thou eatest of it, cut off the top and the bottom thereof, and thou shalt be of good repute.
13. An angel of high degreettt guardeth the tableta ; an angel of
lesser degree* guardeth the bindingst thereof; therefore it behoveth him that learneth knowledge to propitiate the angels both of the higher and lower degree, $\ddagger$ for they love him that doth this.
14. According as the ox cherisheth man and bringeth him wealth, so let him love him as a parent and respect him.
15. Whosoever eateth of the flesh of the ox the same is called the devourer of his own mother's flesh : if an ox die it is meet that he be given to the birds of the air§ or unto the waters. ||
16. He that learneth on the fifth day of the week will be complete in knowledge : he that learneth on the first or sixth day will leave undone a part thereof: he that learneth on the second or fourth day will obtain none of it 9 : and he that learneth on the third or last day of the week will die.
17. There is that sayeth that he that learneth knowledge on the eighth day of the waxing or the waning moon killeth the teacher, and that he that teacheth knowledge on the fourteenth day of the waxing or the waning moon killeth the scholar : also there is that sayeth that if knowledge be taught on the tenth day of the waxing or the waning moon it will be destroyed, and that if it be taught to any at the full moon his parents will be slain.
18. In the world he that learneth knowledge eateth not of the cocosnut on the seventh day of the waxing and the waning moon : on the ninth day also he eateth not of the gourd, neither of the kenbeng on the twelfth day, nor on the third day of the divers kinds of curries : if he eat of these his knowledge will be lost.
19. In the world a man is renounced for the profit of his family : a family for the profit of the village: a village for the profit of the city: and the whole world for the profit of a man.**
20. In the world the lion, the good man and the elephant, these leave the place that is not for their advantage and go their way; but the crow, the bad man, and the deer, these come to destruction in the place where they find delight.
21. In whatsoever place there is none to love and none to desire, there is no friend and none to teach : tarry thou not there.
22. The wise man goeth to the new place with a watchful mind as one that goeth forward, and remaineth in the old place with a constant

- Or a Pisana.
+ Or bag.
$\ddagger$ Or both the Brahmas and the Pisanas.
§ Or the Vultures.
\| Or that he float on the water.
I Or be of a calm mind.
* Or self.
mind as one that standeth still : wherefore leave not quickly the old place without trying the new.

23. A woman when she eateth eateth twice as much as a man, but her wisdom is four times greater than his, and her lust eight times greater.
24. In the world the taste of the sugarcane becometh sweeter according as the joint is further from the top; so the excellent man that is a good husband becometh sweeter from the beginning even unto the end, as doth the sugarcane : likewise also the evil friend by degrees loseth his sweetness, as doth the sugarcane when thou eatest thereof from the bottom to the top.
25. If the country be filled full of husbandmen and of merchants and of noblemen and of priests of good repute, then shall the borders be increased.
26. The wisdom of him that prayeth not fadeth away, as the house of him that is idle becometh foul : even so also is idleness as rust to him that is beautiful, and sloth as dirt to the sober priest.
27. In the world the riches of them that do little labour become the riches of them that work much. They that are come to a low estate teach, saying, Our fortune is the reason thereof: but they that are wise teach not so, saying, It is because they do not their work with all their might. If the work be not finished, and he profiteth not according to his desire; Is the fault with it? Nay, the fault lieth not with it.
28. Whosoever is of low estate, neither can work with his lips nor with his hands, whose form is not fair, who lacketh strength : though he be blamed by reason of these, yet is this age a lesser age and maketh his wealth only to be of any worth. Here endeth the book concerning divers matters.
29. The book concerning the wise; the book concerning the good; the book concerning the evil; the book concerning friends; the book concerning women; the book concerning kings; the book concerning divers matters. He who put in order these seven books is called Chakkindabi the true teacher of the law,* the great High Priest, Master of the Law, $\dagger$ that dwelleth in the building that is built of brick $\ddagger$ in the Sacred Ground.§ He made clear the interpretation of the writings of the Book of the Proverbs of Common Life in the second fifth-month $\|$ on the first day of the week $\mathbb{T}$ and the seventh of the waning moon, in the eleven hundred and ninetysixth year.
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- Or Saddhamma Dhaja.
\dagger Or Maha Dhammaraja Guru.
\ddagger Or in the Or Kyoung.
& Or Mahâ Oung mye bôngtsàn.
| Or intercalary month.
T Or Sunday.
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## JOURNAL

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Part I.-HISTORY, LITERATURE, \&c.

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The Bangash Naucabs of Farrukhábád-A Chronicle, (1713-1857).-By Willlam Ievine, C. S., Fatehgarh, N. W. P.-Pabt I.

From the time of Farrukhsiyar's accession in 1713, the imposing fabric of the Mughul Empire began to fall asunder. In the hands of weak and dissolute princes, surrounded by self-seeking and incompetent courtiers, the central power rapidly withered and decayed. As control relaxed, the provincial governors usurped more and more, in fact if not in name, the attributes of sovereignty, and transmitted their authority to their heirs with little more than the nominal concurrence of the fainéant descendants of Bábar and Akbar. To this period of disintegration can be traced the origin of nearly all the great Muhammadan principalities which the English found, when they first intervened in Indian politics. From 'Ali Wardí Khán, a subahdar who died in 1744, descend the Nawáb-Názims of Bengal ; the Nizám of Haidarabad represents the family founded by Nizám-ul Mulk, Asaf Jáh, Subahdár of the Dakhin from 1713 to 1748 ; the kings of Audh sprang from Sa'dat Khán, Burhán-ul Mulk, appointed Subahdár of Audh in 1713; the Rohelas achieved their independence in the early part of Muhammad Sháh's reign ; and the Jáṭs of Bhartpur first rose into importance at the time when Churiman became the ally of 'Abdullah Khán, Kutb-ul Mulk, the rebellious Wazír of Muhammad Sháh. The Bıngash house, which founded Farrukhábíd and acquired a considerable territory in the middle Duáb, arose at the same time and in the same way as its more famous rivals; and although in the end it fell upon evil days, there was a time when its prospects of future greatness were little, if at all, inferior to
those of its competitors. At the death of Muhammad Khán in 1743, no one would have foretold that his successors would so soon be distanced in the race for power. The rashness of one successor and the weak unambitious nature of another, aided by the exposed position of their country, placed in the highway of all hostile forces from east or west or south, soon reduced Farrukhábád to comparative insignificance. Still, it is impossible to deny that the Bangash Nawábs have received but scant justice at the hand of the general historian. Nowhere has their history been told in any connected form, and many of the events in which they played a prominent part have been passed over or incorrectly narrated. To remedy, so far as possible, this defect, is the object of this paper. It is, I believe, the first attempt in English to tell, from the local point of view, the story of the Nawábs of Farrukhábád.

## Account of the sources from which this history is derived.

Since many of the books I have used are MSS. not known beyond the limits of the district, it is desirable to begin with some account of them and their authors.

The oldest and most valuable of these is a collection of letters from and to Muhammad Khán, Ghazanfar Jang, made in 1159 H . (Jan. 1746Jan. 1747) by Munshi Sáhib Ráe under the name of Khujistah Kalám, which denotes the date. There are 206 letters from, and 89 to Muhammad Khán. His correspondents included all the great men of that time, but letters are most numerous to the Emperor, to the Wazír Kamr-ud-din Khán, to Nizám-ul Mulk, to Khán Daurán Khán, Amír-ul Umrá, and to Roshan-ud-daula. The letters belong mostly to the period from 1140 H . to 1156 H. The MS. measures 10 in . $\times 6 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{in}$. and contains 251 leaves of fifteen lines to a page, but there are two or three leaves wanting at the end. The book, which was obtained from the heir of Sáhib Ráe's greatgrandson Bhawáni Parshéd, lay in a heap of other papers, which had been reduced to dust by damp and insects, in a long-disused room. No other copy appears to be in existence.

The family history of Sáhib Ráe, so far it can be pieced together from the fragments left at the end of his book, is as follows: His grandfather, Manohar Dás, filled the office of peshkér of Bahat, Sahind and Antri with other districts of Sarkár Gwáliár. He lived in Gwáliár where he had a masonry house. After his death, his son Dwárka Dás went to Sháhjahánabád in search of employment, and lived in the Pahárganj ward. Through his friend Lála Gaj Singh, peshkar of the Khálsa Sharífa, he was appointed to some office. He left two sons Dál Chand and Sáhib Ráe. The former was letter-copier and keeper of private accounts to Nawáb Sá'dat Khán. Sáhib Ráe was educated by his brother, and in the time of Far-
rukhsiyar (1718-1718) entered the service of Nawáb Muhammad Khán as Munshi or Secretary. The period of his death is not known. His grandson, Dalpat Rée, held the same office and played a prominent part in the time of Nawáb Muzaffar Jang (1771-1796) and Násir Jang (1796-1813).

The next in order of time and perhaps of value, is a work by Sayyad Hisám-ud-din Sháh Gwáliári. His grandfather, Abu'l Hasan, was sister's son and son-in-law to the saint Muhammad Ghaus Gwáliári. Hisám-ud-din came to Farrulshábád in Muhammad Khán's time (before 174is) and served as a yakka or adventurer riding his own horse. He was present at the siege of Allahábád (Oct. 1750 to April 1751), the siege of Fathgarh (April-May 1751), and the campaign in Rohilkhand (Oct. 1751-April 1752). He became a Faḳír and died in 1210 H. (July 1795-July 1796).

His book is of little value till he comes to the battle of November 1748, in which Káim Khán lost his life. From that time till the death of Ahmad Khán in 1771 the narrative is full and interesting. The style is clear and graphic with little attempt at literary effect, and I think he fully deserves Mufti Wali-ullah's praise of trustworthinces. The MS. was lent to me by Mír Fazl 'Ali from the Madrasa library of Mufti Waliullah. It measures $7 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{in} . \times 5 \mathrm{in}$. and has 393 pages of 11 lines to the page. It is divided into the following headings-Muhammad Khán and Káim Jang, pp. 4-54-Imám Khán succeeds, fine to Emperor paid, Imám Khán imprisoned, Bibi Sáhiba escapes; pp. 54-89-Ahmad Khán, death of Naval Ráe, defeat of Wazír, siege of Allahábád, pp. 89-150-Return of the Wazir, Ahmad Khán goes to Rohilkhand, pp. 150-226-Ahmad Khán retreats under the Hills and gets aid from the Rajah of Almora, pp. 226-249-The Wazír with the Mahrattas arrives and besieges Ahmad Khán, pp. 249-264-Interview between Ahmad Khán and the Rajaah, the Wazír makes peace and takes the Nawáb's son with him towards Lakhnau, pp. 264-313-Ahmad Khán and his chiefs, with the Rohelas, march from the entrenchment, Ahmad Khán comes to Farrukhábád, pp. 313-340Marriage of Muzaffar Jang, pp. 340-353-The Wazír brings the Emperor (Sháh 'Alam) to attack Ahmad Khán, pp. 353-393.

The next in order of date is Mufti Wali-ullah's Tarikh-i-Frrrukhdbád written about 1245 H. (July $1829 — J u n e$ 1830). Sayyad Wali-ullah, son of S. Ahmad 'Ali (who died $1187 \mathrm{H} .=1773 \mathrm{~A}$. D. aged 51), was born at Sánḍi, Sirkár Khairábád, on the 14th Shawwal 1165 H. (26th August, 1752). The family had been settled for ten generations at Sándi, about twentysix miles south-east of Farrukhábád, on the other side of the Ganges. Before that, ten generations had lived at Dáipur, just east of Kanauj and close to the Ganges. The founder of the colony there is said to have come from Láhor.

When he was nine years of age, Wali-ullah came with his father to

Farrukhábád. He studied at Farrukhábad, Kanauj and Bareli, finishing under 'Abd-ul Básit Kanauji. In 1189 H. (March 1775-Feb. 1776), while on his way to Mecca, he visited the town of Rahmatábád in the eastern part of the Dakhin, where he was initiated into the Nakshbandi and Kádiriya tenets by Khwája Rahmat-ullah. In 1190 H. (Feb. 1776-Feb. 1777) he spent six months at the holy places. Returning to India he at length in 1196 H. (Dec. 1781-Dec. 1782) settled at Farrukhábád. From his savings he bought several houses, and joining them together he established a madrassa and named it Fukhr-ul Maraba o Raba'-ul Mufákhir, which gives the date 1224 H. (Feb. 1809-Feb. 1810). His library is st ill kept there, bat there are no scholars and nothing is taught. On the 29th August, 1805, he was appointed Mufti, which office he held till the 13th October, 1828, when he was succeeded by his relation, Mufti Wilágat-ullah. Wali-ullah died on the 5th Jamádi II, 1249 (18th Nov., 18:33). The following táríchs give the jear of his death. The first is. by Bahádur 'Ali Sayyad.
I. Ganj-i-ma'ni ba-raft zer zamin.
II. Dafan kardand ganj-i-ilm ba-khák.

One of the copies of his history lent me by Mír Fazl 'Ali measures 10 in. $\times 6{ }_{2}^{\frac{1}{2}} \mathrm{in}$., and has 370 pages, the number of lines to a page varies. The book is divided into two parts. Part I, History of Farrukhábád and the Bangash family ( 160 pp .) containing an introduction and six books, the first book comprising five chapters. Part II : divided into five books, (1) Famous personages; (2), Shekhs, Sayyads, and Fakírs; (3), Learned men; (4), Pocts, and (5) an account of the author. In the historical part there is little or no detail, much being taken from the Siyar-ul Mutákharin and similar works, though some facts are added from personal knowledge or enquiry. The most valuable part is, that giving the traditional origin of the Bangash Paţháns. About two-thirds of the work is taken up with biographies of obscure Muhammadan worthies who lived in, or had visited Farrukhábád.*

The Lauh-i-Táríkh is an Urdú work which in its present shape was composed in 1255 H. (March 1839-March 1840). Mír Bahádur 'Ali's copy, lent me by his nephew Salámat 'Ali of Chibramau, measures $9 \frac{3}{2}$ in. $\times 6 \mathrm{in}$., and has 554 pages, with 16 to 18 lines to the page. It is written in an easy popular style, and though defective in chronology and arrangement, it preserves a mass of interesting tradition which would otherwise have perished.

The origin of the book is thus described: In 1248 H. (May 1832-May 1833) Manavvar 'Ali Khán Bakhshi, great-grandson of Muhammad Khán's daughter, Daulat Khátun, began to prepare an account of Farrukhábád and

[^64]its rulers from the work of Mufti Wali-ullah and other books, such as the Khulásah-i-Bangash, but more especially from the recollections of an old man, Allahdád Khán, son of Mukím Khán chela. Two copies of this work were given away, one to Nawáb Diláwar Jang, son of Nawáb Husain 'Ali Khán, and the other to Dharm Dás, Káyath Kharowah. Neither of these copies can be found now, although search has been made.

Manarvar 'Ali Khán says, that as he had neither practice in the Urdú language nor the habit of literary composition, he made his book over to Mír Bahádur 'Ali to be put into shape. Bahádur 'Ali returned it corrected in 1255 H. (March 1839-March 1840) with additions from his own knowledge. To the amended work were given the titles of Anwán-i Khándán-i-Bangash or Laukh-Tárikh. A poetical tarikh, giving the year 1255 H., is as follows:

> " Kyá baní hai, miyan, yih khúb kitáb."

The book is divided into eight parts, besides the introduction. I. Nawáb Muhammad Khán, Ghazanfar Jang. II. N. Káim Khán. III. N. Ahmad Khán, Ghálib Jang. IV. N. Daler Himmat Khán, Muzaffar Jang. V. N. Imdád Husain Khán, Násir Jang. VI. N. Khádim Husain Khán, Shaukat Jang. VII. N. Tajammul Husain Khán, Zafar Jang. VIII. Chap. 1, Biography of Manavvar 'Ali Khán; Chap. 2, Biography of Mír Bahádur 'Ali.

Manavvar 'Ali Khán, born in 1799, was the son of Sarfaráz 'Ali Khán, Cstarzai Karláni Paţhán. His great-grandfather, Khudádád Khán, had married Daulat Khátun, the ninth daughter of Nawáb Muhammad Khán, Ghazanfar Jang. On his grandmother's death in 1809, his father gave up all her jágírs, but Manarvar 'Ali Khán in 1839 still received 200 rupees a year from Sarfaráz Mahal, widow of Násir Jang, to whom the property had been assigned. Manavvar 'Ali Khán died on the 13th Sha'ban 1280, H. (24th August, 1863).

Mír Bahádur 'Ali was a Sayyad of Chibramau, a small town on the Grand Trunk Road, about eighteen miles from Farrukhábád. He claims to be descended from the eldest son of Zain-ul 'Abidain, who left Madína and settled in Turmaz. Some of his descendants were long settled near Lahor, but gradually moving eastwards they reached, some five hundred years ago, the town of Chibramau, Sirkár Kanauj, Súbah Akbarábád. It is said that once seventy to eighty families existed, occupying three muhallas, but for the last two or three hundred years these have disappeared. Now-a-days there is only one small muhalla, with five or seven families of Sayyads. During the Mughul rule the male members of these families sought employment at Delhi as Kázis, Muftís, religious officers, Díwáns, writers or revenue-collectors. The absence of a genealogical table is apologized for by Bahádur 'Ali_in,his biography. Owing to the unsettled times and the occurrence of several Mahratta incursions and village raids (Gan-
wár Gardi) the records of his ancestors had been destroyed. From signatures in books in his possession, he traces his family for six generations. His father and grandfather used to say the Chibramau Sayyads were among the descendants of Sayyad Kamál, who came down country from Láhor. One of his sons S. 'Ali Amjad settled in Chibramau, the others went to Samdhan, Parganah Tálgrám, to a village near Kanauj; to the town of Tálgrám, to Sánḍí, to Márahra and to Sakaṭpur. Bahádur 'Ali's ancestors, some openly and some secretly, were all Shi'as in religion.

Bahádur 'Ali's grandfather, Ghulám Husain, was born, he asserts, in 1101 H. (Oct. 1689-Sept. 1690) and he died in 1226 H. (Jan. 1811-Jan. 1812). He had only two sons, Chirágh 'Ali and Hashmat 'Ali (b. 1182, May 1768May 1769, $d .1231$ H. Dec. 1815-Nov. 1816). The grandfather was at one time in the service of Najíb Khán and Shuja'ud-daula, from the former receiving Rs. 125 and from the latter Rs. 100 a month. For forty years he was in the service of Nawáb Dáim Khán, chela of Nawáb Ahmad Khán, first as a trooper on Rs. 80, then as a physician on Rs. 50, then as a pensioner on Rs. 20 a month. At last he was made teacher, on Rs. 10 a month, to the Nawáb's sons and wife. Till near the end of his life, he lived at the gateway of Dáim Khán's house in Farrukhábád. Five or six years before his death, when he became very feeble, his son and grandson persuaded him to remove to Chibramau, where he died on the 27th Ramzan, 1226 H . on the day of the Diváli festival. Bahádur 'Ali believed his grandfather could perform miracles, and relates a story of his appearing in a dream to a sick man, and telling him to gather grass from his tomb, which when ground was to be applied to the chest. An instantaneous cure was the result.

Bahádur 'Ali's father, Chirágh 'Ali, was born in 1157 H. (Feb. 1744 Jan. 1745). When twenty-five years of age he became blind. He retained, however, his bodily strength, and was endowed with great quickness of understanding and power of repartee. His touch was so fine, that he could tell the wrong from the right side of a rupee. He possessed a great talent for planning buildings; and he also practised physic, as he had learnt it from his father, Ghulám Husain. His memory was wonderfully good, and he remembered the details of every body's family history in all the country round Chibramau. He died on the 4th Ramzán, 1247 H. (6th Feb. 1832) Bahádur 'Ali's mother's people lived at Bhongaṇw, a town on the Grand Trunk Road in the Mainpuri district, about 22 miles west of Chibramau. She was the second daughter of Shekh Khalil-ur-rahmán Khátib, son of Shekh Khair-ullah Khátib.

Bahádur 'Ali was born on the 20th Shawwá 1195 H. (9th Oct. 1781). In 1201 H. (Oct. 1786-Oct. 1787), his grandfather brought him to Farrukhábád to live at the gateway of Nawáb Dáim Khán chela. He was taught there for six years. He read through the usual Persian books and
wrote daily some composition for his teacher's correction. Mir Makhú Fakír was engaged to teach him writing. A few books on grammar and physic were read and the whole word of God; to this was added some arithmetic. It was also his habit to visit the boly and religious men of that time, whom he names. Once Háfiz Ghulám Muhammad condescended to go over a chapter of the Kurán with him.

When Bahádur 'Ali had completed his twelfth year, his uncle Hashmat 'Ali came home from Lakhnau. He had lived in that city for fifteen years as a teacher in the family of Lála Lachman Singh and Lála Budh Singh, Sarsút Brábmans, employed in the service of Rájah Tikait Ráe, Náib. In 1207 H. (Aug. 1792-Aug. 1793) Hashmat 'Ali, taking Bahádur 'Ali with him, returned to Lakhnau. The boy was made over to Mír Sájid 'Ali, a great friend of his uncle's, who followed the profession of a teacher. After a year had passed, Bahádur 'Ali was sent to read grammar with Maulvi Kamál Ahmad Sháhjahánpuri; and in order to gain an acquaintance with the poets, he frequeuted Maulvi Pír 'Ali Rasúlpuri. For a short time he also attended Maulvi Ghulám Muhammad, Fáik, Amethawi, who conferred on him the poetical title of Núr. A desire to write poetry having sprung up in him, he asked his uncle to introduce him to Miyan Ghulám Hamdáni Mashafi, whose instructions he followed for several years. Here he took the names of Gardish and Wimik. It was at this time that he wrote a Persian divón entitled Juwólá-i-' Ishk. He also attended the poetical assemblies held every fortnight at the houses of Miyan Jurát, Inshállah Khán, Mír Takki, Miyán Mashafi, Shahzádah Sulaimán Shikoh, Miyán Muntazar and others. On these occasions he recited ghazals under both the above titles in Persian and Urdu.

For the eleven years, ending in 1217, H. (May 1802-April 1803), which he spent in Lakhnau, Bahádur 'Ali to provide for his own support worked as a teacher at various places. He was also for a time a trooper in the Nawáb Wazir's service, in the time of Asaf-ud-daula (1775-1798) and Sa'dat 'Ali Khán (1798-1813). Farrukhábád having been taken over by the English, Bahádur 'Ali returned to his home in the end of 1217, H. and for a long period supported himself as a teacher. At length he was appointed tutor to Rajah Jaswant Singh, Baghela Thákur, of Tirwa in the south-east of the Farrukhábád district, on a salary of Rs. 8 a month, plus the food of two persons, besides presents. Through the Rajab's influence he obtained the appointment of Thánadár of Chibramau, which he held for two years. Afterwards, at the Rajah's request, he acted as Wakil for him and his brother, Kuṇwar Pítam Singh, at Mainpuri, Bareli, and Fathgarh, in the office of the Collector, the Civil Courts, the Revenue Board's Office, and the Court of Appeal.

On the death of his patron abovenamed,* Bahádur 'Ali lost his appointment and went to live in Farrukhábád. There for some years he taught the children at the house of Lála Daler Singh, Káyath Sribástab, "Chaoni-wála ;" and subsequently he was for some years in the service of Ráe Chandi Parshád, Káyath Saksena, of muhalla Sadhwárá. For two years he was with Mr. Martin, Indigo-planter, on Rs. 15 a month, as a parıoánanavis at the Shamshábad factory; then for a year and a half he was employed on Rs. 20 a month in the Joint-Magistrate's Court at Sidhpura (now part of the Eta district). He was recommended by Munshi Zahúr 'Ali 'Abbási Shekhpuri. When the Court was abolished, $\dagger$ he went for three years to Lakhnau, where he obtained various employments, as a writer at the Daryábád Thána, forty-three miles east of Lakhnau, as accountkeeper to a merchant, and for part of the time as a teacher. On his return he again became a teacher at Farrukhábád. In 1839 when he wrote, he had been for some years living at the gate of Lála Dil Sukh Ráe, the son, and Lála Shankar Parshád, the grandson of the deceased Diwán Debi Dás. During this period, hundreds, old and young, had been his pupils; but not one had done him any service, or turned out a real friend, or shown any affection, nor had even one been true to his word. He says he had no complaints to make nor any claims. Indeed he was accustomed not even to go down the street, where such ungrateful men dwelt.

Bahádur 'Ali was married on the 7th Zi'lhajj 1220, H. (28th Feb. 1806) to the daughter of Shekh Karm-ullah of Shamshábád, son of Asadullah Farúki. The family had a quantity of land and groves, granted by the Emperors, with yearly and daily allowances. In the disorders of the time, all these came unjustly into the possession of S. Tahavvar 'Ali Kabáe. Bahádur 'Ali's father-in-law, his uncle Siffat-ullah, and Shekh Khúb-ullah, another relation, made great erertions to recover the property, but " $b a-s a-$ "bab-ná-inṣafi aur rúdígí ḥákimán-i-Farrukhábad ke, apne dád aur hakk " ko na pahunche." The younger branches of the family scattered to Tálgrám, Sakráwah, and Chibramau.

Bahádur 'Ali had no issue ; but, as he says, this being a matter out of one's power, he indulged in no regrets. He passed his days in reading, in recitations of poetry, in teaching, in reading aloud, and in the writing of books. And he failed not to give God thanks for his mercies;
"Harcha Sáki-i-má rekht, 'ain altaf ast."
He furnishes a list of thirteen works composed by him, besides short tales. The thirteenth is the History of Farrukhábád called 'Ansoán-i-

[^65]Khándán-i-Bangash or Lauķ-i-Tarikh. From about 1814 or 1819 he adopted the poetical title of "Sayyad." He also wrote in Hindi (Bhákha) in the name of Manhi.

He says he intended his books to be a memorial of him after his death, and he hoped that they would take the place of children. In their composition he passed his days very happily. From the day that he began to write, he claims never to have written, with an object, in praise of any noble, nor had he sought their favours. He refused the invitations of the Sáhibzádahs of the city, for with worldly persons there can be but two oljects Káida or Fíida, and when neither is desired there can be no reason to court the great. He prays that God may grant him similar independence during the small remains of life-"Amin sam Amin."

From 1225, H. (Feb. 1810-Jan. 1811) with the help of his second brother, Muhammad 'Ali, he observed the ceremonies of Tázia'dári yearly; he belonged to the Shi'a sect. As his home did not afford the requisite accommodation, he bought half an acre of land at his door, intending to build an Imámbárá and a dwelling-house. He managed to complete a small dwelling-house, and the masonry foundations of the Imámbárá were laid on the 13th Mubarrum 1241, H. (30th August, 1825). But from poverty he had been unable to proceed with it ; he writes that he hopes it may be finished before he dies, so that his soul may rest in his grave in peace. His father was buried at his own request in an earthen tomb within the Imámbárá. Bahádur 'Ali himself died on the 30th Sha'bán 1270, H. (28th May, 1854).

There is a small work called Mahárbát-i Mughuliya ba-Afghíniya, a copy of which was kindly procured for me by Maulvi Manzúr Ahmad, Deputy Collector (to whom I am also indebted for first calling my attention to the Lauh-i-Tarikh). So much of it is in verse, and the rest is in such a bombastic ambitious style, that the residue of fact is very small. Still, although the date of the copy is January, 1834 (the author's and owner's names have been carefully obliterated), 1 infer that its composition is of older date, or that independent sources were employed, for it contains a few statements not met with elsewhere. The MS. measures $9 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{in} . \times 6 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{in}$. and has 101 pages of 14 lines to the page. I have also picked up twenty-six leaves of a collection of reports from some Lakhnau amil in the years 1162 -1164 H . From internal evidence I believe the writer to be Nawáb Baká-ullah Khán, Khán 'Alam, fuujdár of Korá. I have gleaned from these letters a few facts about Naval Ráe's death and the subsequent events. The first nine leaves and some leaves at the end are wanting.

The Khulásah-i-Bangash, apparently almost contemporary with Muhammad Khán (1713-1743), is quoted once in the Lauh-i-Táríkh. M M

Neither of this book nor of a collection of letters made by Munshi Dalpat Ráe (d. 28th March, 1823), grandson of Munshi Sáhib Ráe, have I been able to obtain any trace. Other authorities used are well enough known. The principal of these are the Siyar-ul-Mutákharin, Tárikh-i-Muzaffari, Khiz-ánah-i-' Ámira, A mád-us-Sa'dat, Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, Futhgarh-námah Curwen's translation of the Balwant-námah and the Miftáh-ut Tawárích (edition of 1849). The Ma'asir-ul Umrá in the article 'Abd-ul Mansúr Khán, when speaking of Káim Khán's death, refers for details to "the account of his father Muhammad Khán Bangash", but I cannot find in the book any biography of Muhammad Khán. The Hadikat-ul Akálím, of Murtaza Husain, I have also put under contribution.

> Nawáb Muhammad Khín, Bangash, Ghazanfar Jang. Origin of the family.

Muhammad Khán was a Bangash of the Karláni Kághzai clan. Malak Kais, 'Abd-ur-Rashíd, the ancestor of all Paţháns, had three sons Sarban, Batan, Ghurghasht. The second son, whose name was Shekh Haiyát, obtained his appellation from his love of peace and his piety, Batan in their language signifying the Pure. Batan had three sons, Ismá'il, Ashyún, Kajín, and one daughter, Matú. The descendants of the sons are usually called Batan. The children of Matú by her husband, Sháh Husain, son of Mu'az-ud-din, are called Ghilzai, Lodi, Sarwáni.

Sarban, the eldest son of Kais, had two sons, the elder of whom, Sharf-ud-din, had five sons. Of these the youngest was Amír-ud-dín. One day while out hunting Amír-ud-din at one of his camping-places picked up a Sayyad boy, to whom he gave the name of Karláni. When he grew up he was married to a woman of the tribe, and his children were called the Karlâni. Among Karlánis are the Dilázák, Afrídí, Khatak, and Malak-mírí subdivisions. Relying on the truth of the above story, the Karláni believe themselves to be Sayyads. Karláni having been brought up with Adarmar, son of Amír-ud-dín, his descendants have been classed among the Sarban tribes.

The origin of the name Kághzai is related as follows. Once Shekh Hayát, alias Batan, was anxious to marry his daughter Matú to Sháh Husain, son of Mu'az-ud-din Mahmúd, son of Jamál-ud-dín Hasan, son of Sultán Bahrám, who had left his own country of Ghor by reason of the desolation caused by the first Muhammadan invasions. Accordingly a man of the Kágh tribe, that is, a professional singer, was sent to enquire into the genealogy of Sháh Husain at Ghor, his birthplace. On returning he threatened to throw doubt on Sháh Husain's purity of descent unless his, Kágh's, daughter were accepted in marriage. Sháh Husain married the
girl, who was called Mihi, and also Sarw. Having no children, she adopted a son of her co-wife Matú, and called him Sarwáni. By reason of this adoption he came to be called Kághzai.

The word Bangash originally meant the hill country. But in course of time it was applied to the inhabitants, those in the upper hills being called Bálá Bangash, those in the country along the foot of those hills, that is, in Kohát, were known as the Páin Bangash. At present the Bangash tribe is most numerous in Kohát, the rest dwell to the west of it, in Kúram and Sbalózám. The valley of the Bangash is encircled by hills, and its greatest length is from east to west. To the east and south-east is found the Khatak tribe in the hills of Khaţkán ; to the north are the Urakzais; to the south-west is the boundary of the Wazíris ; to the west is the country of Kúram. The Bangash who live in Kúram and Paiwáf are in subjection to the Tori; those in Shaluzám are their own masters; while those in Kohát are British subjects. In all they number about eighteen thousand households.*

Years after the first settlement took place, many of the Sarwánis quitted the Bálá Bangash, and from that time were designated Kághzai, those who stayed in their original seat continuing to be called Sarwáni. After this ${ }^{2}$ party of Karláni, who had settled near the Sarwáni Kághzai in the Bálá Bangash, also began to be called Kághzai, though in truth they are neither Sarwáni nor the children of Kágh. In short, there are two kinds of Kághzai, (1) Karláni Kághzai and (2) Sarwáni Kághzai.

In the reign of 'Alamgír Aurangzeb (1658-1707), Malak 'Ain Khán Karláni Kághzai, quitting his native country for Hindustán, came to MauKashídábád, where he took service in the troop of 'Ain Khán Sarwáni, then in the employ of the Khánzádah family. Malak 'Ain Khán, son of Gohar Kbán, son of Sabza Khán, son of Jahán Khán, son of Sárang Khán, belonged to the Harya Khail, in it to the Shámilzai, and in it to the Daulat Khail, who are the descendants of Daulat Khán, known as Háji Bahádur. This latter must be distinguished from the other Háji Bahádur, the Koháți, of the family of Sherh Adam Bantrí.

The town of Mau-Rashídábád is now little more than a name; its site has been turned into one vast tobacco-field. It lies close to the high bank, which overlooks the old bed of the Ganges and the stretch of lower land between it and the present stream. It is situated twenty-one miles west of Farrukhábád, five miles west of the old town of Shamshábád-Khor, and about one mile north-east of the modern but more thriving town of Káimganj. Though Mau has now only a few inhabitants, the country surrounding it is full of flourishing Paţhán colonies, such as Ráepur, Pathaura, 'Ataipur; and the inhabitants of these places are all known outside the
district under the generic name of Mau Paţháns. They are to be found in numbers in our native cavalry, where they appear to bear a high character as soldiers.

Mau Rashídábád, the former name of which was Mau-Thoriyá, was re-founded in the reign of Jahángír about 1607, A. D. (1016, H.) by Nawáb Rashíd Khán, jágírdar of Shamshábád. A few of his descendants, known as Khánzádahs, still exist though reduced to poverty.* The myth so common in the East is told to account for the selection of the site. Jackals drove off the Nawáb's dogs, and in his astonishment, he inferred that such a soil would produce men more brave and strong than found elsewhere.

## Muhammad Khán's early years.

'Ain Khán married in Mau, and when he died left two sons, Himmat Khán, aged thirteen, and Muhammad Khán, aged eleven. Since Muhammad Khán died in December, 1743, at about the age of eighty lunar years, his birth must have taken place about the year 1665. One day, the story goes, Muhammad Khán had ridden out on his elder brother's horse along the edge of the river, and he brought it back in a profuse sweat. Himmat Khán fearing that he would some day throw the horse down and get injured himself, gave Muhammad Khán a slight reproof. Angry at being spoken to, Muhammad Khán took refuge at a fakir's hut. The fakir, to cheer him, prophesied that he would one day be a Báwan-Hazárí or Commander of Fifty-two thousand. Himmat Khán, the elder brother, in time left home and took service in the Dakhin, where he died. His body is interred in Sher Muhammad Khán's bágh in Mau, a grove which had been planted in the days of Nawáb Rashíd Khán. He left one daughter, Bibi Fátima, who became the wife of 'Ináyat 'Ali Khán, Bangash Kághzai.

When Muhammad Khán reached the age of twenty years (i. e. about 1685, A. D.), he took service with Yasín Khán Bangash, then a leader of renown among the Paţháns of Mau. In the month of October of every year, he started from Mau with four or five thousand men, horse and foot, and went across the Jamna. In those days the Rajahs of Bundelkhand were at incessant war with each other, and the trade of the soldier flourished. When any Rájah, who had a rebellious vassal to deal with, heard of Yasín Khán's arrival, an agent would be sent to engage him to punish the rebel. The ordinary terms were one-fourth of the plunder or of the money obtained. When the agreement had been reduced to writing, payment of one half beforehand was demanded as Ajausi or money in advance. This sum was divided among the troops, so much to each horseman and so much to each footman. A march was then made against, the place designated, and it was surrounded. If the inhabitants fought, force was met by force; if they asked for terms, a settlement was made.

* On Rashíd Khán and the Khánzádahs. Note A.

Any money collected was forwarded to the Rajah who had engaged the band, after deducting any balance that might be due. Whatever they had gained was divided, and the share of any man killed was set apart and sent to his widow at Mau. For eight months these plundering expeditions continued, and when the month of June came, they all returned to Mau. Owing to the rank of 'Ain Khán's family and his own relationship to them, Yásín Khán had great affection for Muhammad Khán. Yasín Khán was an Ustarzai Bangash, a native of Mau, and a relation of Muhammad Khán's mother. One day while besieging Orchha,* on the Datiya frontier, Yásín Khán was killed by a shot from a villager's gun. The Paţháns then chose as their leader Shádi Khán, Bangash, of Mau, Yásín Khán's maternal uncle. Scon after, Muhammad Khán having quarrelled with Shádi Khán, left him, and with his seventeen followers, sought employment on his own account. Gradually all the Mau Paţháns joined Muhammad Khán's standard They went from the service of one Rajah to another, and in this manner many years were passed in the Dakhin and Bundelkhand.

Bundelkhand politics during the second half of the seventeenth century seem to be unusually obscure, and as I have not been able to verify them from other sources, I only give for what they are worth the one or two stories, relating to this early part of Muhammad Khán's career, which appear to have some sort of historical character. One is that when the Rajah of Datiya died, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Pirthi Singh, who at once set to work to turn out his brother, Rám Chand. The latter called in Muhammad Khán on the promise of a large sum of money, and with his aid Pirthi Singh was defeated, the Rájah being killed by Muhammad Khán's own hand. The Paṭháns had hardly reached Mau with their plunder when an emergent call for succour was received from Madár Sháh of Sipri $\dagger$ and Jalaun. He reported that Muhammad Amín Khán, with more than farty thousand imperial troops, was coming to overwhelm him. Muhammad Khán, hastily collecting all the men he had ready, marched to the Rajah's aid ; but, before his arrival, the Rájah had already been forced to seek safety in flight. There were, however, several encounters between Muhammad Khán and Muhammad Amín Khán before a final peace was concluded.

The usual routine of these free-booting expeditions was for the leader to put himself at the head of from fire hundred to a thousand men of his own and other clans. Muhammad Khán had by his boldness and bravery gained such a reputation, that all the Rajjahs of the country trembled at his name. If he saw a village, town, or city weakly defended, he surrounded it, and sent to the headmen for his black mail (nazaráná). If one or two thousand rupees were forwarded, he went away-otherwise the place was

[^66]t About 55 miles west of Jhansi in Bundelkhand.
attacked and plundered. There was sometimes stiff fighting on these occasions, and stories are told of twelve and twenty men having been killed by Muhammad Khán's own hand in the assault on some rich fort. The reward was sometimes plunder to the value of four or five lakhs of rupees.

Once in those days, Muhammad Khán, at the head of three hundred horsemen, made an attack on a fort, at the instigation of some Rájah. He first tried an assault but failed, and then had recourse to besieging, with no better result. The men inside made a valiant defence. Now, it so happened, that on one side of the fort was a large and deep piece of water. The Rajah, thinking that no one could attack him on that side, had left it quite unguarded. One night, at midnight, Muhammad Khán, taking with him several active men well armed, went into the tank and swam across to the foot (fazil) of the fort wall. Climbing up by the aid of a tree they then jumped down into the fort. The Rájah was asleep close by ; roused by their arrival, he got up and fled, calling upon his followers for aid. To save his life, he tried to hide in a room, but Muhammád Khán followed him into it and slew him. Meanwhile so many of the zamindars had collected, that all Muhammad Khán's companions were killed, and the door of the room was shut upon him. Muhammad Khán, after commending himself to God, fixed his shield into the shelf, and raised a beam by applying his head. He thus got through to the open air, with his ears all bleeding. When he had pushed half his body through the roof, the Rájah's women, whose apartments were close by, renewed hostilities by hurling at him their rice-pestles and brass vessels. This attack put him still more out of breath, but brushing the women aside, he clambered off the roof down the wall by the aid of the same tree. Then, swimming across the lake, he regained his camp. Next morning the zamindars evacuated the fort, paid up their money and made Muhammad Khán an offering, touching his feet humbly and saying, "Khán jiuv, tum manai náhing, deotá ho, tumhari sanmukh ke " ham náhin hain." In his old age, the Nawáb Sáhib was fond of telling this story, saying, that though he had many a time been wounded, no pain had ever equalled that of pushing aside the rafters of that roof, and during an east wind the pain still troubled him.

Hitherto Muhammad Khán had been little more than' a petty freebooter, and having reached the age of forty-five, there seemed every likelihood that he would so remain during the rest of his career. Chance, however, called him to higher honours on a wider stage, to which we now propose to follow him.

## Muhammad Khán enters the Imperial service.

In February, 1712, (Muharram 1124, H.) Babádur Sháh, successor of 'Alamgír Aurangzeb, died after a reign of five years. A struggle for the
succession then commenced between his sons. The victory remained with Mu'izz-ud-dín, who ascended the throne in June, 1712, under the title of Jahándár Sháh.

One of his brothers, 'Azím-us-shán, disputed the throne with Jahándár Sháh, but receiving a defeat retreated and was drowned in the river Ráví. 'Azim-us-shán had, however, on his departure from his government of Bengal, left at Rájmahal a son named Mirza Jalál-ud-dín Farrukhsiyar. This son determined to avenge his father. First he succeeded in persuading Husain 'Ali Khán, Súbahdár of Bihár, to espouse his cause. They were afterwards joined by 'Abdullah Khán, the elder brother of Husain 'Ali Khán, who held the Súbah of Allahábád.

Husain 'Ali Khán and Farrukbsiyar had not yet reached Allahábád on their march from Patna 'Azímábád, when Sayyad 'Abd-ul Ghaffár Khán Gardezi, sent by Jahándár Sháh at the head of ten to twelve thousand men, attacked 'Abdullah Khán at Allahábád. 'Abdullah Khán withdrew to the fort and sent one of his younger brothers to meet the enemy in the field. On cries arising that 'Abd-ul Ghaffár Khán was dead, his troops turned and fled.

On hearing of this defeat, Jahándar Sháh sent off his son, 'Azz-ud-dín, with fifty thousand men under Khwája Ahsán Khán. 'Azz-ud-dín had marched from Agra and had reached Khajwah,* when hearing that Husain 'Ali Khán and Farrukbsiyar had joined 'Abdullah Khán, he halted and began to entrench himself. Farrukhsiyar advanced on him with 'Abdullah Khán in the vanguard, batteries were prepared, and an artillery fight went on from sunset till the third watch of the night. Losing heart, the prince 'Azz-ud-dín and his Commander-in-Chief fled a little before day-break; and finding they were deserted by their leaders, the army dispersed. The camp and its contents fell into the hands of Farrukhsiyar.

From Khajwah letters were sent in all directions, calling for aid from all noted chiefs and partizan leaders; among others a royal "Shukka" and a letter from the Sayyad brothers were sent to Muhammad Khán, who was then in Gohad territory with a force of eight or nine thousand men. Sáhib Ráe Káyath, who had been his secretary from 1105 H . (Aug. 1693-Aug. 1694) $\dagger$ was sent to find out which side was most likely to succeed. On receiving his report, Muhammad Khán marched and joined Farrukhsiyar at Khajwah with twelve thousand men. $\ddagger$

[^67]$\mathrm{m}^{\mathrm{m}} \cdot \mathrm{o}$ contending Emperors at length met on the field of Samogar, nine miles east of Agra, in the parganah of Fathábád,* where the decisive battle was fought on the 14th Zi'lhajj, 1124, H. (1st January, 1713). Though there is no mention of him in the standard histories such as the "Siyar-ul Mutákharin," $\dagger$ there can be no doubt that Muhammad Khán bore himself bravely in the van under the immediate eye of Sayyad 'Abdullah Khán. $\ddagger$ One of his lieutenants, Sher Muhammad Khán, lost his life. Jahándár Sháh quitted the field near sunset, and after a time his chief supporter, Zúlfiḳár Khán, also withdrew. Victory thus declared itself for Farrukhsiyar.

On the 15th Zi'lhajj, the day after the battle, Chín Kilich Khán, 'Abd-us Samad Khán, and Muhammad Amin Khán were presented by Sayjad 'Abdullah Khán, and made their submission. 'Abdullah Khán, with Luṭfullah Khán and other nobles, was sent on to prepare the way at Delhi. A week afterwards Farrukhsiyar set out for the capital. On the 14th Muharram 1125 H. (30th January 1713), the new Emperor halted at Bárahpul near the city. Honours and rewards were distributed. Among others, Muhammad Khán was presented by the Sayyad brothers. He was invested with a dress of bonour and received an elephant, a horse, a palki, a shield, a sword with jewelled hilt, a jewelled aigrette, a turban ornament (jigha), a fish ensign, kettle-drums and standards, besides assignments of revenue. At the same time he was raised to the rank of a Commander of four thousand. From that day he was styled Nawáb.

The following parganahs, all in Bundelkhand, were assigned to Muhammad Khén for the support of his troops.

1. Irichh.§
2. Kálpi. ๆf
3. Bhánder. ||
4. Kúnch.**

- Proc. B. A. S., for August, 1870, p. 252.
$\dagger$ The author of the "Siyar-ul Mutákharin" seems to have borne a grudge against Muhammad Khán, his name is omitted wherever possible, if he is named, it is only to depreciate him, nor is he ever accorded the simplest title, with which, as usual in native historians, men no more distinguished than he, are lavishly indulged. Grant Duff (p. 351) remarks on this author's prejudice against Afghéns. In one passage (Sul-M. Translation of 1789, Vol. III, p. 240,) he denounces them heartily as all bad.
$\ddagger$ See Muhammad Khán's biography in the Táríkh-i-Muzaffari under the year 1156 H.
§ Gaz. N. W. P. I, 423. A town in Parg. Moth, Jhansi District, 42 m. N. of Jhansi.
$\|$ Gax. N. W. P. I, 392. A parganah and town, formerly in the Datiya state but ceded to the Mahrattas in 1748. It is now in the district of Jhansi, and the town, on the Pahaj, is 24 m . from Jhansi.

T Gas. N. W. P. I, 474. A town and parganah in the Jalaun district. The town is on the right bank of the Jamna.

* Gaz. N. W. P. I, 505. A town and parganah in the Jalaun district. The town is 42 m . from Kálpi. Kunch was a mahál of Sirkár Irichh.

5. Seondah.*
6. Síprí $\ddagger$
7. Maudak. $\dagger$
8. Jálaun §

The following men were deputed to manage these maháls-Daler Khán, chela, was posted to Kúnch, Seonḍah, and Maudah; Ahmad Khán, Warakzai, to Irichh and Bhánder ; Pír Khán, paternal uncle of the Bibi Sáhiba, Nawáb Muhammad Khán's principal wife, to Kálpí ; Shuj’at Khán, Ghilzai, to Síprí and Jalaun.

## Mushammad Khán founds Káimganj, Muhamdábád, and Farrukhábád.

In the first year of Farrukhsiyar's reign, Muhammad Khán was despatched on two expeditions against the Rajah of Anupshahr and Rajah Medá. The first named was speedily reduced to submission; and the latter having been made a prisoner, was sent to the Emperor by the hands of Dáud Khán, chela.

Muhammad Khán then obtained leave to return to his home, where he began to found a town a little south-west of Mau, within the lands of Chaloli, Mau-Rashídábád, Kuberpur and Subhánpur, and to it he gave the name of Káimganj in honour of his eldest son Káim Khán. It is now a place of considerable trade, it had 10,323 inhabitants in 1872 , and is the head quarters of the tahsil. It is 21 miles north-west of Farrukhábád.

In the same year the fort and town of Mubamdábád, 14 miles southwest of Farrukhábád were founded, portions of five villages: (1), Kilmápúr; (2), Kabírpúr ; (3), Rohila ; (4), Muhammadpur, and (5) Taḳipur having been taken for the purpose. Tradition gives the following reason for selecting this site. $\|$ Before the first Muhammadan invasion a group of twenty-seven villages had been given by the Rajah of Khor (now known as Shamshábád) to Kharowah Káyaths in his service. Before Muhammad Khán had risen to fame, and was still little more than a common trooper, he tried to persuade Har Parshád, kanúngo, to record him as the jágírdar of a village on the Kálí in Tappa 'Azimnagar (now in the Eta District). The kanungo refused to do so without superior order. When Muhammad Khán rose to power, he recollected this ; and selecting the high mound in the Kayath's land known as "Kal ka khera", built on it the fort

[^68]of Muhamdábád. In one of the bastions, still known as the "Ráe Sáhib ká burj", Har Parshád, kantingo, was built up alive. The old abandoned fort and the large lake just beneath it were owned and held, up to 1857 , by the Nawáb Ra'is for the time being. Muhamdábád is a smaller place than Káimganj, but is still of some importance as the head-quarters of a Police division, and as the first halting-stage on the road from Farrukhábad to Mainpuri.

Parmnagar, the chief town of parganah Parmnagar, on the left bank of the Ganges, in the Farrukhábád District, is sometimes called Muhammadganj, after Nawab Muhammad Khán, but the date of foundation is not known.

## The City of Farrukhábad.

Nawáb Muhammad Khán's next undertaking was on a very different scale. He now set to work to found 2 city which, even in its present decaying state, counts as one of the principal places of Northern India Residence at Mau must have been disagreeable to the new Nawáb. The Paţháns would not allow him to ride on an elephant through the streets, for fear of their women's privacy being infringed. Afrídis, Toyahs, and Khánzádahs were numerous, but the Bangash were very few. If the Nawáb ever did pass by, the Afrídi boys threw clay pellets at him. To avoid this Muhammad Khán used to come out of the town, and mount his elephant near the tomb of Rahmat Khán, the martyr.* Often did he oomplain to the Bibi Sáhiba of the way these Paṭháns tried his patience.

An occasion for the acquisition of land for a site with the Emperor's consent soon presented itself. Kásim Khán, Bangash, father of the Bibi Sáhiba, first wife of Nawáb Muhammad Khán, was a soldier of fortune who had risen to the command of some three hundred men, in the service of some Rajah of the South. In 1126 H. (6th Jan. 1714 to 27th Dec. 1714) Kásim Khán was on his way home to Mau with all his wealth. Near where the native infantry lines and the European barracks now stand, a place then covered with jungle, he was set on by a Thákur Rajah of the Bamţelat tribe, whose villages were in the direction of Muhamdábád. Hundreds of men followed this Kájah in his plundering forays up to the bank of the Ganges and as far west as Mau. Ḳásim Khán and his party defended themselves bravely, but were at length overpowered and slain. He was buried where he fell. One ruined arch of his tomb still stands, in the middle of an enclosure surrounded with palm trees. A mango grove was planted to the west of the tomb, and the name of the village changed from Jamálpur to Kásim Bágh, under which name it was known in the revenue records till it was absorbed within the boundaries of the Fatehgary cantonment. $\ddagger$

[^69]The survivors of Kásim Khán's party arrived the next morning at Mau. To console his wife, Muhammad Khán set out for Delhi. There he was graciously received by the Emperor Farrulshsiyar who, by way of price for her father's blood, made over to the Bibi Sáhiba the whole fifty-two of the Bamţela villages. Muhammad Khán received a dress of honour, and they say he was made Názim of Gwáliyar: the truth of this latter statement is, however, extremely doubtful. The Emperor expressed a wish that a city called after his name* should be founded on the spot where Kásim Khán was killed, and that the fifty-two Bamţela villages should be included within its walls.

No better site could have been selected than that chosen for his city by Muhammad Khán. The strip of land along the right bank of the Ganges from Kampil to Kanauj is one of the most thickly-peopled and the most fertile in Northern India. There is abundance of water, for from the firmness of the subsoil, wells can be dug at pleasure ; and the native saying is true without exaggeration, that in Farrukhábadd there is a well in every house. They say that before the city was founded the Nawab once came by chance to the high mound, the site of a Dhi or abandoned village, where the city fort now stands. The Ganges then flowed much nearer than it does now, and a delightful view extended on all sides to a distance of several miles. The Nawab took a liking to the place, and said that a dwellinghouse there would be very pleasant. In the tarai or low land the Paṭhans shot many alligators and crocodiles (magar and goh). There were quantities of wild geese and other game; they even say that the high grass and reeds concealed tigers, which sometimes devoured men. $\dagger$

In truth, there is to this day no pleasanter view in the whole of the plains of Upper India than that obtained at all seasons from the fort of Farrukhábad. Passing the tiled bungalow used for the Munsiff's Courthouse and the square unshapely mass of the tahsil building, we wend our way up to the pretty garden at the summit. There we pause a moment to take our breath, and admire the grandiose outline of Mr. C. R. Lindsay's Town Hall. As we turn with our face to the north, our gaze first falls on the rains of the once magnificent pleasure-house of the Nawáb in the Paen Bágh ; further on, the eye rests delighted on the slender minarets of the Karbala ; beyond stretches all that remains of the Nawáb's hunting-ground or Ramna, still dotted here and there with trees ; and closing in the horizon

[^70]is the faint silver streak of the Ganges. Turning half round to the right we see the city, looking like a vast wood of deep-shaded Ním trees, from which there peeps here and there a corner of the double-storied mansion of some Sáhib-záda or wealthy banker. Turning back again and looking westwards, we find before us the domed tombs of the former rulers, of Ahmad Khán in the Bihisht Bágh within the walls, of Muhammad Khán and Kaim Khán further on beyond the Mau gate.

In 1126 H. (Jan. 6th 1714—Dec 27th 1714,) the foundations were laid under the auspices of Neknám Khán, chela. The date is denoted by the words "Allah Ghani" which were commonly used in the family at the head of documents. All the buildings at Farrukhábád or Muhamdábád were built after the plans and under the care of Adam, mason, whose name used to be seen on the inscription of one of the fort gateways now destroyed. We learn from a scolding letter to Yákúb Khán, about the dilatoriness and dishonesty of one Muhammad Dánish, that the rates of wages were then, labourers two falús or pyce a day, skilled bricklayers, five faluis a day, and those imperfectly skilled four falus. The wages were to be paid direct to the men every night.

The Bamtelas did not resign their ancient possessions without a strug. gle. The work of building the city wall went on by day, but the Bamtelas, who lived all round, came in force every night and knocked the wall down again. They also destroyed some of the buildings in the fort. To get rid of the annoyance caused by these turbulent Thákurs, Muhammad Khán called in the imperial troops who were stationed at intervals round the city. The Bamtelas were ejected from the nearer villages, and any villagers aiding them were severely punished. The imperial forces remained till the city was well established, when their places were taken by the Nawáb's own men.

Aid was also obtained from friendly Rájáhs. They relate that Rájáh Tilak Singh Gaur of Siroli, Parganah Shamshábád East, ten or eleven miles south-west of Farrukhábád, unable from old age to come himself, sent his son Akbar Sáh (afterwards a chela under the name of Purdil Khán), aged fifteen or sixteen, at the head of seven hundred Rájputs of his own clan. They were posted just outside the Mau Darwáza where the Bamţelas usually passed. They had been there a week or ten days when the Bamtelas as usual came to damage the wall. This time they went round to the Kutb gate, on the north face of the city, and effected an entrance. Akbar Sáh Gaur drew out his men, and there was a good deal of fighting. On the one side three hundred and on the other five hundred men were killed. Lál Sáh, the head of all the Bamţelas, was wounded and made prisoner.

In spite of these interruptions Neknám Khán, chela, had laid out the fort, to which he made three gates opening to the north. He also dug a
ditch as deep as the height of a man, and set up twenty earthen bastions. These, in 1839, could still be traced, though even then they had fallen out of repair. Not a vestige now remains. The same chela also built a palace, a mosque, and a hall of audience. The palace was called the Bark Mahal. In 1839 only the Barahdari was left, the rest of the site was occupied by the private garden of Mukhtár Mahal, widow of the deceased Nawáb Shaukat Jang. The mosque was known as the "Bari Masjid," and the audience hall was called the "Bara Diwán-Khána." This latter was demolished by Nawáb Muzaffar Jang (1771-1796) ; and Nawáb Násir Jang (1766-1813) built a dwelling-house (koţhi) on the spot. There were several shops of petty traders within the fort, but at first there were no other buildings except the above. After the mutiny, the Nawáb's palace was entirely dismantled; and beyond a small mosque, which may be the one referred to, there is not 2 trace left of any building in existence at the time of the mutiny.

There were twelve gates to the city : 1, Kuṭb gate ; 2, Páen gate (also called the Husaini gate) ; 3, Gangá gate ; 4, Ameţhi gate ; 5, Kádirí gate ; 6, Lál gate ; 7, Madár gate ; 8, Dhaláwal gate ; 9, Khaṇdiya gate ; 10, Jasmai gate ; 11, Taráen gate ; 12, Mau gate. The first, eighth, and eleventh are now closed ; Ameţhi, Dhaláwal and Jasmai are the names of adjoining villages; the other names explain themselves.

To seven of the gates, sarais were attached, so that from whatever direction a traveller arrived, he might find a convenient resting-place. The Mau sárai near the gate of that name, was erected by the Bibi Sáhiba, the Nawáb's wife. A sarai at the Jasmai gate was half built, then knocked down ; the land was owned (1839) by the sons of Nawáb Azim Khán; at the Madár gate was a brick-built sarái, where now stands the Madár bári built by Nawáb Muzaffar Jang, which, in 1839, was occupied by the son of Muhammad 'Ali Khán, alias Bulákí, son of Dildaler Khán and nephew of Muzaffar Jang. There was also a brick sarai at the Ameţhi gate opposite the Angúri bágh; this the Nawáb's descendants have demolished, and they have sold the materials, the site is used for the sale of wood and thatchinggrass. A substantial sarái was also built near the Lál gate, which we English have taken to pieces and rebuilt.after our own fashion.*

At each gate were stationed five hundred armed men and two gans, one on each side. The Nawáb's sons and slaves (Khánazáds), who had troops in their pay, were allotted places of abode round the outer part of the city. It was intended that money-changers, merchants, and the work-ing-classes generally, should occupy the centre. The whole was surrounded by an earthen wall. For each of his twenty-two sons, Muhammad Khán built a brick fort and women's apartments. At each house he planted a private garden (Khána bágh) surrounded with a high wall. Round the city

[^71]wall was a ditch, with sloped and levelled sides, fifteen yards wide and thirty feet deep. So long as Muhammad Khán lived, this ditch was cleaned every day, and the gates were kept in good order.

Round the fort were the houses of the chelas who were on duty day and night. Many groves were planted, especially noteworthy were the Naulakha and Bihár Bághs beneath the fort, which did not contain any mango trees, but consisted entirely of guava, ber, custard-apple and orange trees. The Nawśb's sons and chelas had orders to plant groves outside the city wherever they pleased. The soil is very favourable to the mango and it comes to great perfection; the water-melons are also very large and sweet and plentiful.

Two entire villages, Bhíkampura and Deoṭhán, were included within the walls, besides portions of other villages. It was intended that each trade should occupy a separate bazar, hence we have the quarters named after trades such as Kasarhaṭta (braziers), Pasarhatţa (druggists), Ṣaráfá (mones-changers), Lohai (iron-mongers), Núnhai (salt-dealers), Khanḍhai (sugar-merchants), and so forth. Other quarters were set aside for particular castes, such as Khatrána (for the Khatris), Mochiána (for shoe-makers), Koliána (for Hindu weavers), Sadhwára (for Sádhs), Bamanpuri (for Brahmans), Juláhpura (for Mussulman weavers), Rastogi muhalla, Agarwál muhalla, Kághazi muhalla (for paper-makers), Mahájanpura, Bangashpura, Khatakpura, Sayyadpura, and so on. This arrangement has been upset in more recent times, and the castes have become more or less mixed. Still it is observed to some extent, for I doubt if a single Sádh lives outside the Sadhwára, and its offshoot the Sáhibganj nuhalla.

Events from 1719 to 1726.
During the reign of Farrukhsiyar, Nawáb. Muhammad Khán would appear to have attended Court seldom, being occupied with the founding of Farrukháhád. Meanwhile Delhi had been the scene of much intrigue. On the 9th Rabi II, 1131 H. (18th Feb. 1719) the Sayyad brothers* 'Abdullah Khán and Husain 'Ali Khán, had deposed and imprisoned the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, After the short reigns of two boys successively raised to the throne, Abul Fath Násir-uddin, entitled Muhammad Sháh, succeeded on the 15th Zi'l Ka'd, 1131 H. $\dagger$ (18th Sept. 1719), his reign counting, however, from the deposition of Farrukhsiyar. After intrigues against the power of the Sayyads, with which we need not concern ourselves here, it was agreed that Husain 'Ali Khán, accompanied by the Emperor, should march to reduce the revolted provinces of the Dakhin. The march of the Sayyad began at the end of Shawwal $\ddagger$ (end of August 1720). On the 9th Zi'l Ka'd, 1182 H. (3rd Sept. 1720), the Emperor made a first march from

[^72]Agra of three kos, accompanied by 'Abdullah Khán. He wished to halt till the 15 th, the anniversary of his accession. Hussin Ali Khán, however, urged an advance, and on the 14th (8th Sept. 1720) the army marched to a little beyond Fatḥpur Sikri. After four or five days they moved on southwards 'Abdullah Khán remained behind, and on the 19th Zi'l Ka'd (13th Sept. 1720), he started for Delhi.

Then follows in the "Siyar-ul Matákharin" a statement, damaging to Nawáb Muhammad Khán's reputation, which I quote. "On the road to "Delhi" Muhammad Khán, Bangash, came to visit 'Abdullah Khán and "expressed his desire to march and join Husain 'Ali Khán in his campaign " of the Dakhin, were he not prevented by want of means. He received "fifty thousand rupees, in addition to the several lakhs of rupees which " Husain 'Ali Khán had paid him to induce him to start. Then, with a lie "which looked like truth, he said he was going to the Emperor's camp. "He took his leave, and 'Abdullah Khán resumed his march to Delhi."

On the 6th Zi'l Hajj, 1182 H. (30th Sept. 1720, when about thirtyfive kos beyond Fathpur Sikrí, Husain 'Ali Khán was assassinated with the Emperor's knowledge and consent. A return to Agra then commenced. As soon as he received word of his brother's death, 'Abdullah Khán raised to the throne Sulṭán Ibráhim, son of Raf'-ul Kadr, son of Bahádur Sháh. $\dagger$ This was on the 11th Zi'l Hajj, 1132 (5th Oct., 1720). A few days were spent in collecting such an army as could be got together in the time. On the 17th Zi'l Hajj, 1132 H. (11th Oct., 1720) 'Abdullah Khán started from Delhi.

On the 9th Muharram 1133 H . (30th Oct., 1720) Muhammad Sháh's camp left Sháhpur. It was here that Muhammad Khán, after a good deal of wavering and consultation with his friends, such as Shuj'at Khán Ghilzai and others, threw in his lot with the Emperor and joined him with three thousand men. $\ddagger$ It is said that 'Abdullah Khán had written to hìm reminding him of the many farours he had received, and requesting aid at this crisis If they gained the day, he would make Muhammad Khán first in the whole kingdom. But a farmán from Muhammad Sháh, another from his mother, Kudsia Begam, and letters from the nobles, arrived about the same time. Self-interest and perhaps some faint respect for the reigning house, appear to have carried the day.

When Kutb-ul Mulk 'Abdullah Khán reached Hasanpur§ three kos from the Emperor's camp, he halted. On the 12th Muharram, 1133 H . (2nd

- S-nl-M. 433.
+ 8-al-M. 437 and 438.
$\ddagger$ S-ul-M. 439.
§ Hasanpur lies, I believe, close to the town of 01, in Parganah Farah of the $\mathbf{\Delta g r a}$ District, some twenty-four miles north-weet of $\mathbf{A g r a .}$

Nov, 1720) he placed his army in battle array. The battle began early on the 4th November and lasted all that day and night. On the 5th, after 'Abdullah Khán had descended from his elephant to fight on foot, he was wounded by an arrow in the forehead. Haidar Kuli Khán recognizing him, took him and his brother Najm-ud-din 'Ali Khán prisoners, put them on an elephant, and conveyed them to the Emperor. The drums then beat to victory. Muhammad Khán in this hotly contested battle appears to have fought in the main body. In Sáhib Rae's collection, there is a long letter from Muhammad Khán to Rájáh Jai Singh Sawáe describing the battle, but there are no personal details. The Nawáb for his services was promised six lakhs of rupees on receipt of treasure from Bengal, but the money was never paid.

If the local myth were to be believed, Muhammad Khán played a much more dramatic part than history accords him. The story goes that Muhammad Khán with his whole force moved down on 'Abdullah Khán. On the Nawáb's elephant, seated behind him, were Mukím Khán and Dáúd Khán, chelas. The elephant was driven close to that of Sayyad 'Abdullah Khán and Muhammad Khán gave him "Salám 'alaikum." The Sayyad with a "Wa'alaikum" stretched out his hand from the howdah to be kissed. Mubammad Khán then threw his silken girdle round it, and dragged the Sayyad out of his howdah. From the jerk 'Abdullah Khán's turban fell off, and Muhammad Khán threw him down a Kashmir shawl to wind round his head. The Sayyad refused to take it and, looking towards Muhammad Khán, spat at him. Mukím Khán and Dáúd Khán sprang down and seized Sayyad 'Abdullah Khán, the former taking his shield and the latter his sword. An attempt at rescue was foiled and about midday the Nawab reached camp with his prisoner ; on a demand from the Emperor the Sayyad was made over to him. The shield remained with Allahdád Khán, son of Nawáb Mukím Khán, up to the time of Nawáb Shaukat Jang (1813-1823) ; and Nawáb Amín-ud-daula used often to send for it, and highly extol the valour by which it had been won.

On the 16th Muharram, 1133 H. (6th Nov., 1720)* the Emperor Muhammad Sháh marched for Delhi; and advancing quickly he reached it on the 19th (9th Nov., 1720) and encamped for two days near the pillar of Khwaja Nizám-ud-din. Those who had distinguished themselves were presented. On this occasion Muhammad Khán, who had been made a Commander of six thousand on Muhammad Sháh's accession, was increased to the rank of Haft Hazári 7000 horse. 'He received a khilat with seven lakhs of rupees in cash, he was granted the title of Ghazanfar Jang "The Lion of War", and the parganahs of Bhojpur and Shamshábad, both

[^73]in the modern district of Farrukhábád, were added to his former jágírs. He was soon after appointed Subahdár of Allahábád (between 22nd Oct., 1720 and 11th Oct., 1721)." At this time, his 'A'mils or subordinate governors were for Allahábád, Bhúre Khán, chela ; for Irichh, Bhánder and Kálpí, Daler Khán, chela ; for Sípri and Jalaun, Kamál Khán; for Bhojpur, Neknám Khán, chelas ; for Shamshábád, Dáad Khán, chela; for Buláon, Sahaswán (now both in the Budáon district) and Mibrábád (now in the Sháhjahánpur district), Shamsher Khán, chela.

In 1135 H. (1st Oct., 1722-20th Sept. 1723) Samsám-ud-daula procured a grant of the Subah of Agra in favour of Rájáh Jai Singh Sawáe. $\dagger$ Jai Singh soon after marched against Churáman Ját, to punish him for having sided with the late Warí, 'Abdullah Khán. Muhkam Singh, son of Churéman, insulted $\ddagger$ his father in open darbár, and rather than bear the disgrace the father committed suicide. Badan Singh, nephew of Churáman, sided with Rájáh Jai Singh. The fort of Thún was occupied on the 9th Safar, 1135 H. (8th Nov., 1722), and Badan Singh, who was father of Suraj Mall, then succeeded to the territory. In this campaign Muhammad Khán bore a part.

In the fifth year (Jan. 1723 to Dec. 1723), Muhammad Khán went with the army under the command of Sharf-ud-daula Irádatmand Khán and Rájáh Jai Singh, sent to chastise Ajít Singh Rațhor, Rájáh of Márwér. Before the army could reach his territory, Ajít Singh was assassinated by his son Bakht Singh.§ Through the mediation of Nawáb Muhammad Khán, Dhonkal Singh made his submission to the Emperor.||

Muhammad Khán had barely reached Mairtha with Abhai Singh aliaz Dhonkal, when he was recalled to undertake the recovery of Bundelkhand from Chattarsál. Six months were employed on this duty, when on receipt of intelligence that Mubáriz Khán, faujdár of Burhánpur, had been killed, he was ordered to return from Bundelkhand to the Duáb, and thence to proceed by way of Akbarábád to Gwályár to meet an irruption of the Mahrattas. Báji Ráo had appeared north of the Narbada, had attacked

[^74]Girdhar Bahádur, the Imperial Governor of Málwa, and for two seasons (1725-1726), had obtained plunder and contributions.* Muhammad Khán was appointed to the command of five thousand men, with two lakhs of rupees a month for their pay. He waited at Akbarábád to receive the money and was then told to go on to Gwáliár, where be entertained nearly ten thousand horsemen, and lay there idle for seven months.

On his way back from the above expedition, Muhammad Khán was asked by Khán Daurán Khán, who then held in jágir parganahs Bhongám $\dagger$ and Tálgrám, $\ddagger$ to send two thousand men to aid Mahtya Sadánand in reducing to submission Jaswant Singh, zamindár of Mainpuri. The traditional story is, that the Chauhán Rájáh, Dalíp Singh, neglected to pay his respects to the Nawáb, and Bhúre Khán with five hondred horse was sent to bring him. When the Rájáh came before the Nawáb, he delayed in making his salám, and Bhúre Khán bent his neck down with his hand. The Rájáh freeing himself drew his sword. Then the Nawáb sent an arrow at him and hit him in the head so that he died on the spot. His son, Jaswant Singh, was appointed his successor and the Nawáb resumed his road to Farrukhábád.§

## Bundelkhand Affairs.

We have already seen, $\|$ that the jágírs given to Muhammad Khán in the reign of Farrukhsiyar and the early part of that of Muhammad Sháh, lay mostly in Bundelkhand. Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719) granted him the parganahs of Sehand 9 and Maudah** in jágír : to the charge of these Daler Khán, chela was appointed. In the first year of Muhammad Sháh's reign (Feb. 1719-Feb. 1720) a tankhwah was granted on Kálpi, $\dagger+$ Irichh, $\dagger \ddagger$ and other places in Bundelkhand.

In the same year, 1719-1720, it was reported that the Bundelas had plundered Kálpi, had killed Pír 'Ali Khán, Muhammad Khán's 'Amil, and his son. They seized the women and children of the respectable Muhammadans, and knocked down their houses, mosques and tombs. Nawáb Bur-bán-ul Mulk then asked that the Mughuls might be sent against the

- Grant Duff, 218, Bombay reprint, 1873.
+ In the Mainpuri District.
$\ddagger$ In the Farrukhábád District.
§ Gaz. IV. 650, 552. Jaswant Singh's accossion took place in 1783 S. $=1726$ A. D.
|| P. 274.
- Trwelve miles south of Bánda.
* In the Hamirpur District.
t+ On the Jamna, in the Jalaun District.
$\ddagger \ddagger$ In the Jhansi District.
invaders, but the Emperor confided their chastisement to Muhammad Khán. Daler Khán, ehela, was ordered off with a proper force, and marching rapidly he ejected the Thánas of the enemy from the parganahs of Kálpi and Jalálpur.* The inhabitants then began to return to the plundered towns.

At this period Nawáb Amín-ud-din 'Itimád-ud-daula passed away. $\dagger$ Some of his enemies considered that Muhammad Khán had been favoured by the late Wazir, and they caused letters to be written to the Rajjáhs of Chanderi and Orchha and to other zamindárs, instigating them to resistance. The Hindus assembled to the number of thirty thousand horse, besides countless infantry.

Káim Khán, the Nawáb's son, then faujdár of Sarkár Ghorá, had meanwhile been besieging for a year the town of Tarahwán, $\ddagger$ the residence of Pahár Singh. This place had four forts, very strong, surrounded with jungle, steep ravines, and difficult passages through the hills. Káim Khán had with him ten thousand horse, and by the greatest exertions he succeeded in capturing the fortress. He then made ready to march to the aid of Daler Khán.

Muhammad Khán now represented to the Emperor, that if the punishment of the rebels were not heartily desired, the army had better be recalled. The Emperor encouraged Muhammad Khán to persevere. But he, discouraged by the number of letters sent by his enemies to the Hindu Rájahs, wrote repeatedly to Daler Khán enjoining him to restore the forts and villages of the enemy. Times had changed and the campaign must be relinquished. Despite these orders, Daler Khán, in the pride of his courage and resolution, thought not of the superiority of the enemy and refused to withdraw from offensive operations.

On the 29th Rajab of the 3rd year of the reign ( 1133 H. , 13th May, 1721) Chattarsál advanced with nearly thirty thousand horse and a numerous artillery. Daler Khán with the force he had, some four thousand horse and foot, prepared for the attack. He rode at the enemy at the head of five hundred men, and threw them into confusion. By the fickleness of fortune he now received, besides sword and spear wounds, two bullet shots, one in the forehead and one in the breast. He expired on the spot, and his five hundred companions, after prodigies of valour, were all slain.§ When the emperor, Muhammad Sháh, heard of Daler Khán's death, he made a present to Muhammad Khán, by way of consolation, of a jewelled aigrette and a khilat.||

[^75]Daler Khán, chela, was by birth a Bundela Thákur.* He is famed for his bravery, but he seems to have been very lavish and extravagant in his management. He spent one year's income in equipping a body of seventeen hundred horse, magnificently clad and armed. When the Nawáb sent urgent orders for remittance of revenue, Daler Khán marched with his regiment and halted where is now the Páen Bágh below the fort. Attending darbar, he made each of his men present a gold coin as "nazr." Daler Khán then took up the Nawáb's shoes and stood behind bis seat, saying, "I am only fit to carry your shoes, you may give the Súbah to whom "you like, one who will bring you heaps of money; these seventeen hun"dred men are all the revenue you will get from me." This made the Nawáb smile, he embraced Daler Khán and sent him back to his district.

Daler Khán took part in nearly all the campaigns in which Muhammad Khán was engaged. The Paṭháns and the Bundelas on account of his bravery, styled him "Sármán" (brave, bold), the mark of which is that a man's arms are so long that his hands touch his knees when standing upright. Daler Khán had this peculiarity.

The traditionary account of his death is as follows: One day Daler Khán had gone out to shoot followed by only three hundred horse, the rest being left in camp. A scout brought word to Rajah Chattarsal, who came out with a large force. Both sides began to fire. Nawáb Daler Khán's companions advised a retreat. He refused, with the remark, "One must die sooner or later." Then reciting the final prayer (Fátiha) and taking up his horse's rein to urge him on, he rode straight into the Rajah's army and, cutting his way through, came clear out on the other side. Numbers of the Bundelas were killed. He then made for the Rajah's howdah, and at this moment he received a ball in his chest, so that he fell dead. All the three hundred horsemen shared his fate. When his troops heard of his death they came out to attack Chattarsál, who then retreated. Daler Khán was buried in the village of Maudah, $\dagger$ and all the people of Bundelkhand mourned his loss. On every Thursday sweetmeats are offered at his tomb. Every son of a Bundela, on reaching the age of twelve years, is taken by his father and mother to Maudah, where they place bis sword and shield on Daler Khán's tomb. They make an offering, and the boy then girds on the sword and takes up the shield, while the parents pray that he may be brave as Daler Khán. Kettle-drums are regularly beaten at the tomb. $\ddagger$

[^76]$\ddagger$ Note C. on Bundelkhand tradilions of Daler (or Dalel) Khin.

About the time of Daler Khán's death, that is in 1133 H. (Oct. 1720 Oct. 1721), Muhammad Khán was appointed governor of Allahábád. The authors of the "Lauh" say the Sanad for Allahábád used to be with Amin. ud-daula, grandson of Muhammad Khán, and náib from 1786 to 1803, and that Islám Khán Bakhshi had a copy. I know not what has become of these now. The revenue is said to have been eighty-two lakhs of rupees.

In the latter part of 1723, when Muhammad Khán reacbed Mairtha* on his way to Court with Abhai Singh, son of Ajít Singh of Márwár, $\dagger$ a farmán and an order sealed by the Amír-ul-Umrá (Khán Daurán Khán) were received. These stated that Chattarsal had occupied a large portion of imperial territory, that Burhán-ul-Mulk had been sent in haste against him, and that Muhammad Khán should also hurry to the spot.

In obedience to this order, Muhammad Khán proceeded in the 7th year (Dec. 1724-Dec. 1725), to the Subah of Allahábád, which had been already granted to him with all its sarkárs. For years, owing to the resistance of the zamindars, his deputies had been unable to regain effective possession in Bundelkhand. After a two months' stay in Allahábád, an army of fifteen thousand horsemen was collected. With these he proceeded to the banks of the Jamna at Bhognipur. $\ddagger$ Burhan-ul Mulk had already returned, and had gone back to his Súbah of Audh.

Repeated orders came to make an advance, and several leaders were accordingly sent across the Jamna. Muhammad Khán then crossed the river himself. In the course of six months' fighting, he penetrated as far as parganah Sahendah, south of Bândâ. Farmáns and orders from Khán Daurán Khán were now received through Ayá Mall, stating that as Mubáriz Khán had been killed, the campaign against the Hindus had been postponed.§ Although the enemy had nearly succumbed, the Nawáb was reluctantly compelled to forego his advantage. The enemy swore by most solemn oaths not to re-enter Muhammad Khán's jágírs, and they retreated three marches from the Muhammadan army. After placing his Thánas in the country, Muhammad Khán came away. He then, as already related, was sent on duty to Gwáliyár to repel an expected attack from the Mahrattas. Taking advantage of his absence, the Bundelas, in the most faithless manner, broke their oath and set aside their treaty, and prevented the collection of any revenue.

At this period, Harde Naráyan and the other sons of Chattarsal had overrun the whole of Baghelkhand to the frontiers of Subah 'Azímábád,

[^77]and approaching Allahábád had raised disturbances in that quarter. In the 9th year ( $1189-1140 \mathrm{H}$.) Muhammad Khán received a farmán directing him to proceed to his Súbah to restore order, Bundelkhand being a subordinate division of the Allahábád province. An allowance of two lakhs of rupees a month was made, afterwards commuted to a grant of the Chakla of Korá.

As soon as he reached Allahábád, Muhammad Khán began to raise an army. Seventeen rupees was the pay of a trooper and twenty rupees that of a Jamádar. On the 12th Jamáda II, 1139 H. (24th January 1727,) Akbar Khán, the Nawáb's third son, was appointed to lead the van and crossed the Jamna. Muhammad Khán's advance-tents were sent across the river, and he soon followed with fifteen to sirteen thousand horse and the same number of infantry.*

At this time the Bundelas, with a force estimated at 20,000 horse and more than 100,000 foot, held the whole of Baghelkhand up to Patna, the country of Sankrát, and Mándo (or Mádhon) $\dagger$ as far as Haldi: $\ddagger$ the only place left was the fort of Bewand, [Bond, Pewand ?] which Hardi Sáh and Jagat Ráe had invested with a force of 30,000 horse and 50,000 foot. To meet this powerful confederacy, Muhammad Khán urged the Waxir to aid him with contingents from Udait Singh, Rajah of Orchha, Ráo Rámchand of Datiya, Pirthi, zamindar of Sahendah, Durjan Singh, zamindar of Chanderi, Rajah Jai Singh of Maudah, Khánḍe Rám Narwari and Rajah Gopál Singh Bhadaurya. He also wished for the aid of certain faujdárs, Sayyad Najm-ud-din 'Ali Khán, Sábit Khán, Ján Nisár Khán, Buzurg 'Ali Khán, and the Naib Faujdár of Jaunpur. None of these men, except Jai Singh of Maudah, appear to have obeyed the orders issued to them from Delhi.

The first operations were directed to clearing the eastern part of Bundelkhand. The forts of Lúk§, Chaukhandi, \| Garh-Kakareli $\mathbb{1}$ and Mau** in the Sankrát-Barsinghpurt† country were reduced. They also obtaincd Ramnagar $\ddagger \ddagger$ the forts of Katauli,§§ Sahrah, and Kalyánpur, |||| with a

[^78]hundred kos of the country belonging to Mándho* and Bándah. For a time the enemy hung about the hills near Tarahwan, after which they entered the fort, Chattarsál himself taking refuge in flight. Leaving Káim Khán to invest Tarahwán, Muhammad Khán himself went to within four kos of Sahendah, but the enemy again gave way and fled. The parganahs of Bhinḍ, $\dagger$ Maudah, $\dagger$ Pailáni, § Agwási|| and Simauni, ${ }^{\text {® }}$ with the ferries, had now been cleared. The campaign up to the first capture of Tarahwán seems to have occupied ten months or a year.

Káim Khán, the Nawáb's eldest son, and another brother, Hádi Dád Khán, were left behind with 12,000 horse and 12,000 foot to besiege Tarahwán. Babu Chattar Singh, son of Rájah Jai Singh of Maudah, was also put under his orders, together with Khán Jahán, Halím Khán, Muhammad Zu'likár, Ráe Har Parshád, and two zamindars, Sadú and Har Bans. Sangrám Singh, brother of Anandi Das, had also promised to join with some men he had collected. Káim Khán's instructions were to take the place as quickly as possible, and then rejoin his father with the captured cannon, lead, and powder of Tarahwán, Kalyánpur and Kakrauri. The zamindars were to be conciliated, Tarahwán bringing in fourteen lakhs of rupees.

The fort of Tarahwán, the head-quarters of Pahár Singh, had three mad forts with four masonry citadels, surrounded by an extensive jungle. For many years no Muhammadan governor had attacked it, and for some months it resisted all efforts to reduce it. The garrison was commanded by Sabhá Singh, son of Harde Naráyan and grandson of Chattarsal, aided by Har Bans, zamindar of Bargarh** with a number of Mahrattas, "Barki," (?) and others. On the 9th Jamadi I, 1140 (12th Dec., 1727), after severe fighting, Káim Khán succeeded in entering the outer fort, having beaten in the gates by driving his elephant against them. The Hindus, after a short struggle, were expelled from the second fortress and compelled to take refuge in the third fort. About two thousand of the besieged lost their lives. From the walls of the fourth fort, the defenders threw down burning substances, and the contest was prolonged for some fifteen hours: at three hours before sunrise the survivors sallied forth intending to escape, when three hundred of them were killed, and as many more were drowned in the

[^79]iver. The fort was then completely occupied. The siege had occupied five or six months. After this victory Káim Khán marched against the fort of Kalyán Singh, eight kos from Tarahwán,* and against Muhkamgarh in the same neighbourhood. $\dagger$

While Káim Khán was occupied with Tarahwán and the country to the east, Muhammad Khán advanced from Sihondah. Skirmishing went on continuously for one month and twenty-one days. The enemy bad strengthened their position by throwing up strong entrenchments, overlooking the bed of the torrent, in addition to the village fort. Tradition hands down Ichauli as the site of the great battle which now took place. This might refer to the Ichauli on the Syáni river, eleven miles west of Bánda, although this village does not seem far enough to the south and west to fit in with the rest of the details; nor is there in the district anything known of a fight there against the Muhammadans. In the Hadikat-wlAkalím the name is spelt Ajúni or Ajúli, and it is said to be in parganah Mahoba. The date of the battle was the 2nd Shuwwál, 1139, (12th May, 1727).

At about two hours after sunrise, the first entrenchment, defended by Harde Naráyan and Hindu Singh Chandela with twenty thousand horse and forty thousand foot, was carried by the Muhammadans, who had advanced slowly and in good order. Here Bhúre Khán, Dilâwar Khán, Imám Khán, Ghulám Muhammad Khán, 'Abd-ur-rasúl Khán, and Mu. hammad Zamán Khán, chiefs and leaders, lost their lives, while Akbar Khán, the Nawáb's son, received a graze from a spent ball, and Sayyad Ja'far Husain Khán, Allahyár Khán and Mangal Khán were wounded. The Bundelas now retreated to a second fort occupied by Jagat Ráe, another son of the Rájah, with fifteen thousand horse. Fighting was resumed, and here Ahmad Khán, Irádat Khán, Sirdár Khán and Husain Khán were slain, and Rahmat Khán with other horsemen was severely wounded. At length Harde Naráyan, Jagat Naráyan and Mohan Singh, sons of Chattarsal, $\ddagger$ and Hindu Singh Chandela fled to a third fort, near a village on a winding torrent surrounded by inaccessible ravines. Here were Chattarsál's own head quarters and a force of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot.

Muhammad Khán pursued his enemy and renewed the engagement. After several hours, the Bundelas continued their flight to a river with a

- Kalyánpur Khás is about 17 miles south-east of Tarahwán.
$\dagger$ There is a Mokengarh in the Indian Atlas, 5 miles south of Tarahwan on tho Pysunni-nadi.
$\ddagger$ This name is spelt Sattarsél throughout Sáhib Ráe's MS., but I have adhered to the more usual form. The author of the Madikat-ul-dialim tells us both forms were used.
tortuous course, full of whirlpools and having many ravines. Driven out of this position, they took shelter in the ravines about half a kos behind their camp. Finding here no place of security, Chattarsal with his sons, their relations and dependents, having mounted on horseback in order to escape notice, made off twelve kos into the jungle. All the camp equipage, tents and cannon fell into the hands of the victors. Pursuit was made for a distance of two kos ; the Muhammadans then halted and encamped. It was soon learnt that the Bundelas had gone off to the vicinity of Sálhat, Damdast, and Thána Paswárah.* These places are described as full of high hills, deep lakes, torrent beds, ravines, and thorny jungle of great extent. The Bundela leaders had thrown up entrenchments, intending to dispute the passage. Chattarsál himself took up a position at Surajmau some kos south of Jaitpur.

Muhammad Khán estimated his own loss in the above battle at four thousand to five thousand killed and wounded; and that of the enemy at twelve to thirteen thousand. The Muhammadan army was reduced to some fourteen or fifteen thousand horse, and there was a great scarcity of water and fodder. Not a single one of the Rajahs or faujdars had joined him.

The auxiliary forces of the Bundelas, numbering some forty thousand horse and one handred thousand foot, were made up by the troops of the Rájah of Mándo, $\dagger$ of the Gahilwárs of Bijipur, $\ddagger$ of Khánḍe Ráe Narwari,§ of the zamindars of zila' Málwá, of all Gondwána and Malak Gaḍh, \| with the Gaurs and the Parihárs of the country round.

The oral tradition of this battle gives a more romantic version of it. It is as follows: One day before the battle, $\uparrow$ T Muhammad Khán distributed ninety thousand rupees among the troops; and the heralds (nakib) announced that, the morrow being fixed for the decisive struggle, every man must be ready armed by midnight. On the other side Chattarsél made his preparations. His army consisted of one hundred thousand foot and seventy thousand horse. Several other Rajahs followed his standard.

From the hour of morning prayer the battle began. The contending leaders advanced slowly towards each other on elephants. Skirmishing parties were thrown out from both sides. The Khalifa used to say that he had at one time expended all the arrows from his quiver. So many were

[^80]lying about, however, that by holding on to his saddle and stooping over, he plucked up eighteen in one handful. About midday the Nawáb's elephant rushed at and struck that of Mangal Khán Musenagari,* and ran after it for some little distance. Chattarsal's army thought that Muhammad Khán had taken to flight. With one voice all the Bundelas shouted out that the Bangash had fled. Hearing this outcry, Muhammad Khán turned round with his face to the back of the howdah, calling out as was his custom " Baháduro, yihi wakt baháduri ká hai." He asked the elephantdriver what this fighting meant, it had never occurred before, when the man explained that intending to fight Chattarsal's elephant, he had drugged his own. The elephant was again turned to face the enemy.

Muhammad Khán, armed to the teeth, was standing up to his full height in his howdah, the sides of which were some three feet high. Suddenly they see bearing down upon them two Bundela horsemen with spears in their hands, and as they come they avoid all encounter. When stopped by any of Muhammad Khán's men, they reply, "We have something to tell your Nawáb." At length they came close to Muhammad Khán's elephant. There they halted, and one of them got out a small bag from his waist-cloth and eat some tobacco. Then grasping his spear firmly in his hand, he shouted out "Bangash, keep a sharp look out, I am at you." He so impelled his horse, that it placed its two forefeet on the trunk of the Nawáb's elephant ; he then made a thrust with his spear. The Nawáb avoided the blow, and shot an arrow at the man with such force, that he fell dead from his horse. The horse was killed by the elephant. $\dagger$ The second horseman did as the first, and was killed in the same way. The Nawab exclaimed to Mangal Khán Musenagari-"How brave must these Bundelas be."

Bhúre Khán, chela, now placed himself at the head of a number of brave Paţháns and penetrated the enemy's army, intending to kill Chattarsál. Bhúre Khán lost his own life instead, and the Nawáb's son, Akbar Khán, received a bullet wound. For the loss of Bhure Khán the Nawáb wept, and for many days after the battle wore orange-coloured clothes in sign of mourning, saying, "What Bhure said was true, he said he would die before me."

About two hours to sunset the elephants of Nawáb Muhammad Khán and Rájah Chattarsál met face to face. Chattarsal seated under an iron-

[^81]plated canopy was encouraging his troops to the final onset. Nawáb Muhammad Khán aimed at the canopy with a steel javelin (sáng) which breaking through struck the elephant. Chattarsal himself swooned. The attendant in the hind seat said to the mahaut-" Drive off the elephant ; the fight will be renewed to-morrow." Chattarsál's elephant was turned round and it fled for many miles. His troops began to retreat, and Ani Ráo, sister's son to the Rájah, was killed. The Paţháns ran hither and thither despatching the flying Bundelas.

At night-fall Chattarsál came to his senses and asked who had won. His courtiers said, "No one has gained the victory, when you became insen"sible we retreated eight or ten miles, to-morrow morning we will renew "the engagement." Chattarsal flew into a passion with his brothers and nephews, and declared that he would never retreat before Muhammad Khán. He wanted to know why they had brought him away, he would either go back or else take his own life. No one listened to his words.

The whole night long Nawáb Muhammad Khán and his men remain. ed in arms upon the field of battle, expecting the return of the Bundelas. Not a single man got leave to go for food or water. Near at hand was a wild plum tree on which there was some unripe fruit. These were gathered one by one, and the Nawáb's mahaut driving his elephant ap to the tree eollected some of the plums, part of which he gave to the Nawáb.

On the 29th Shawwal, 1139 H . (8th June, 1727), twenty-seven days after the first battle, the imperial army marched towards the enemy's position. At one watch before sunrise on the lst Zi'l-ka'd (9th June, 1727), Muhammad Khán mounted and placed himself at the head of his troops. Before, however, they could come to close quarters, and while they were still one kos distant, the enemy broke and fled towards Mahoba* and elsewhere. Those who lingered were slain. The forts of Bárigarh, $\dagger$ the residence of Khán Jahán, the sister's son of Chattarsal, and Lahuri-Jhumar, $\ddagger$ submitted at once to the parties sent against them. The Muhammadans then encamped one kos beyond Mahoba, while the enemy lurked in the hills of Salhat, § there being but two kos left between the armies. Further progress was delayed by heavy rain, which rendered it impossible in that soil to place one foot before another.

At this point there seems to have been a delay of some five months during which the advance was suspended. It was not till the 17th Rabi II, 1140 H. (21st Nov., 1727) that the army got near to Salhat. That very

[^82]day Harde Sáh arrived to re-inforce Jagat Ráe. The enemy, from the strong and high earth-works which they had thrown up on the hills, kept up a musketry fire and discharge of arrows. This went on the whole day, and nearly one hundred of the enemy were killed and many were wounded. The Muhammadans also lost some men. At sunset the enemy gave way and many were destroyed by the artillery fire. Half of the hill and jungle was gained. Efforts were then directed to cutting down the jungle and making a road.

Another delay of four months appears now to have interposed. The complaint of Muhammad Khán is that the enemy were scattered all over the country like ants or locusts. Without numerous troops nothing could be done, and already all the troops, that could be paid from the two lakhs of rupees a month, had been entertained, while there was a further force under Káim Khán engaged in the siege of Tarahwán.

On the 6th Ramzán, 1140 (5th April, 1728) the army reached its encampment between Sálhat and Kulpahár.* The attack on the enemy was made on the 20th Ramzán (19th April, 1728). One kos beyond Kulpahár there are numerous high hills covered with thorny jungle. Here the enemy had prepared seven entrenched places, with two strong outworks in front. The walls and ditch were carried back on each side to the hill itself. On the summit of the hills were posted some of their best men who, as boon as the Muhammadans appeared, began to fire down upon them. The walls were first breached by artillery fire, when an assault was ordered. The enemy then retreated to the second outwork, where the contest was renewed. Thus, step by step, the hill was gained and all the entrenchments cleared. During the following night, about midnight, Harde Naráyan, Jagat Ráe and Mohan Singh attempted a night surprise, but without result, although three distinct attacks were made.

On the 2ist Ramzán (20th April, 1728) Muhammad Khán started for Mundhári $\dagger$ where there was a fort built of stone on a hill surrounded by thick jungle. Although the defenders fired down on the scaling party, the fort was taken. There the army encamped and prepared for a further advance. The enemy's leaders then brought their infantry into the wood, which stretches far and wide for many kos. From the shelter of the trees they began to discharge their arrows and kept up a severe fire of musketry. Their skirmishers were soon expelled by the Muhammadans, headed by Akbar Khán, the Nawáb's son. Muhammad Khán also advanced in person to his support. Many heads of the fallen foe were cut off and brought in, with many stray horses which, together with a number of loaded baggage-camels, became the booty of the army.

[^83]The Muhammadans now fixed their camp in front of Kulpahár, with Jaitpur on their right, Mundhári slightly on one side in the same direction, and the hills of Salhat, occupied by the enemy, on their left. Daily skirmishes occurred whenever the troops were out clearing away the jungle.

The enemy now gathered themselves together in the hills of Ajhnar,* which is three kos beyond Jaitpur, and Surajmau, which is the same distance from that place. The Muhammadan camp was moved into the hills beyond Jaitpur, while active preparations were made for the siege of Jaitpur itself. It had taken twenty months to drive the Bundelas as far west as Ajhnar. These twenty months, if we count from the 12th Jamádi II, 1139, (24th January, 1727), the date of crossing the Jamna, would end in Safar, 1140 (August, 1728).

During the rainy season (July to October, 1728), the siege progressed but slowly. Owing to the excessive moisture the mines fell in as soon as dug. The fort was protected on one side by a lake of great depth, one kos wide and several kos long, it was placed on a hill, and the enemy had mounted it with cannon and "rahkla." It was not till four months or so afterwards that the place fell. By the time it had been taken, the campaign had lasted over twenty-four months (Jamadi II, 1139, to Jamadi I, $1141=$ January 1727 to December 1728).

At this period Muhammad Khán saw reason to complain bitterly of the way he was treated at Court. He says he had performed the work of seven or eight men, that he was fighting night and day ; yet no honours were granted for his sons or relations, nor pensions to the dependents of those who had fallen. Instead of reward, their jágirs were resumed. The parganah of Sháhpur, $\dagger$ he was now told, had been granted for one harvest only, although it had been given in exchange for a gift of two krors of " dám." In the affair of Ajít Singh of Márwár, lakhs had been given away, while all that Muhammad Khán had asked was the restoration of one parganah.

For the preceding six months the enemy had caused confusion in parts of parganah Panwari. $\ddagger$ Darak Singh, an ally of Chattarsal's, now took up a position with two thousand horse and five thousand foot in the strong fort of Sahandi§ on the banks of a river extremely difficult to cross. Orders were given to Muhammad Bishárat Multáni, who commanded in Ráth, $\|$ to coerce Darak Singh and take his fort. This man showed little zeal or energy, for he camped a long time in zila' Auli $\uparrow$ on pretence of conciliat-

- Six miles S. of Jaitpur.
$\dagger$ Now in the Cawnpur District.
$\ddagger$ The parganah N. W. of Jaitpur, in the Hamírpur District.
§ Mr. Cadell suggests Seonri, on the Dassan, 6 miles N. W. of Panwári.
【About 12 miles N. of Panwári town.
T Query. Oraii in the Jalaun District, the " 1 " being interchangeable with " $r$ " at times.
ing his troops. He then lingered in Jalálpur,* and it was only on getting sharp orders to make over Auli to Ráo Rám Chand, $\dagger$ that he advanced and cleared the parganah of Ráth.

Sardár Khán was also sent with Kunwár Pancham Singh, to force Ráo Rám Chand's army to retire from the investment of the forts and thánas in the country of Rajalh Pirthi Singh. $\ddagger$ With the assistance of the Bhadauriya forces, these orders wcre executed.§

We have already seen that Tarahwán fell first before Káim Khán in Jamadi I, 1140, (December 1727). He then cleared the plain country and the hills in the east of Bundelkhand ; and, leaving Sayyad 'Arif Ali Khán in charge, aided by Sadu a zamindár, he rejoined his father. Hardly had he done so, when word came that at the instigation of the sons and grandsons of Chattarsál, the zamindár of Bargarb|| and Hindu Singh, with a force of five thousand horse and ten thousand foot, had broken into revolt. Kám Khán was at once sent back with five thousand horse and five thousand foot. When he came within twelve kos of Tarahwán, his spies informed him that the enemy had already regained the first outwork of the fort.

On the lst Rabi I, of the 10th year=1141 H. (24th Sep., 1728), while Muhammad Khán was following up the Bundelas in the hills of Ajhnar and was besieging Jaitpur, his son Káim Khán commenced his attack, for the second time, on Tarahwán. On this occasion the outer fort only was taken. It was not till more than a month afterwards, on the 9th Rabi II, of the 11th year=1141 H. (lst November, 1728), that the final assault was given. A mine had been driven under one of the bastions and filled with gunpowder. The moment the explosion occurred the assault took place. About six hundred of the assailants were slain and a still larger number of the besieged. The rest gave way and fled towards Tarhat $\ddagger$ pursued by the Muhammadans who, after the victory, occupied the fortress of Turahwán.

Káim Khán followed up this success and, after five or six defeats in the field, so closely pressed his opponent at Bargarh that he was glad to submit. These operations must have occupied some months, for although ordered to rejoin his father at once, Káim Khán was still absent when the Mahrattas suddenly appeared on the 12th March, 1729, to turn Muhammad Khán's course of victory into defeat.

While Jaitpur was invested, Muhammad Khán moved onwards into the hills, and kept up constant skirmishes against the enemy under Chattar-

[^84]sal, Harde Naráyan and Jagat Ráe. At length Harde Sáh, Jagat Ráe, Mohan Singh, Lachman Singh, and other sons and grandsons came in with their families ; and after a time, Chattarsal himself with ten thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot drew near, bringing his Ráni and grandchildren. For three or four months (December 1728 to January and February 1729,) the Bundelas waited quietly in camp, expecting an answer to Muhammad Khan's report to the Emperor, in which he craved leave to bring his prisoners to Court.

Although no answer came negotiations went on. Diwán Harde Sáh* was more especially friendly with Muhammad Khán, they frequently made excursions and hunting expeditions together, and talked of setting out together on a " mulkgiri." The only difficulty was a want of carriage, and Ḳáim Khán was requested to send Yákát Khán with money for expenses, and carriage for fifteen hundred horsemen. Those men with Ḳáim Kbán who had relations with the main army, were to procure and send carriage for them.

For a long time no settlement with the Bundelas could be come to. When Muhammad Khán asked for the delivery of his jaggirs, which they had long occupied, they replied that besides the troops with them they possessed nothing. At length they agreed to submit to the Imperial authority, and bound themselves by all the oaths most sacred to Hindus never to rebel again, but to deliver up all the places they occupied, and to permit Imperial thanas or armed posts to be placed throughout their country.

From Delhi no answer was vouchsafed, and three months passed by. The Bundelas made use of this interval to send messengers with overtures to Burhán-ul-mulk, who received them favourably. Letters came privately from Court inciting Chattarsall to resist and recommence hostilities. The Bundelas had by this time learnt that Muhammad Khan had powerful influences against him at Court, and were thus encouraged to renew the struggle.

When three months had thus passed by, the time of the Holi festival approached. Chattarsal was brought by his sons in a palki to Muhammad Khán. They represented that from age, weakness, and confinement their father was extremely ill. If he died in camp, it would be said that he had been made away with. On these pretexts leave was obtained to remove the old Rájah to Surajmau, three kos beyond the Muhammadan camp, which was then in the hills some distance south of Jaitpur. Jagat Ráe and his brothers were also allowed leave to celebrate the Holi festival (FebruaryMarch 1729).

As there had been every prospect of a speedy end to the campaign, Muhammad Khán's allies had returned to their homes, many of his soldiers had proceeded on leave, or had returned to Allahábád, and others were scat-- "Diwan" seems to have been the title of the eldest son.
tered about in small parties at the Thánas he had established. In all, about four thousand horsemen were left with his standards. Rumours now began to spread that the Mahrattas, who had just defeated and slain the Názim of Málwa (Girdhar Bahádur), had been sent for ; but relying on the solemn covenant which had been entered into, Muhammad Khán treated all that he heard as popular falsehoods. He collected no supplies nor any stores of grain.

It was not till the Mahrattas were within eleven los of his camp, that Muhammad Khán became assured of their approach. By great exertions, he increased his force to about nine thousand or ten thousand horse and the same number of foot. He proceeded to throw up an entrenchment round his camp. Diwán Harde Sáhe, the eldest son and heir of Chattarsál, remained so far faithful to his engagements as to take no active part in the attack; but all the others went over to the Mahrattas. The only other ally was Rajah Jai Singh of Maudah, but he seems to have been a half-hearted one, for he insisted on discharging most of the one thousand men he commanded, and retained with him no more than one hundred horse and one hundred foot. Kunwár Lachman Singh, brother of the Rájah of Orchha, attended for a time with four or five hundred men, but soon withdrew on some excuse. There were great difficulties caused by the want of money, the revenue of Chakla Korá not being received. Gunpowder and other requisites were also needed, and the Emperor was asked to send one thousand mans of lead, one thousand mans of gunpowder, two large cannons, and fifty "rahkla."

The Mahratta army was commanded by Báji Ráo, the divón of Rájah Sáhu, Pilá Jádon and others, twelve leaders in all. No account could be got of the force they had when they started, but on the way they had been joined by all turbulent spirits among the zamindars, who came in the hope of plundering and laying waste the imperial territory. The total force had thus swelled to nearly seventy thousand men besides an equal number of Bundelas.

On Wednesday the 22nd Sha'bán of the 11th year (1141 H. $=12$ th March 1729), the Mahrattas sent out a party to the hills of Ajhnar, who came within one kos of Muhammad Khán's encampment and reconnoitered the position. They fell on the grazing cattle of the camp followers, but were soon driven away by the Muhammadans, who brought in three heads and some horses.

The next day, before sunrise, the Mahrattas advanced by the right and left to the rear of the camp, where they cut off the camels and other beasts of burden when going out for grass. Troops were sent out to recover the camels and the fighting went on till midday. The same tactics were repeated on the 24th (14th March, 1729), and the enemy were again repelled, twenty heads being brought in.

On the 25th Sha'bán (15th March, 1729), Muhammad Khán made a sortie and all day the enemy hid themselves in the hills. Near sunset they suddenly rushed out, but were driven back with a loss of five men and four horses. After the first watch of the night, when it was very dark, the contest began again on the right wing and "the fire was like the fall of leaves from trees." Four of the enemy were killed and some horses and camels captured. It was now reported that Báji Ráo had sent for his brother, who was then on a plundering expedition towards Kotah and Btindí.

Gradually the Mahrattas succeeded in closing round the camp, and placed outposts to the rear where they kept up the most vigilant outlook. In all directions the roads were closed, prices rose very high, mahrwanh or mandroa, a small inferior grain, cost twenty rupees the seer, and other grain could not be procured. All, great and small, endured the greatest privations for two months (15th March to 15th May, 1729,) sustaining life on the flesh of camels, horses, and cows. Nor were they left in peace by night or day; they were in action often five and six times a day. Each day the enemy " like the multitude of the stars before the rising sun, fled "into the rocks and hollows of the hills." But Muhammad Khán had not men enough to leave part to guard his tents, and with the rest to advance and set up batteries against the enemy's place of refuge, nor to pursue them when they retreated.

The Mahrattas, hearing that Káim Khán, the Nawáb's son, had reached Supá,* six kos the other side of Jaitpur, with supplies and re-inforcements, moved off to oppose him. Muhammad Khán's soldiers, distressed by the high prices and want of pay, seized the opportunity and suddenly set off on the road to Jaitpur. With the Nawáb there were not left more than one thousand horsemen. The Bundelas soon hearing of the retreat of the soldiers issued from the hills of Ajhnar. Muhammad Khán mounted and rode out to meet them leaving not a single man behind in camp. From evening till one hour and a half after sunset fighting went on with spears, swords, arrows and muskets, but at last the enemy returned to the hills of Ajhnar. Muhammad Khán maintained his position for three hours longer, while his chief men went off to Jaitpur to collect the fugitives.

Before the arrival of the leaders at Jaitpur, the men had continued their flight and were already scattered in all directions. His companions now counselled Muhammad Khán to commence a retreat. Up to this point he had stood fast, resolved to maintain his name and fame as a soldier, but now that honour was satisfied, he was persuaded to move, in the hope of recalling the fugitive troops. Muhammad Khán had " tried to seek escape " by death, but since, of the life lent to him, some part was yet unspent, he
"fought on till at midnight not another infidel was to be seen either to the " left or to the right, but still death did not come to him."

On reaching Jaitpur he began at once to strengthen the fortifications. But there were no stores of food and no time to send for supplies. The Mahrattas having defeated Káim Khán soon returned, and completely invested the town and fort of Jaitpur, into which Muhammad Khzn had withdrawn with his men and had closed the gates. A cannonade from both sides began and Akbar Khán, the Nawáb's son, who was renowned for his strength, threw down heavy stones from the fort wall and killed many of the Mahrattas. When the besiegers found they could not take the place by assault, they decided to starve out the garrison. Jaitpur was strictly invested for several months till there was no longer any grain for food. Then the soldiers began to slaughter their horses and bullocks. Flour could not be procured even at one hundred rupees the seer. Some of the Mahrattas used to come at night with supplies of flour, half of whirh was made up of ground bones. Those inside let down their money by a rope, flour was attached in its place at the rate of a seer for every hundred rupees, and the rope was then drawn up.* Many of the soldiers died of starvation, and many more leaving the Nawáb to his fate escaped from the fort. Baji Ráo's orders to his guards were that any of Muhammad Khán's men who gave up their arms should be allowed to pass unmolested. Many having no food preferred to give up their arms and get away. Only some thousand or twelve hundred remained with the Nawáb.

When the Mahrattas had fallen thus unexpectedly on his father, Káim Khán was still away at Tarahwán. He obeyed at once the summons to him. He got as far as Supa, a few miles from Jaitpur, when the Mahrattas met him. As he had barely more than a thousand men with him, he was soon defeated, many of his men killed and the supplies under his convoy scattered. All hope of immediate relief was thus dispelled. It only remained to Muhammad Khán to call upon the Emperor and the great nobles and Rajahs for aid to extricate himself from his trying position. These efforts were unavailing. Although the most urgent appeals were sent in all directions, not a hand was raised to help or encourage him.

In this extremity Nawáb Muhammad Khán wrote to his son, Káim Khán telling him to go to Sa'dat Khán Burhán-ul Mulk Bahádur Jang, and 'Abd-ul Mansúr Khán to demand aid. His orders were to head the relieving force in person, in order to extricate his father from the toils of the Mahrattas. Káim Khán went to Sa'dat Khán and 'Abd-ul-Mansúr Khán at Faizábád. 'Abd-ul-Mansúr Khán had married Sa'dat Khán's daughter, and he was also his sister's son. These two nobles decided that they would send no troops

[^85]with Káim Khán, but kept him for several days in suspense. One day a Risáldár (commander of cavalry) in Sa'dat Khán's army, himself an Afrídí, commanding twelve hundred men, said to Káim Khán, "You will neither "get troops here, nor will you be allowed to go yourself, you must devise " some other plan."

The Bíbí Sáhiba, mother of Káim Khán, hearing reports of intended treachery, sent Neknám Khán, chela, to Faizábád. Reaching that place he went to the Risáldár already mentioned and convinced him and his Paţháns, who were of Mau, Farrukhábád, Sháhjahánpur and Ańnwala, that rather than allow Muhammad Khán to be captured, it would be to their interest to march to his relief. Neknám Khán told them to assemble whenever the camel kettle-drums should begin to beat in his camp. The same day Káim Khán and Neknám Khán visited 'Abd-ul Mansír Khán, and asked leave to depart. 'Abd-ul Mansúr Khán proposed their waiting for the troops he had sent for, who would arrive in a few days. Neknám Khán then forced Káim Khán to rise, and pointing to Sa'dat Khán, said to Káim Khán, "You "will never deliver Muhammad Khán by their means." He then in a great rage lead Káim Khán by the hand out of the audience hall. With them were sirty Paṭháns clad in chain mail, whose orders were to strike at once, if any one lifted a finger to touch them. Reaching camp the kettledrums were beaten for the march. On hearing the sound, twelve hundred Paṭháns in 'Abd-ul Mansár Khán's service left him to follow Káim Khán. When word was brought to him, Sa'dat Khán sent off a camel rider to recall Káim Khán. Regardless of the Nawáb's message he continued his route to Sháhjahánpur. There more men joined his standard. Thence he moved to Bangarh,* the abode of 'Ali Muhammad Khán Rohéla, from whom they obtained further re-inforcements. Then coming to Mau, numbers of recruite flocked to enter their service. The army thus gathered together numbered some thirty thousand men : as each man was promised one hundred rupees a month, the expenses were enormous. It was only by delivering over to them all the Nawáb's goods and chattels, together with all the cash he could obtain from the money-lenders, that Káim Khán induced them to enlist.

An advance was now made, and crossing the Jamna they passed into Bundelkhand. The Bundelas, hearing that Kaim Khán was approaching with a strong force, hastened to make terms with Nawáb Muhammad Khán. They took a written agreement from him never to attack them again, and to be content with the tribute which had been formerly paid. Muhammad Khán at this time did not know that Káim Khán was marching to his relief. He had come several marches from Jaitpur when he met his son. Káim Khán proposed they should return to renew the war, but Mu-

[^86]hammad Khán declined to break his pledge. Káim Khán's noble conduct at this trying juncture extorts words of praise from a most unfriendly critic, the author of the " Siyar-ul-Mutakkharin"."

The siege of Jaitpur had lasted three months and ten days, from the middle of May to the end of August, 1729, (Shawwal 1141 to Safar 1142); and with it ended Muhammad Kbán's connection with that part of the country. For the rest of his life he continued to press on the Emperor and his unwilling wazír his losses and his claims. But he never again exercised any authority in, or obtained any revenue from the jágirs still nominally his within the limits of Bundelkhand. Once only while in Máwá did he write to his quandom ally, Harde Sáh, reminding him of an agreement made at Kharela $\dagger$ to give up the government cannon, and to refrain from interference with the jágir mahals. There was also an unfulfilled promise that Jagat Raj's agents would pay eight lakhs for Sahenḍah. Muhammad Khán reminds Harde Sáh that the jágirs were worth fifty or sixty lakhs a year, that never for one moment would he forget his claims, the matter was one of opportunity, and with God's help he would still enforce his rights. If Harde Sáh, who said he was a friend, allowed the jagirs to be "eaten" by others, he would become himself responsible. In the same letter, he expresses his satisfaction that Harde Sáh had taken the parganahs of Auli, $\ddagger$ Kanár,§ Rámpúr, $\|$ Kúnch $\mathbb{T}$ and others from Lachman Singh. The same course he hoped would be pursued in respect of Kálpi,** Jalálpur, $\dagger \dagger$ Sahendah, $\ddagger \ddagger$ and Maudah. $\S \S$ All these orders were no more than idle threats which were never to be enforced.

Muhammad Khán was now directed to proceed to court with no more than five hundred men, leaving Káim Khán in charge of the rest of his

- p. 465, line 4.-Grant Duff (p. 227), makes the Jaitpur affair follow the appointment to Málwa, but there can be little doubt from the local histories, confirmed by the "Siyar-ul-Mutâkharin" and the "Tárikh-i-Muzaffari", that Muhammad Khán received the Malwa appointment after he had been unsuccessful in Bundelkhand and had escaped from Jaitpur. I also doubt the correctnees of the date 1732 in the Gas. N. W. P. I, 27. On p. 29, the year 1738 is given, which mast be wrong: on p. 426, the date is 1731. On p. 645, Dalel Khan's death is given as having taken place in 1730 instead of 1720 .
t In the Hamípur District, Parganah Jalálpur, about 34 miles S. of Hamípur.
$\ddagger$ Query. Orai, in the Jalaun District.
§ In the Jalaun District. See Gax. I. 191. Now in Parganah Madhugarh.
$\|$ Query. In Parganah Madhugarh, Jalaun District.
I In the Jalaun District.
** On the Jamna in the Jalamn District.
$\dagger \dagger$ In the Hamírpar District.
$\ddagger \ddagger$ This is I fancy some place in the Hamirpar District and not the parganah of this name in Bánd\&.
\$§ Hamirpur District.
army. He replied that he had got as far as Jalálpur on his way home, but was forced to stop owing to the disturbances raised by the troops, to whom more than one kror of rupees was due. Before, while the fighting was going on, no other thought could find place, night and day they were occupied with plans of resistance. But from the day of arrival at Kharela* and Moth and the junction with Káim Khán, they had resorted to every kind of violence in demanding their pay, and in requiring food for the time being. Their demands were made morning, noon and night, so that the Nawáb could neither eat nor sleep. He was driven to his wit's end, and death was better than such a life. He begged, therefore, that to content them, a portion of those two lakhs a month might be paid, which had been promised to him before he crossed the Jamna ; or that to silence them a deed for Allahábád might be granted, with assignment (tankhwoáh) on the maháls recovered from the enemy in Bundelkhand, and a sanad for the Sarkár of Ghorá $\dagger$ in the name of Kaim Khán, from the year of the campaign against Sayyad 'Abdullah Khán (1721), when a petition, with order granting this Sarłár, was despatched to Daler Khán. He also demanded a sanad in favour of another son, Akbar Khán, for the faujdári of Parganah Irichh.

We next find the Nawab reporting that the whole of the men had crossed the Betwah, they would speedily reaeh Kalpi, and commence to cross the Jamná, there being sixteen boats, large and small. Again Muhammad Khán reiterates his complaints. He accuses the courtiers of making him out a traitor and a rebel. Notwithstanding all the services he had done, the two lakhs a month had not been paid. Káim Khán had recently raised a great army ; His Majesty could not have reflected where the money was to come from. Did he think Káim Khán knew alchemy, or could unearth hidden treasure? Had any one else raised an army at such a juncture, he would have been bountifully rewarded. Now the Nawáb's companions-in-arms received word that their tankhwáhs, granted in the Emperor Farrukhsiyar's time, had been resumed. This was most unjust.

If the Emperor should deign to redouble his ancient favours, then Muhammad Khán could continue his service. If not, he would draw on the garment of resignation and withdraw from public life, or if desired would proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He himself was much cast down, but what he writes is for the satisfaction of his troops, to whom all his letters were shown. Although their pay was so greatly in arrears they would not, out of respect to his fellow alanship, prevent his journey to court. He felt much annoyed at the report spread that he did not intend to present himself, and he invoked the wrath of God on the men who made such unfounded statements.

[^87]Again, in acknowledging a fresh order to attend court, Muhammad Khán goes over the above points once more. The Jamna was crossed on the return march apparently on the 11th Rabi' I. 1142, (23rd Sept., 1729). The river was in flood but the men were to cross on boats. His chief leaders were unprovided with horses, having just come out of a long campaign, and the strings of horses for sale not having yet arrived, they had not beeu able to mount themselves. On his arrival at court Muhammad Khán hoped that Roshan-ud-daula* would become security for him, and procure for him sanads in Káim Khán's favour for the zamindari and faujdári of Sarkar Ghorá. Pir 'Ali Khán, his agent at court, still held the order by which His Majesty had before granted them to Daler Khán. Nor had any reply to his request for the faujdári of Irichh been forwarded.

Muhammad Khán seems at length to have reached Court. The next eleven months (Oct. 1729-Sept. 1730), we can presume were spent in urgent repetition of the oft-told story of his wrongs. The Siyar-ul Mutákharin statest that his removal from the Allahábád Subah was caused by his failure in Bundelkhand. This does not seem quite correct for, if the Tabṣirat-un-Nazirín is to be trusted, the appointment to Allahábad was not conferred on Sarbuland Khán, Mubáriz-ul Mulk, till 1144 H. (July 1731-June 1732). Before this Muhammad Khán had been restored to favour, and his sanad for the Nizámat of Málwá is dated the 17th Rabi I. of the 12 th year ( $1143 \mathrm{H} .=19$ th Sept. 1730). The removal from Allahábád in 1144 H . is, therefore, more probably to be attributed to some ill-feeling raised by Muhammad Khán's dealings in Málwá, where he was then present.

A characteristic anecdote, relating to this period, is told in the Shardif-i-Usmani. $\ddagger$ When Muhammad Khán reached Kanauj on his return from Bundelkhand, Rúh-ul-Amín Khán Bilgrámi, one of the leaders who had enlisted under Káim Khan's standard, introduced to the Nawáb the kázi of Bilgrám, Muhammad Ahsán, whose jágirs had recently been resumed by Burhán-ul-Mulk. The Nawáb promised to use his good offices with the Emperor ; and the kázi followed him to Delhi. The empire was then in all its glory, and the saying was quite true that the Emperor of Hindustan lived like a God upon earth.

On his arrival at Delhi, Muhammad Khán at his first audience demanded the Subah of Allahábad; but the Emperor made the excuse that to give it then was not convenient. Immediately on hearing this answer, Nawáb Muhammad Khán stretching forth his hand took two-folded pán leaves

[^88]from the Emperor's own pandan, and sat down on the spot where he had hitherto stood. Samsám-ud-daula Khán Daurán Khán turned to him anxiously, and exclaimed, "Nawáb Ghazanfar Jang! what does this mean ?" Muhammad Khán replied, " While I was a servant I stood, from this day I "leave the Emperor's service, why then should I stand any longer P" The Emperor tried to pacify him, but all efforts were unavailing, and the same day he gave orders to pay off his troops. A quarrel then occurred between the Nawáb and Rúh-ul-Amin Khán about a balance of one lakh of rupees due by the latter, which he refused to refund. The kázi thus lost his protector, and the Nawabb departed for Farrukhábád.

From a passage in the Inshá-i-Yár Muhammad,* it would seem that at this period Akbar Khán, the Nawáb's son, acted as his deputy at Allahábád. In the course of a long account of the principal events of his life, Yár Muhammad speaks of leaving Bhagwant Ráe and coming with Naval Singh to attack some fort. Having failed in their object, they went to Allahábád. Naval Singh entered Akbar Khán's service, while Yár Muhammad, dismissing his followers, took refuge with a holy man named Khdbullah. Akbar Khán sent a mace-bearer for him, but he refused to go, as on that day he had lost a child nine months old. A disturbance took place, and Akbar Khán attempted to use force. The Paṭháns refused, however, to attack the house of a holy man. The reason of Akbar Khán's interfering seems to have been, that Sa'dat Khán Burhán-ul Mulk had sent a request for Yár Muhammad's arrest as a deserter. Akbar Khán did not succeed in arresting him, and a week after a sanad came from Sarbuland Khán, the new Subahdár, appointing Roshan Khán Turáhi to be his deputy.

## The Campaign in Málwoá.

On reaching Delhi in the latter part of 1729 , Muhammad Kbán seems to have entered into prolonged negotiations. He could not sacceed, however, in retaining Allahábád, which was an easily held country (be-khár), but had to content himself with appointment to the Subah of Málwá, which had been ravaged by the Mahrattas, and was liable at any moment to be re-invaded. The sanad for Máwá is dated the 17 th Rabi I. of the 12th year (1143 H. = 19th Sept. 1730), and is "ba-mashruit, ba dasturr-ima'múl, hasb-ul-ximman."

Roshan-ud-daula it was, through whom the appointment was obtained,$\dagger$ and one lakh of rupees of the money advanced from the treasury was left in his hands. Of this sum two thousand rupees were paid as a dowceur to the employes of the elephant stables, to facilitate the delivery of four elephants. The balance appears to have been appropriated by Roshan-

- p. 168, Calcutta, 1246 H.-1830-1.
$\dagger$ See as to his influence and his cupidity, Seir-Mutaqharin I, 264, 274. He died 14th Zi'l-haj 1148 H., do. p. 294.
ud-daula. A lakh of rupees was also promised to Kokah Jí ${ }^{*}$ in order to obtain a quick settlement of the claims for jágirs. The money to be advanced from the Treasury was at first fixed at sixty, and then fifty lakhs. Gradually the grant was reduced to 2 most insignificant amount, although Rajah Jai Singh Siwá had received thirty-two lakhs for a two months' campaign.

When Muhammad Khán left Delhi, it was agreed by Amír-ul Umré Khán Daurán Khán and Roshan-ud-daula that, on his arrival at Mathura or Akbarabád, the grants for his friends' jágirs and a sanad for the faujdári of Gwáliár should be delivered to him. He had reached Gwáliár, however, without these grants having been received, and Mangal Khán was still delayed at Court by the non-fulfilment of these promises. Mangal Khán's jagir of parganahs Mauránwah, $\dagger$ Sarsendi, $\ddagger$ and Rahli,§ and the assignment on Ním Khár, $\|$ had long been in the occupation of Burhán-ul Mulk. A settlement of this claim was urged, in order that the jágirdár might provide his equipment.

The other jágirs asked for were as follows: ten lakhs of dám for Mangal Khán from Hisáraf his native country; thirty lakhs of dám for 'Abd-un Nabi Khán from parganah Aunţh"* which was held by his father entirely in jágir ; ten lakhs of dám for Shekh Beche on parganahs Shergarh $\dagger \dagger$ and Thána, $\ddagger \ddagger$ the jagirs of his family; five lakhs of dam for Sayyad Sharif 'Alí Khán on Kanauj§§ his native country ; fifteen lakhs of dám for Sayyad Ja'far Husain Khán on Sháhpúr ; \|l|| ten lakhs of dám for Kále Khán and Shuj’at Khán from Budáon ; qT| five lakhs of dám for Diláwar 'Ali Khán Aurangábádi on Karnál,*** the parganah having been held by his ancestors in jágir ; five lakhs of dám for Mustafa Khán from Mustafábád $\dagger \dagger \dagger$; five lakhs of dám from Jhúsi $\ddagger \ddagger \ddagger$ and five lakhs from Chźil§§§

[^89]for Sadákat Khán; and five lakhs of dám for Haidar 'Ali Khán from parganah Akrábád.* The Nawáb's agent was instructed not to take siálas (collection accounts) for these allowances unless they were without the condition " páe-briki."

On the 5th Jamadi I. of the 13th year ( $1143 \mathrm{H} .=5$ th November, 1730), Muhammad Khán writes from Agra that, of the sixty cannon ordered to be delivered from the fort, the commander (kila'dár) had made over no more than twenty-nine. Although there were two thousand cannon in store, they offered guns, broken and useless, carrying only a shot of two or three pyce (falús) weight and without pallah. The Nawáb says he might as well take jazáil (swivel-guns) at once. Such as they were, they had neither carriages nor bullocks, and Muhammad Khán was fain to take them as they were. His agent was told to get an order at once from the Mír Atash to deliver guns carrying shot of from one seer to three seers weight. With whatever artillery could be procured he intended to start.

As the large cannon given by the Emperor and brought from Delhi was defective at the breach, and the other formerly with Nijábat 'Ali Khán had been sent back to Court, a request was made for a large cannon carrying a ball of fourteen to fifteen seers, with two others somewhat smaller. These could be delivered from the forts of Akbarábád or Gwáliár, where there were large guns in store.

At Akbarábád some țhree to four hundred troopers presented themselves daily to have their horses branded. On entertainment half a month's pay and a little more for necessaries was advanced to each man. A force of 8,200 horse and 2,500 foot was collected. It was made up as follows : There were 500 horse and 1000 foot under Mukím Khán, 400 horse and 700 foot under Dáud Khán, 600 horse and 600 foot under Sa'ádat Khán, and 200 foot under Bakhtáwar Khán ; Allahyár Khán and others, Dilázáks of Dholpár Bári, had brought more than 2000 horse. There were 500 holse under Sháistah Khán, Misri Khán, Khudádád Khán, Muhammad Khán and others, seven leaders from Firúzábád and Shikohábád. Fath Khán Yusufzai, Ghairat Kbán and others came with about 200 horse : and the same number was sent by Ráe Har Parshád, 'Amil of Rájah Jai Singh Sawáe, under their Chaube leaders from Mathura. Besides the above there were some 2000 horse in small parties from Mau, Sháhjahánpur, Sháhábád and Katahr generally. All these were in addition to the men brought from Shahjahánábád. Nawáb Roshan-ud-daula had also promised to aid with a corps of 500 horse and 1000 foot of Rúmis, Arabs, and Habshis in his pay.
'Umr Khán, $\dagger$ Daler Khán, $\ddagger$ and Yár Muhammad Khán, son of Dost

- In the Aligarh district.
$\dagger$ Faujdar of Mándá near the Narbada.
$\ddagger$ Apparontly of Korwáe near Sironj. Dowson's Elliot, VIII, 68.
R R

Muhammad Khán,* and the other chief soldiers of Ujain, Narwar and Sironj, reported that they had ready more than twenty thousand men. They were ordered to join with them at Narwar† and Kálábágh. $\ddagger$ If they had been sent for to Gwáliár, two months advances would have been asked for, and the whole of the grant from the Imperial Treasury exhausted before leaving Gwáliár. Muhammad Khán endeavoured to make the money last as far as Ujain, that is for the succeeding two months.

At length on the 6th Jamadi I. 1143 H (6th November, 1730), the army was set in motion, and leaving Akbarábád it encamped at Jájau on the Bán or Ctangan river, nineteen miles south of that city. The next morning, the 7th (7th Nov. 1730), a march was made and the ariny stopped at a short distance from Dholpúr. Mukím Khán, Dáud Khán and Sa'dat Khán with the artillery crossed at once. On the 8th, the crossing of the Chambal had not been effected by the rest of the army, the river not being then fordable, while the boats were few and small. On the 9th, Muhammad Khán crossed and the camp followed. Thence with one night between they reached Gwáliár.

From Gwáliár Muhammad Khán reiterated his request for the faujdári of that place. Without such a hold over them no hearty aid could be hoped for from the Rájahs and others ordered to serve under him. It was promised to him before he left Delhi, but having got rid of him from Court, the ministers paid no heed to his remonstrances. Chattar Singh of Shiupuri§ and Kaláras|| learning that the sanad for Gwáliár had not arrived, collected men and began fighting Khánde Rám whom he had ejected from the fort of Bajaur. 9 The mercenaries had thus found service near their homes and went to join the combatants. If once these Rajahs and the mercenaries knew that Muhammad Khán had been made faujdár of Gwáliár, they would no longer seek service except under the government of their country

Rájah Udait Singh of Orchha, his son Kunwar Bahádur, Rán Rám Chand of Datiya, Chattar Singh of Shiupúri and Kaláras, the Bhadauriya Rájah, Rájah Durjan Sál of Chanderi and others had been directed from Delhi to place themselves under Muhammad Khán's orders. Sayyad Nijábat

- The founder of Bhopál. Dowson's Elliot, VIII, 57, 59.
+ About 44 miles south of Gwáliár.
$\ddagger$ About 102 miles S. of Gwóliár, 4 miles N. of Saráe Nau, and 16 miles N. of Sádhaura.
\{ I take this to be the Sipri of the maps, 67 miles $\mathbb{S}$. of Gwaliár, but there is a Shiupúri 97 miles S. W. of that place.
$\|$ About 74 miles S. of Gwáliár.
II Or perhaps the Pichor in Lat. 250 57'; Long. 780 $27^{\prime}$ in Gwaliár territory, some 25 miles S. E. of Gwáliar on the left bank of the Sind rivor.
'Ali Khán, fanjdár of Irichh,* was also told off; and on the part of Máhárájah Abhai Singh of Márwár, Jai Singh and Mán Singh Ráthor of Ratlám, about fifty miles west of Ujain, were deputed. The Máhárána of Udepár reported that he had sent Ráo Mukráj Dhablai from Udepúr towards Mandeshwart with troops and artillery.

While Muhammad Khán was still at Gwáliár, an urgent letter came from Khán Daurán Khán. As the Mahrattas intended to cross the Narbada, it was necessary that, without further delay, the Nawab should proceed by forced marches, not even staying at Sironj. He should get to the river in time to oppose the crossing. Four months had already been wasted. On receipt of these orders, Mukím Khán was sent on in advance, and after some opposition made good his way to Sironj. Sa'dat Khán was sent to Mandeshwar, and Daúd Khán to Sárangpur $\ddagger$

When Muhammad Khán reached Sádhaurab,§ eighteen miles beyond Saráe Nau\| to the south in the direction of Ujain, a letter written in Jamadi II, 1143, (Dec. 1730), was received from Asaf Jáh Nizám-ul Mulk. ๆf This noble, after congratulations on Muhammad Khán's appointment, proposed that they should meet at the Narbada to concert common measures against the opponents of Islám. Nizam-ul Mulk had crossed at Fardánpur** in order to quell a revolt in Laklana, $\dagger \dagger$ and the opportunity would not recur as he seldom visited that part of his Subah. Muhammad Khán accepted the proposal, saying, that as the Mahrattas at the instigation of the Hindus of Hindústán intended to ravage the whole of Málwá, he trusted that Nizám-ul Mulk as the champion of Islám would stop them at the ferries on the Narbada.

On the 17th Rajab, 1143 H. (15th January, 1731), Muhammad Khán reached Sárangpur, about fifty miles from Ujain. Hearing of his approach, Mulhár Holkar, who with twenty thousand men was plundering tie country, sent his baggage and heary stores across the Narbada, and lightly equipped continued the investment of Sháhjahánpur, a town about eleven miles

[^90]south-west of Sárangpur and about twenty-one miles north-east of Ujain.

The day that the Muhammadans drew near to Sárangpur, about an hour to sunset, while the men were still scattered on the line of march, the enemy suddenly appeared and showed fight. The war howdahs (amári) having been taken off, Muhammad Khán got into a palki and started at the head of a small force. The enemy, as their custom was, spread out and came on in all directions. Soon, however, they fled "like crows on seeing a bow," six of them were killed, their heads brought in and their horses captured. Night coming on they were not pursued.

On the 19th Rajab, 1143 H . (17th January 1731), the army reached Sháhjahánpur from Sárangpur : and the next day they encamped near the village of Talodri. In the afternoon the enemy made their appearance and troops were moved out against them. On Muhammad Khán's mounting and advancing, they gave way and were followed for three kos. Seventy of them were slain by sword and spear. The heads and horses were brought in, with six or seven prisoners. Owing to the darkness the pursuit was stopped at one watch of the night, and the troops returned to camp. The people of the country were so frightened, that the Mahrattas left only one trooper in a town or village to collect their demands. After Muhammad Khán's arrival, however, and their defeat, the Mahrattas themselves were glad to withdraw beyond the Narbada. Ujain Dár-ul-fath was reached on the 22nd Rajab, 1143 H . (20th January 1731).

Spies now brought word that the Mahrattas, leaving their baggage on the other side of the Narbada, were coming across to plunder the towns and villages of Málwá. They were reported to have invested the town of Boláe. * Accordingly on the 11th Sha'bán, 1143 H. (8th Feb. 1731), Muhammad Khán set up his tents and took the field again, turning towards Dhár. $\dagger$ Of all the contingents, that of Kuñwar Bahádur of Orchha was the only one which had arrived.

While Muhammad Khán went towards Dhár, he sent his son, Ahmad Khán, with Muḳím Khán, Yár Muhammad Khán, and Dáler Khán at the head of 12,000 horse and 20,000 foot to deal with Holkar in the direction of Sárangpur and Sháljjahánpur. The invaders were driven away towards Mandeshwar, after they had plundered in parganah Boláe. Then Yár Muhammad Khán made friends secretly with Mulhár Holkar, and the two chiefs exchanged turbans. As a pretence the army was taken towards Máhidpur, $\ddagger$ and the traitor told Holkar that the country of Ujain was left

[^91]defenceless and could be plundered. Should he fail, however, he could then turn on Muhammad Khán in the direction of Dhár. Mulhár, persuaded by Yár Muhammad went to Ujain, and set fire to two or three houses in Rakábganj. The naib (Muḳím Khán) came out to meet the Mahrattas, and after some fighting they made off in the direction of Muhammad Khán. A story that they had plundered some merchants near the town of Andru* in the ta'luka of Nand Lal Sandloi† was untrue.

Meanwhile Muhammad Khán had reached Dhár on the 17th Sha'bán, 1143 H. (14th Feb. 1731). From early morning of the 22nd (19th Feb. 1731) many Mahrattas appeared in the vicinity. The Muhammadans killed several, cut off their heads and brought in their horses. In the afternoon the contest ceased. Next morning Holkar with his army appeared in sight, and made a first attack on Sulaimán Khán who commanded three thousand horse. The attack was repelled. Then Ma'zum Khán with 1000 horse on the right, and Muhammad 'Umr Khán, faujdar of Mánḍ́, on the left, hastened forward ; and Muhammad Khán himself advancing quickly, the enemy gave way. Several leaders and some fifty troopers were left on the field, besides those wounded. The Muhammadan loss was twelve killed. Pursuit was made for two kos, and they returned to their tents when one quarter of the night was past. These contests went on for about ten days to the end of Sha'ban (26th Feb. 1731).

For some time no word had been heard of Nizám-ul Mulk's departure from Burhánpur. $\ddagger$ At length on the 28th Sha'bán (25th Feb. 1731), a letter was received, and Muhammad Khan determined to set out for the Narbada. He had also been delayed by the non-arrival of Dáler Khán. The latter now wrote that Yár Muhammad Khán had gone off to his home, taking with him his friends and some men. Dáler Khán announced his own intention of joining if he were waited for. Accordingly on the 28th he arrived, and on the 29th Sha'bán (26th Feb. 1731), they set out for the Narbada by double marches. Other reasons for the delay may have been, that Muhammad Khán was not able to move without reinforcements, or that, to save his dignity, he did not wish to move more rapidly than he could help to the place of rendezrous with Nizám-ul Mulk. The Mahrattas had now been expelled for a time from Ujain, Mandeshwar, Dhár and Depálpur,§ and their new forts on the Narbada had been levelled.

A second letter came now from Nizám-ul Mulk referring to his having crossed the river at Fardánpur on the 20th Jamadi II, 1143 H . (20th Dec.

[^92]1730), to suppress the rebellion in Zila' Laklána.* He reports having heard that Báji Ráo had reached Sultánpurt and Nandurbár $\ddagger$ on his way to Gujrát. It wus thought that as Kanhaya Bánd and Pílá Gáekwâr were opposed to him about the chauth of that Subah, he must intend to eject them; and being taken up with fighting among themselves, they would not find the time to invade Málwá. Spies had, however, since brought intelligence that Báji Ráo's brother was marching by way of Navápurah§ to Surat and Gujrát ; meanwhile Báji Ráo, leaving Sultánpur and Nandurbár, would make for Málwá vid Ghargún.|| His brother would then come through Dobad $\mathbb{T}$ to join him, and they would unite to expel the thánas of Kanhaya Jí and Pilá Gáekwár from Málwá. Kanhaya Názar, Pilá Gáekwár and Udá Puñwár had opened negotiations with Nizán-ul Mulk, and he advises Muhammad Khán also to receive their overtures and try to bring them over.

On the 20th Rajab (18th Jan. 1731), Nizám-ul-Mulk wrote again from Gálnah** that as soon as Muhammad Khán's letter was received on the 17th Rajab (15th Jan. 1731), he had started for Burhánpur. He trusted that Muhammad Khán would make no delay, so that they might meet and discuss plans together, for "Daulat ham 'z itifúk khezad" (Union is strength). Another letter tells Muhammad Khán that Rájah Abhai Singh was about to make peace with Báji Ráo. Pilá Gáekwár, Kantá Bánd, Udá Jí Puṇwár and Anand Ráo had, however, entered into the closest relations with Nizám-ul-Mulk : and acting with them was Tirnek Ráo Pahárya, son of Khandu Jí, who had lately succeeded his father. The troops of these allies might amount to some twenty thousand horse. Chimna, brother of Báji Ráo, had 9000 horse, and would advance by the pass of Nánábyári, which is towards Gujrát. Báji Ráo was reported to have 3000 or 4000 horse. Holkar with some 3000 men had gone towards Málwá.

On Friday the 1st Sha'bán 1143 H. (29th Jan. 1731), Nizám-ul-Mulk, who was near Dhámanganw, $\dagger \dagger$ acknowledged the receipt of Muhammad Khán's letter reporting his arrival at Sádhaurah. As Dhámanganw was

- Or Laklába.
+ About 5 miles from the north bank of the Tápti, and 30 miles S. of the Narbada, and 102 miles W. of Burhánpúr.
$\ddagger$ About 10 miles S. of the Tápti and 80 miles S. W. of Sultánpur.
§ About 12 miles S. of the Tápti, 86 miles S. W. of Nandurbár and 165 miles W. of Burhánpúr.
$\|$ On the Kundi river, 25 miles S. of the Narbada and about 55 miles $N$. W. of Burhánptur.

I On the boundary of Mâlwá and Gujrát, 100 miles W. of Ujain. Thornton 284.
-* About 120 miles S. W. of Burhánparr, 165 miles N. E. of Bumbay, in the Khándesh District. Thornton, 433.
$\dagger \dagger$ About 70 miles S. W. of Burhánptur.
counted as thirty kos from Burhánpur, Nizam-ul-Mulk hoped soon to reach the Narbada.

He does not appear to have hastened himself much, for it was not till Sunday, the 17th Sha'ban (14th Feb. 1731), that leaving behind his large guns, artillery and heavy equipage he started from Burhánpur. On the 22nd (19th Feb. 1731), he was at Sálganw, a distance of twenty-two kos from Burhánpur, and intended to march via Ghargún to the Narbada. Muhammad Khán was recommended to comè by the pass (kanal?) of Naubahra, which was the usual route. On Saturday the 23rd, Nizám-ul-Mulk was within twenty kos of the ferry of Akbarpur* on the Narbada, the advanced tents would go on next day, and on the 25th (22nd Feb. 1731), he hoped to reach Akbarpur. The darogha, however, came back and reported that Muhammad Khán was still above the gháts. Although professing to be burning for an interview, Nizám-ul-Mulk thought that his dignity required him to divide the remaining d'stance into two marches. Muhammad Khán, in answer to one of the letters, had complained that the allies Kanhaya Jí, Chimná Jí and others had sent him no men. Nizám-ul-Mulk reassures him by pointing out that they were far away near Mándavi $\dagger$ in the zila' of Surat. Some further time was occupied by Nizam-ul-Mulk going off to take a fort, and the desired interview did not take place till some time afterwards. We have no report of what took place, further than that the two Subahdars agreed to act in concert to put down the Mahrattas. Muhammad Khán in his report to the Emperor is loud in his praises of Nizám-ul-Mulk as an obedient and dutiful subject of the State. Muhammad Khán finally left Akbarpur on the 1st Shawwál 1148 H. (29th March, 1731).

Nizám-ul-Mulk went from Akbarpur to reduce the forts of Rajaur and Nadáwáli, the residence of Mohan Singh on the other side of the ferry. By the 4th Shawwal (lst April, 1731), the besieged were suing for terms, the fort was to be evacuated and made over to Nizám-ul-Mulk's envoys. This noble was, however, threatened by a new danger, which hastened his departure from that part of the country. He heard that Báji Ráo leaving the Narbada had gone towards Surat and Nurpurah. This made it necessary for him, he said, to provide without losing a moment, for the safety of Aurangábád and other parganahs and important forts. His own spies confirmed the news, saying, that they had left during the night, when it was said that Báji Ráo would march next day. Chimná Jí Dámodar having been released, had reached Dobhoi, twenty miles south-east of Baroda; and he had written to his son that Báji Ráo had moved and gone towards the Ghát of Nánabyári.

[^93]The explanation of Nizám-ul-Mulk's anxiety and haste would appear to be that he had heard of the defeat, on the lst April 1731, between Baroda and Dobhoi in Gujrát, of his allies, Pílají Gáekwár and others. Udá Jí and Chimná Jí Pandit were taken prisoners.* This defeat rendered futile all the negociations for a. general alliance between the two leaders, Muhammad Khán and Nizám-ulıMulk. But Muhammad Khán was benefited indirectly, for Nizám-ul-Mulk was forced to take the field openly against Báji Ráo, thus for one season averting from Málwá the full force of the Mahratta depredations. Báji Ráo was forced to remain in the Dakhin on the defensive.

Grant Duff $\dagger$ speaks of no open fighting between Báji Ráo and Nizám-ul-Mulk from April 1731 till the time of concluding a treaty in August of that year. Nizám-ul-Mulk, however, in the last but one of his letters to Muhammad Khán, details what he calls his victories over Báji Ráo. The latter had invested Baroda which was occupied by men of his own nation. But hearing of the approach of the Muhammadans, the Mahrattas raised the siege and made off towards Surat, and when they thought they were at a safe distance, they turned off to plunder parganah Auklah.

Hearing of their movements, Nizám-ul-Mulk says, he left the ferry of Akbarpur and passed near the fort of Mándo, sending his heavy baggage and large guns to Burhánpur. Making forced marches he soon reached the river, where finding much of his artillery in his way and difficult to get across, he left it behind. Then redoubling bis haste he reached the port of Surat, and for the third time left more of his impedimenta at the village of Malwá. They pressed on though troubled by hunger and thirst, carriage became very difficult to procure, and for two or three days deaths were frequent. For most of the time they passed through desert and wilderness. After crossing the ferry they drew near to the enemy and caught them unawares. They took to flight, but the Bhils and Kolis captured numbers of them, more especially at night when they had lost their way. The Muhammadan army had now come to the shores of an arm of the sea. This gives an opening to the Persian scribe to descant on serpents and the rod of Moses, Pharaoh and Pharaoh's host.

They had passed through the deserts and unoccupied country of Khándesh, Surat, and Kokan, where from the thickness of the woods, it is difficult to force a practicable route. When they reached Surat the enemy were driven towards Daman, $\ddagger$ which was under the sway of the Farangi, and thence to the Kokan, the western boundary of the Dakhin. They then were caught at a place where you go from the Tal Kokan to the country

[^94]above the ghat. Thank God! the Subah of Gujrát was freed from Bají Ráo, Málwá was no longer in danger, and the fort of Surat, which is the gate of God's house (Mecca), had been recovered from the infidel.

While Muhammad Khán had gone to meet Nizám-ul-Mulk, he had sent his son, Ahmad Khán, with Mukim Khán to the east to reduce Kálkli and Chakaldah* two forts on the right bank of the Narbada, the head quarters of Udá Punwár. Both were places noted for their strength, more especially Chakaldah, which had four forts and deep ditches, with jungle on three sides and the Narbada on the fourth. As the garrisons offered a stubborn resistance, Muhammad Khán himself determined to march to his son's aid ; and leaving Akbarpur on the 1st Shawwál 1143; (29th March, 1731), in two days he arrived near Kálkli. By an effort this fort was taken, and the next day they proceeded to invest Chakaldah. After six hours' fighting the besieged were overcome so far that they sued for terms. Three thousand souls, men and women, submitted and were set at liberty. The walls, ditch and bastions were razed to the ground, and gold keys as a token of the capture were forwarded to the Emperor. While the Muhammadans were encamped near Chakaldah, Báji Ráo was plundering in the direction of Jábwah, $\dagger$ while Rájah Abhai Singh was opposing him. Muhammad Khan hoped to march that way after clearing the country and destroying the forts.

This capture of Uda Jís forts provoked a strong remonstrance from Nizám-ul-Mulk. He had told Muhammad Khán that Udá Jí and his friends were at enmity with Baji Ráo. To secure success in the negociations with them, they must be treated with consideration. If there were any of Holkar's men in the forts, then with God's aid they should be seized. Otherwise it was highly advisable to postpone any attack, and to put these men out of humour for a trifling cause was undesirable. The year before, when Raj Adhiraj (Raj Jai Singh Sawái of Jaipur) had cleared out the forts, he could not maintain himself, and the former owners re-occupied them. Former Názims had not troubled themselves about the place, which was at a distance from Ujain and in one corner. To retain it would give great trouble and bring little profit. Above all, at such a time they should not be interfered with, and the Emperor's advisers knew nothing of the state of affairs. The break up of the confederacy by the defeat on the 1st April, 1731, rendered these remonstrances of little weight, and before the letter was received the forts had been taken and levelled with the ground.

Muhammad Khán turned against the fort of Konsi, the home of

[^95]Máwée Bhilán,* which possessed four strong citadels connected with each other, and surrounded by 2 deep ditch filled with water. On all sides were steep hills and inaccessible ravines. Fighting with muskets, rockets, arrows, spears, swivel-guns (rahkla) and cannon went on day and night. The first entrenchment was stormed and the garrison asked for terms, which were granted. The fort was not dismantled, as it afforded a protection against the inroads of the Mahrattas.

While Muhammad Khán was engaged with these forts, he heard that Mulhár Holkar was plundering in the country of Rámpura† and Mandeshwar. He was opposed by the Imperial troops in the neighbourhood of Sárangpur, Sháhjahánpur and Dhár, and he went off for a time into Jaipur territory. Meanwhile Anţhú, another Mahratta leader, had ravaged the country round Kánţh. The two leaders then united with Maţhwárah to trouble the road between Paráth and Sháhjahánpur. Reports of these things came from Sheikh Amán-ullah, manager of Sháhjahánpur, the jágir of Nizám-ul-Mulk, and from Dáud Khán, chela, Náib Faujdár of Sárang. pur. At this time too, Fath Singh Wáúlbánsi and other Mahrattas had crossed the Narbada, and unopposed at any point by any of the Hindustani armies, had plundered the country of Mándu $\ddagger$ returning home by way of Bárigarh.

Muhammad Khán returned and reached Ujain on the 13th Zi'lka'd of the 13th year, (9th May, 1731). He complains that besides himself no one else was beartily desirous of repelling the Mahrattas. To add to his difficulties, his troops now mutinied and demanded their arrears of pay. He found some means or other to content them for the time. Then Rajah Kishor Singh, son of Rajah Ajit Singh, was despatched to parganah Muhammadpur, and Sayyad Fath 'Ali Khán Bárha to parganah Bhadáwar, to protect the towns and bar the way to the enemy; while Anwar Khán was placed in Ujain itself, and Mukim Khán had orders to drive off any of the enemy who approashed that place. When these dispositions had been made, Muhammad Khán on the 19th Zi'lka'd (15th May, 1781) left Ujain.

Máháráo Durjan Sál of Kotah, Kupwar Bahádur of Orchha, and the sons of the Rajah of Chanderi were asked to take some of Muhammad Khán's troops and attack Anţhú, who was reported to be then near Kánţ̧ at the head of one thousand men; and Mulhár, who had appeared again in the neighbourhood of Sárangpur. This request was refused.

On the 8th Zi'l Hajj (3rd June, 1731), Muhammad Khán was near Kánṭh. Anţhú now withdrew. But next day, when the Nawáb reached

[^96]Sháhjahánpur, word came from Dáud Khán, náib of Sárangpur, that he would be overwhelmed by Mulhár unless he were reinforced at once. Forthwith, at midnight, the Máháráo, Kunwar Bahádur, and the sons of the Rajah of Chanderi having been appointed to lead the van, the army set out and reached Sárangpur, about nineteen miles distant to the north, at an hour and a half after sunrise. The troops were still on the line of march or engaged in crossing the river, when Holkar, Anthí and others suddenly appeared. The Muhammadans at once drew up and engaged them, the fighting going on till an hour before sunset. The Mahrattas then fled, and in the pursuit, which extended for four kos, many were killed. Muhammad Khán, with his men, was out till midnight conducting the pursuit and plundering the camp and baggage, called in the Mahratta tongue "Paráo." When the pursuers got near the town of Sundarsi, about twenty-three miles south of Sárangpur, a spy came and informed them that the enemy in their flight from the field, after resting a short time in Sundarsi, had resumed their route and were making for the Narbada, and must have gone already fifteen or twenty kos. The Muhammadans after a pursuit of ten to twelve kos returned to their camp.

Muhammad Khán speaks of having with him twenty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. Night and day he was engaged in efforts to expel the invaders. On the other hand, the Názim of Gujrát (Hámid Khán ?) had only given cash, jewels, elephants and horses to Báji Ráo, while the thanas were still in the hands of Kanţyá and Udá Puñwár. The Názim had never gone a kos from the city. In the dispute between the Názim and Mubáriz-ul-Mulk (Sarbuland Khán) he heard that in the first encounter the latter gained the advantage, but night coming on the pursuit was stopped, and next morning an arrangement was come to.

The Rajahs had throughout shown great reluctance to attend Muhammad Khán, Kunwar Bahádur of Orchha being the only one who had done any real service. Máháráo Durjan Singh of Koţah, and Ráo Matwárah now requested leave to go home, and threatened to go without it, if leave were not granted. They quitted the army on the 22nd Muharram, 1144 H . (16th July, 1731). From this defection others were disheartened, and a few days afterwards Kunwar Bahádur of Orchha with four or five hundred horse, and Jograj, son of Rajjah Jai Singh of Chanderi, with forty or fifty horse marched away to their homes. Although, as Muhammad Khán says, the presence or absence of the latter was equally matter of indifference, still these defections were discouraging. The other Rajjahs, Udait Singh of Orchha, Ram Chand of Datyá, Chattar Singh of Sháhábád, and the Bhadaurya Rajah, had paid no heed to all the orders and messengers sent to them direct from the Emperor. Nor had any attention been vouchsafed at Court to

Muhammad Khán's recommendation of Hindu Singh Chandela* for whom he had asked for the rank of Sihhazári, 2000 horse, a jágir of his native country, and restoration to his zamindari. If Hindu Singh were sent to Málwá, the Bhadauriya Rájah would no longer have a pretext for lingering at Kanauj (where he held the office of Faujdár).

After Mulhár and Anṭhú had recrossed the Narbada, Muhammad Khán went to extort his revenue from one Umánt; and in two marches having reached Rajjgarh, $\ddagger$ be defeated the zamiadar referred to, and settled matters with him. Muhammad Khán then returned to Sironj. This place, which is about 136 miles north-east of Ujain and about 150 miles south of Gwaliár, he made his head-quarters, probably because it was further from the Narbada than Ujain, and nearer his line of retreat by Gwáliár to Hindustán. His foothold in Málwá was too precarious for him to risk being surrounded and cut off. He appears to have remained at Sironj during the rainy season of 1731 .

The state of the Subah was most deplorable. The whole country had been spoiled by the Názim and ravaged by the Mahrattas. It was entirely out of cultivation and uninhabited (be cheragh), nowhere was any crop to be seen, there was nothing but dry grass. The villages which were inhabited had been plundered by the Thakurs and burnt to the ground, the ravages of the infidel caused the country to be deserted. Only Rs. 5000 had been collected from Mandeshwar and Rs. 4000 from Sironj and Bhilsa.§ During the rains of 1731, Muhammad Khan made repeated reports of these facts, stating his want of money, the mutinous conduct of his troops, the impossibility of getting any revenue from Máwa, and the necessity for help in men and money. These urgent appeals were left unanswered.

His difficulties were further increased by the fact that Málwa, from one end to the other, was granted out in tankhroah to jágirdárs, who were backed up by Khán Daurán Khán and Roshan-ud-daula. These jágirdárs complained at Court of the slightest interference, but gave not the least assistance. Nowhere was there sufficient land left for the Subahdar to plant the sole of his foot, much less to use for a riding or hunting-ground. On the one side, from a tank which lies two and a half kos from Ujain, began the jágir of Burhán-ul-Mulk and others; and in another direction, from Fathé-

[^97]bad,* four or five kos from the city, the parganahs and villages were all in jágir. Rámpurah† was held by Rájah Jai Singh Sawái ; Haif Ali Khán's jágir was Kankrál ; Rájah Málráj held Kadraulah in Dhámoni ; $\ddagger$ other portions of the Subah had been assigned to Nizám-ul-Mulk Asaf Jáh, to Nawab Kudsia, § to Háfiz Khidmatgár Khán, Mukarrab-ul-hazrat Khákán, to Mír Husain Khán Kokah, \| to Sa'd-ud-din Khán Bahádur Mír Atash, to 'Ali Ahmad Khán, and to the eunuchs of His Majesty. Many of the agents of these grantees allowed their ta'lukeahs to become places of resort for the Mahrattas, where the plunder from the imperial territory was stored. When any Mahrattas took refuge with them and a force was sent after them, the agents declared that there were no fugitives in their parganahs. If the army entered their lands, they then raised loud complaints of the damage. Thus everything had to be left in confusion, and it became impossible to re-settle the country.

The zamindars of Rámpurah were in league with Mulhár Holkar and helped to plunder the country. When the imperial army followed them up, Rájah Jai Singh Sawai remonstrated at Court, and Muhammad Khán was rebuked. In defending himself he gives an instance of what was done. Sít́ Rám Nágar had been chief writer of the zamindars of Rámpurah till Ráj Adhiraj took possession. This man then became a jama'dár in the regiment of Mulím Khán. Having broken his leg, he was put on Mukím Khán's elephant, and the day the army left Bansilah he set out for his home followed by fifty or sixty men. Rájah Jai Singh Sawái's men were lying in ambush at seven or eight kos from Rámpurah. As he passed they stopped him and seized the elephant. They would neither return the elephant nor grant an interview to the Nawáb's messengers. Muhammad Khán exclaims how hard it is that Ráj Adhiráj, who held all Akbarábád and Ajmer, and had lately received the parganahs round the capital, should try to stretch forth his hand on Subah Málwá and intrigue there with the infidels.

As for Haif 'Ali Khán's jágir, it had been customary for the zamindar of Kankral to pay peshkash to former názims; one lakh of rupees had been paid to Rajah Girdhar Bahádur besides four elephants. Now instead of injuring, Muhammad Khán had benefited the jágirdár. When Mukím Khán went there, he settled the zamindars' payment at a higher amount, collected the money, and remitted it to the jagírdár. The latter's Amil still retained possession of the jágirs of 'Abd-ur-razák Khán, Khwájah Münír

[^98]Khán and Ghási Rám. After settling Ujain, Muhammad Khán intended, he said, to go to Dhámoni to recover the jágir of Rájah Malraj.

Seeing that no one in the Presence paid any attention to his representations, Muhammad Khán determined to leave a naib in his place and repair to Court. On his way, he resolved to settle Sháhábád* and Ranúdah, $\dagger$ the faujdári of which Rájah Chattar Singh had not yet relinquished, and he had also behayed badly to 'Atík-ullah Khán, naib of Muhammad Khán. This expedition put the finishing touch to the Nawab's misdeeds, and no doubt formed one of the causes of his sudden recall.

Kajah Chattar Singh Narwari, who was specially recommended to Muhammad Khán by Háfiz Khidmatgár Khán as his "friend and companion", beld the Sarkárs of Sháhábád and Ranúdah, to which Muhammad Khán had been appointed faujdár. His ancestral estates were in Shiupuri and Kaláras, and his country extended up to the neighbourhood of Sironj. He also held Narwar, $\ddagger$ which for seven hundred years had never been in possession of the Hindus. Although he had been ordered to join he did not attend, he did not give up the Sarkárs, and nothing could be collected; at length he surrounded Sayyad Atík-ullah Khán, naib, and cut off his supplies. From his position in the line of Muhammad Khán's communication with Hindústán, he was able to give great annoyance. Narwar, "which is as a gateway "sufficient for the passage of one man at a time", was the only route open to recruits ; the road by Bhadáwar being closed by the Bhadauriya Rajah. Seven or eight times the men of Chattar Singh had murdered messengers at the pass of Narwar and had taken their letters. Only one pair of messengers, after giving up their letters, had escaped with their lives. To obviate this inconvenience, Muhammad Khán renewed his request that his son Akbar Khán might be made faujdár of Narwar and Bhadáwar. Or if that were not approved, some one of the Mughal party might be appointed to keep the road open. This request was refused on the ground that, Sháhábád having recently been taken from Rajah Chattar Singh, Narwar, his native country, could not be taken without any fault. As an alternative, the Nawáb urged that Chattar Singh's rank (mansab) and jágirs might be taken away, as a lesson to others who had failed to attend in obedience to the Emperor's orders. After writing to him in vain several times, Muhammad Khán decided to proceed to active measures against him.

About the commencement of his second year in Málwá (October-November, 1731,) Muhammad Khán marched to Saráe Nau about fifty miles north of Sironj, giving out that he was on his way to Court. On the 3rd Jamadi, I. 1144 H. (23rd October, 1731), the army surrounded the village

[^99]of Labkára. The villagers relying on the strength of their fort resisted and fought for three watches. At length they took to flight, and the small fort was carried by assault (ba-sar-i-swwdri) ; many of the garrison were killed or left for half dead. The following day, an attack was made on Chándaur* where there was a strong fort, and the zamindárs were noted for their turbulence. Fighting went on all day, but at length this fort too was taken, and lives were lost on both sides.

The Muhammadans next went to Chargan, a fort on a high hill, surrounded by jungle, and with many outworks. Its defenders relying on their numbers took to the jungles and ravines. Fighting went on morning and evening for twenty-four days; till the enemy sued for and obtained terms. Thence the Imperialists turned to Bhándaur, $\dagger$ the stronghold of Kahri Singh, grandson of Chattar Singh. During the night Kahri Singh made off and his fort was taken. Two or three other forts were reduced in the same way.

The last place attacked was Sháhábád, Chattar Singh's place of residence, and declared, perhaps with some exaggeration, to be as strong as the fortress of Gwáliár. After some time had passed, Chattar Singh proposed to negotiate and Muhammad Khán tried to conciliate him. It was agreed that he should join with his troops. Intelligence, however, came of a fresh invasion under Báji Ráo. The night before the morning fixed for the march, Chattar Singh brought forward claims for pay. These were all agreed to. During the night, however, Chattar Singh absconded and made off to his own country. As the danger pressed, Muhammad Kbán had no alternative but to return to Sironj.

The Mahrattas were reported to be in force in the country of Khanján and Umán and Sewni, $\ddagger$ and though in the Dakhin they talk of the "chauth," i. e., one-fourth, yet they took from the towns and villages more than three shares both in Málwá and Gujrát. As in this year (1144) they felt quite safe on the side of Gujrát, they had brought nearly 100,000 horse into Málwá. Fath Singh, an agent of Sáhu, § Pílá Jádon, Anand Ráo, brother of Udá Punwár, Sámájí and others, with more than thirty thousand horse, posted themselves near Khimlása, on the east of the town of Sironj towards Chanderi, at a distance of seven kos from Sironj. Chimná, Báji Ráo's bro. ther, Mulhar and others with a force of thirty thousand horse were in the

[^100]country of Umaţwárah.* There was a further force of twelve thousand men which had not crossed the Narbada. Another army, supposed to num. ber ten to twelve thousand men, was directing its steps towards Málwa by way of Gadh. $\dagger$ Eighty or ninety thousand of the enemy were thus adrancing on all four sides.

As soon as the Mahrattas crossed the Narbada, the zamindárs sent agents to fix the amount of black-mail (khandali) to be levied The money was then paid, and the Rajahs, no longer anxious about their own territories, stayed at home. The zamindár of Shiupuri and Kaláras and others gave hostages for the punctual payment of the annual tribute. The Rajah of Orchha, the Bhadauriya Rájab, the sons of Chattarsal, and the Rajah of Datiya fixed what they had to pay. The zamindárs of Málwá exchanged turbans with the Mahrattas and entered into alliance with them.

Muhammad Khán tried to open negotiations direct with Rájah Sáhu at Púna, but the only answer received was, that Báji Ráo Pandit Pardhán, who was of high dignity and power in his State, was his sole and only adviser in all matters. A written document should be given as demanded; Pílájí Jádon and Mulhár Holkar were subordinates of the Pandit Pardhán, and must act according to his wishes.

On hearing that the enemy were approaching Khimlása, Muhammad Khán left Lodah-Dongar, $\ddagger$ and after continuous marching for three days and nights he arrived at Sironj. It was decided that next morning they would attack the enemy, who were reported to be thirty thousand strong. Then intelligence was received that Mulhár had left Umaṭwárah with fifty thousand horse, and after levying black-mail from the Maharáo (of Kotah) had arrived within fifteen or sisteen miles of Sironj. Twenty thousand men were also scattered about Mandeshwar, Ujain, and Sháhjahánpúr, to the south and west of Sironj.

It was obvious that if Muhammad Khán went on to Khimlása, it would take him ten to fifteen days to defeat and pursue the enemy. While he was absent, a second Mahratta leader would plunder Sironj, Bhilsa and other towns. Muhammad Khán thought it best to succumb. He therefore sent for both the Mahratta leaders, gave them presents, with horses and an elephant, by way of " chila't." After an agreement had been made, they went away by Gadh and crossed the Narbada in boats. After the Mah-

- Umadwara, a small district in the province of Malwá, of which it occupies the centre, it is bounded by the Kali Sind and Parbati rivers. The principal towns are Chaunchra, Kajghar and Kujnir. Hamilton's Hindústán, I, p. 357. See also Aitchison's Treaties, Ed. 1876, Vol. III, p. 446.
+ Perhaps Gaph Mandala, 90 miles S. E. of Sagar.
$\ddagger$ From the remarks of the author of the Hadikat-ul-Akdl/m, in describing the campaign of the English south of Gwaliar in 1782, it seems that this place must be quite close to Kalaras.
ratta custom, they had asked for an agreement in writing, but this, without the Emperor's leave, Muhammad Khán refused to give. He reported to Court that if his orders were to oppose the Mahrattas, the requisite troops and money must be sent, and if a settlement was to be made he would act accordingly.

Muhammad Khán now settled for the rainy season of 1732 at Sironj, and employed his leisure in writing to Delhi for help. He prophesied that the next year the Mahrattas, if not checked, would spread from the banks of the Narbada to Akbarábád, Allahábád, and close to the territory of Bihár, then would finally turn upon Subah Ajmer. The income of Málwé could not provide for the pay of an army. For twenty years he had served the Imperial house, but whatever he had saved was all expended. His jágirs were in the hands of the Bundelas, and when he was despatched to Málwá, the ministers made him swear solemnly that, till the Subah was reduced to order, he would make no attempt to recover his jágirs. Meanwhile Ján Nisár Khán, faujdár of Kora, had for three years levied large sums from Sahindah, and other parganahs made over in trust to Anandi Sangrám. Without 40,000 horse and 40,000 foot, order could not be established, while he (Muhammad Khán) had not money to pay even two thousand horse. He therefore asked for five lakhs of rupees a month, a strong Mughul force, and contingents from the friendly Rájahs. The Mahrattas had four or five armies stationed at five or six marches from each other, and a similar disposition ought to be made of the Imperial forces. If his word be doubted, and his reports be held long-winded and exaggerated, he begs that some one else be deputed, whose reports are trusted and "who can abbreviate this lengthiness," and he (Muhammad Khán) would willingly serve under him. There were of old seven Sultáns in the Dakhin, but former sovereigns overcame them. In comparison, what an easy task it would be to get rid of "this set of thieves" from one corner of that country, if His Majesty would leave Sháhjahanábád and bring an army to Málwá. If things went on much longer as they were, the disturbance would soon extend to Hindústán. How much better it would be, then, to resist the encroachment at once.

> "Sar-i-chashma báyad giriftan ba-mil, "Chu pur shud, na báyad gużashtan ba pil."

Instead of sending any help, letters from Court were now sent to various zamindars, hinting that a new názim was about to be appointed. They should therefore await his arrival instead of joining Muhammad Khán. Similar letters of encouragement had been forwarded to the Mahrattas. Nizám-ul-Mulk, although appealed to, made no sign; and then other efforts were made to obtain help from a distance. By a parwanah of the 20th Ramzán, in the 14th year (6th March, 1732), the Nawáb aent

Rs. 17,000, in hundis upon the bankers of Lahore, to the commanders (tumandars) of the Afghans living in Kábul. They were requested to enlist recruits, but none appear to have come.

The only answer from Court to Muhammad Khán's appeals was an upbraiding letter from Khán Daurán Khán. The Mahrattas had been allowed to spread all over the country, while Muhammad Khán's agents accompanied them, pointing out the proper routes. It was asserted that the arrival of the enemy at Orchha and Narwar was with the connivance of those agents. By great exertions, Khán Daurán Khán says, he had obtained a renewal of the grant of parganah Akbarpur* from 1146 Fusli, although His Majesty said it had been granted several years before for one harvest only, and the officials of the Diwáni made objection that it was khalisa, or directly under the Crown. In another letter of this time, Khán Daurán Khán sets forth with great vehemence his own incorruptibility, and asserts that, except the enhanced jágir of one kror of dám granted in the Sayyads' time (1713-1720), he had received nothing. All beyond this he held to be accursed. What then could be gain by dismissals or appointments to offices or jagirs? When Muhammad Khín was appointed to Málwá, he had, out of friendship, pressed for the removal of one of his (Khán Daurán's) own relations, who had been previously named.

Soon a farmán in the Emperor's own hand-writing reached Sironj, informing Muhammad Khán that Rájah Jai Singh Sawáe had been appointed his successor, and directing him to report himself at Mustakirr-ul-Khiláfat Akbarábád, to which place the Emperor in person intended to proceed after hunting in the preserves of Shiuli near Delhi. Information of his supercession had already reached him on the 4th Jamadi, I. (12th Oct. 1732), in letters from Káim Khán, his son, Mangal Khán, who had gone to Delhi to raise men and money, and Pir 'Ali Khán, his representa tive at Court. Orders were at once issued to Mukím Khán to report himself to Muhammad Khán after making over the town of Ujain and the other places to the servants of Ráj Adhíráj. On the 6th of the same month (14th Oct. 1732), the Nawáb's family and dependents started on their way home. The men engaged by Mangal Khan were made over, with the Emperor's approval, to the naibs of Rij Adhiraj (Jai Singh Sawae). Muhammad Khán then left Málwá and arrived at Albarábád on the 29th Jamadi, II. (6th Dec. 1732), after an absence of two years.

Apart from difficulties about money, and the general non-success of his arms, three causes appear to have led to Muhammad Khan's disgrace, (1), the complaints of the jágirdárs, who were influential in the palace, (2), the attack on Chattar Singh Narwari, who was protected by the favourite, Háiz Khidmatgar Khán, and others, (8), the friendship which

[^101]appeared to have sprung up between Muhammad Khán and Nizám-ulMulk, whose acts were then most jealously watched by the clique in power. The subsequent rapid advance of the Mahrattas is Muhammad Khán's best justification, and it is clear that with inferior means he did as much, if not more, than the Wazir and the Amir-ul-Umrá, backed by all the forces of the empire, were able to accomplish.

Campaigns against the Mahrattas-1145-1149 H. (1732-1736).
In the 15th year (Sept. 1732 to Aug. 1733), shortly after Muhammad Khán's arrival at Akbarábád, he received a farmán from the Emperor stating that the Mahrattas were reported to be between Sironj and Narwar, and engaged in plundering the zamindars of the Umait clan. Jamdat-ulMulk, 'Itimád-ud-daula, Kamr-uddin Khán having been appointed to repel them, Muhammad Khán was directed to join him. 'Itimád-ud-daula also wrote to the same effect.*

With Kamr-ud-din Khán, Wazir-ul-Mamálik, came Zahír-ud-daula Mahámid Jang, his brother, and Khán Fírúz Jang, son of Asaf Jáh Nizám-ul-Mulk and son-in-law of the wazir. When they reached Akbarabád, Muhammad Khán went out to meet them and escort them. The next day the wazír came to the Nawáb's house and urged him to join in the campaign. Looking on it as a holy war for Islám, Muhammad Khán agreed. He then advanced with Khín Fírúz Jang and Mahámid Jang beyond Narwar to Loḍah-Dangar, south of Kaláras. There he heard that the infidels had crossed the Narbada, but Rajjah Jai Singh Sawáe, unable to bar their way, had sent his baggage home to his own country, and had himself gone one march in that direction. The wazir, who had received a letter from Rájah Jai Singh Sawá, wrote urgently to recall Muhammad Khán, on the plea that the rains were upon them and nothing more could be done. The Nawáb in obedience to these orders retraced his steps, and rejoined the wazir at Shiupuri.

They then marcbed to punish the son of Udarri, who had instigated the murder of Ján Nisár Khán, faujdár of Kora and brother-in-law to the wain. On the 9th Muharram, 1146 H . (11th June, 1733), they drew near to Gházipur. $\dagger$ The Rájah's fort was bombarded from three hours after sunrise till far into the night. During that day the batteries were advanced to the ditch of the fort which surrounded the houses. Bhagwant in the darkness fled to the jungle, and took refuge in Suthar, a place of strength belonging to him. Muhammad Khán then encamped on the Jamna at the

[^102]ferry of Chár Khajari, while troops went in pursuit of the fugitive. One account* states that Muhammad Khán adjusted the matter by exacting a contribution, bnt his own letters do not state how the affair ended.

Muhammad Khán does not appear to have taken part in Muzaffar Khán's campaign of the 16th year (1146-1147 = Sept.1733-Sept. 1734), or in that of the 17 th. year (1147-1148) under Kamr-ud-dín Khán. About this time Muhammad Khán had a dangerous illness, and for fourteen days he could eat or drink nothing but a little rice-water.

In 1148 H . (May 1735-May 1736), or 1149 H . (May 1736-April 1737), Muhammad Khán reported to His Majesty that the son of Báji Ráo with other leaders was in Bundelkhand. A party of them with two or three hundred horse came to the banks of the Jamna, and ascertained several places where the river was fordable. The rumour was that they intended to cross into the Duáb. In reply the Eniperor wrote that the sons of Chattarsal were in league with the enemy, and had given them a passage. It was expected that they would ravage Korá, Kálpi and Itáwah. Sarbuland Khán Mubáriz-ul-Mulk had received orders to prevent their crossing, while Muhammad Khán, instead of remaining idle, should proceed towards Gwáliar. The Emperor intended to go to Akbarábád in person.

Muhammad Khán's reply to this command was, that he had no means to raise an army, that he still owed his men the pay for their second year in Malwá. In his beggared state he had not thought it advisable to go to Gwáliár, he was moreover ill, but he hoped his son, Akbar Khán, would be appointed faujdár of Gwáliar. In another letter to the wazir he declines to attend, as he does not wish to appear at Court solitary and without friends. He sent his son, Káim Khán, with such troops as he had. If the Emperor appointed him to a subah and granted him ten Keror of dám, he could raise as many men as was desired. To meet the enemy fifty thousand men were required, and the revenues of a subah would be absorbed. To go with an insignificant force to Gwáliár, and there to sit with hands drawn into sleeve and feet into skirt, would only encourage the invaders.

Next Khán Daurán Khán Amír-ul-Umrá writes two letters to Muhammad Khán. It was reported that Chimná Jí had advanced beyond Gwáliár via Sironj and Bundelkhand, after ejecting Rájah Jai Singh from Málwá, and had plundered the country. Muhammad Khán should collect a large army from the country near Akbarabád, and a subsidy would be allotted. Burhán-ul-Mulk had orders to proceed to Akbarábád and was advancing by daily marches. Fakhr-ud-daula, brother of Khán Daurán Khán,

[^103]was also on his way with a strong force. Ráo Badan Singh Ját would soon be at Akbarabad. All these would aid in the protection of the city. Nastat Yár Khán and Ráe Shiu Dás, the náibs of the Názim (Rajah Jai Singh Sawae), would also assist. The great object was to defend the subah, to tranquillize the city, and to preserve the name and fame of Hindústan. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk would soon arrive at Gwáliár, and the Bhadauriya Rájah, if freed from anciety about his home, would also join.

Rájah Jai Singh Sawáe also opened communications with Muhammad Khán, and tried to induce him to quit his retirement. At first Muharomad Khán's only reply was to taunt Jai Singh, pointing out that he held onethird of Málwá, one-fourth of the Delhi subah and the whole of the Akbarabád Nizámat, besides his native country, which produced an income equal to that of a Subah. The Mahrattas in the Jaipur territory pretend to be one in aim and object with the Rájputs and Bundelas. This is only deceit (flosofi), who knows where they will stop, not only have they reached Hindástán but they are spread abroad in Bangálá. The Rájah might be quite sure that, whenever they had made safe their position elsewhere, they would throw him over, and demand the very places which they then professed to protect.

By the offer of jagirs and money payments, Rájah Jai Singh succeeded in overcoming Mahammad Khán's reluctance to serve again. Before he appeared in the field, however, the Mahrattas, having crossed the Jamna at the ferries opposite Aurúyah and Saráe Ajit Mall in the Etáwah district, had plundered Khánpur, Derapur, Mangalpur, Sikandrah and Shiuganpur.* Their collectors had recovered khandi from the zamindárs and faujdárs of the Duáb. Other parties were scattered in the country of Gwáliár, Bijipurt had been surrounded, and the inhabitants of Antri $\ddagger$ had taken refuge in Gwaliar. The latter were suspected of being in league with the invaders. The zamindárs of Raojha (?) bad been defeated.

On the 7th Ramzan, 1148 H (10th Jan. 1736), the Nawab's troops began to cross the Jamna. Muhammad Khán had fixed the 14th Shawwal for his own advance, but as the Mabrattas were reported to have gone off towards Delhi, the inhabitants of Akbarábád and Ráe Shiu Dás, náib, became frightened. The army of the invaders in Bhadáwar might see their opportunity, and crossing the river might invest the city.

Reports now came in that one force of Mahrattas had advanced beyond Núrábád§ in the direction of Akbarabad, and that another party was near

[^104]Antri in the country of Bhadawar. Accordingly on the 21st Ramzan, 1148 H. (24th Jan. 1736), a division of two thousand horse and two thousand foot, under Zabırdast Khan, Rasul Khan and others, was sent to Dholpur to protect the ferries on the Chambal. The zamindárs of the Dandota, Satgír, Ardwar, Túnpuri and Gujar clans were granted khila'ts, and posted from point to point (nákabandi) to guard the routes. This task was efficiently performed, although the naib faujdár of Dholpár had retreated. A party of the enemy posted themselves at Núrabád and came daily to the ferries, but found they were unable to cross. Muhammad Khán exercised similar vigilance in Akbarábád ; at length the Mahrattas went back to Bhadáwar, and there rejoined their other army. Gwáliár was held by 'Umr Khán, with two thousand men from Mau under Kále Khán Khatak, Sher Khán Warakzai and Ahmad Khán Afrídi, added to one thousand men of Gwáliár itself.

The usual complaints now commenced of want of means, and of difficulties about the pay of the troops. Yákut Khán, Khán Bahadur, was sent home to bring five lakhs of rupees, but after great difficulty he provided $1,20,000$ rupees. This was like a drop of water on a fire. Muhammad Khán, though ready and willing, professed to have no money, and for a year had been waiting in Akbarabad, put off from day to day with promises.

Muhammad Khán's efforts were further paralysed by doubts of the policy favoured at Court. He exclaims that he could not find the word to the enigma; while he waited for orders to march on Dholpur, the infidels resorted to Delhi, where they received audience of His Majesty. They were received as friends, and money was bestowed on them. Should he march to Dholpur and fight the enemy, he might be told by the ministers that peace had been concluded, and that he had only thrown matters into confusion.

He reports that Baji Ráo had one hundred thousand horsemen in Bundelkhand, Bhadáwar and Gwáliár. Part of them had gone towards Kálpi intending to plunder Korá. The sons of Chattarsál and Bhagwant (of Gházipar in the Fathpur district) had agreed to pay them lakhs, and to levy krors of rupees for them in that country ; other Hindu Réjahs and zamindárs beyond the Jamna and Chambal had pricked up their ears, and even some parties of Muhammadans from Malwá had entered their service. The Bhadauriya Rajah like the rest had come to terms with the invaders. In no way had Báji Káo quitted the service of Rájah Sáhú, nor had the Mahrattas ceased to harry the Imperial territory. At such a critical moment, the Nawáb could not understand why Burhán-ul-Mulk was sent to his Subah, and Rajah Abhai Singh of Márwár to his home.

At length Rajah Jai Singh Sawre wrote to say that, on the 8th Rabi I, 1149 H. (5th July, 1736), Báji Ráo and his son had submitted to the Imperial authority. With Ránújí Sendhia, Mulhár Holkar, Baswant Ráe Punwar, and other companions, he sought an interview with the Rajah at

Dholpur. He gave an agreement under his seal, with sureties, not to act contrary to his word. Baji Ráo left on the 13th of the same month, while Rajah Jai Singh proceeded towards Subah Ajmer, where the Ráthors had raised disturbances. Apparently this was the occasion on which Baji Rato received the appointment of náib Nazim of Málwá.*

Shortly afterwards, in the same year, the Mahrattas crossed over into the Duáb and plundered Firázábád, 'Itimádpur and Jalesar. Burhán-ulMulk, without waiting for the rest of the Imperial forces, attacked and defeated them near Jalesar. Khán Daurán Khán then advanced from Delhi with a large force, accompanied by Muhammad Khan at the head of twelve thousand men. They met Burhán-ul-Mulk near Mathura early in Zi'l Hajj $1: 49$ H. (March-April, 1787). As they were returning to Delhi the Jatts of the village of Mitrol, between Kodal and Palwal, fell on and plundered their baggage. By the Emperor's order Muhammad Khán returned to protect Akbarábád. $\dagger$

## Muhammad Khán asks for Bengal and Patna, but gots Allahábád.

KSim Khán was now at Court, and through his influence, the Emperor promised to appoint Muhammad Khán to Patna and Bangála. To conceal the matter from Mahábat Jang, the then Subahdár of Bengal, no sanad was to issue for that Subah, a note in the Emperor's hand-writing being taken instead. Muhammad Sháh was never long of one mind, and he soon began to raise difficulties. Muhammad Khán then proposed that Káim Khán should be made Názim of 'Azímábád-Patna, while he should be made naib of Bengal under the heir-apparent. He offered to remit to Court all the property confiscated by 'Ali Wardi Khán, and to pay regularly ten or fifteen times the revenue forwarded by Sarfaraz Khán, $\ddagger$ signing any undertaking that might be domanded. Notwithstanding these promises, the negotiation seems to have fallen through.

Allahábád was then asked for, but a formidable rival arose in Burhán-ul-Mulk, who offered a peskkash of fifteen lakhs of rupees. Muhammad Khán's claims appear, however, to have had some weight. His conditions were, that he should obtain the Subah, free of all interference, including Jaunpur, Gháaipur, Kuhna Saráe, Banáras, Ḥádah, Mánikpar, Ghorá, Kálinjar etc.; that Kora and Kanauj should be made over to him as dependencies ; and that Sarkár Gwálíar should be given to Khizr Khán as Súbah, with Muhammad Khán as Názin. Without entering Korá, he could not bar the way to the sons of Chattarsal and Bhagwant, and if he had no

[^105]jurisdiction there, his interference would occasion never-ending disputes. Kanauj, which was in the hands of a stranger, the Bhadauriya Rájah, was his home country, and till he held it he could never feel himself safe while absent in Allahábád. At length the farmán of appointment was forwarded by Kamr-uddin Khán Chín 'Itimád-ud-daula, the Waxír, and Mubammad Khán was ordered to attend Court at once with five hundred horse.

It was in the beginning of Rajab 1148 H . (Nov.-Dec. 1735), that Muhammad Khán was restored to the Súbah of Allahábád. A few months afterwards, on the 4th Muharram, 1149 H . (4th May, 1736),* Sarbuland Khán was restored. Mubammad Khán seems to have obtained afterwards promises of re-instatement, but his claims were postponed to those of Amir Khán 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, who was appointed to Allahábád in the year 1739. $\dagger$ On Amír Khán's assassination in 1159 H. (Jan. 1746 to Jan. 1747), $\ddagger$ the Súbah passed to 'Abd-ul Mansúr Khán Safdar Jang.§

On relinquishing his government into the hands of Sarbuland Khán, Nawáb Muhammad Khán strongly recommended to his protection Rájah Jaswant Singh, zamindár of Bhadoi\|l who when at Court had been made a Sihhazári, 2000 horse, with the title of Rajah and the gift of kettle-drums. He was appointed to the charge of the rahdari from Banáras to Allahábád, and he performed well the duty of keeping the roads open. Rajah Jai Singh of Maudah had, however, interfered, and had collected much money from Bhadoi. Rajah Jaswant Singh would he hoped be preserved from further oppression.

Muhammad Khán's interest in Rájáh Jaswant Singh arose from the fact that the Rajáh had given to the Nawab a daughter in marriage. Jaswant Singh had also taken the field on one occasion in Muhammad Khan's cause. In 1148 H . when Muhammad Khán was re-appointed to Allahábád, Sarbuland Khán wrote secretly from Sháhjahánábád to his son and deputy, Sháh Nawáz Khán, directing him to oppose the entry of the new Subahdár. On the other hand, Jaswant Singh, at the instigation of Muhammad Khán, marched from Bhadoi towards Arail, having with him 2000 horse and 20,000 matchlockmen. He was joined by Lál Bikramájít, son of Jográj Gahilwár, Rajáh of Bijipur and Kantit. If The allies then prepared to attack Sayyad Muhammad Khán, ruler of Arail. On hearing of this rising, Sháh Nawáz Khán left the fort of Lál Jálwah in parganah Sangror with 1000 horsemen, Shekh Allahyar, author of the Hadíkat-ul-Akálim, having

[^106]command of the van. Marching all night, they crossed the Ganges at the ferry of Kasondhan.* Before their arrival, Jaswant Singh attacked Sayyad Muhammad Khán, most of whose men fled; and although he held his ground under a mango tree with a small body, some forty-three in number, of his best troops, his artillery and standard elephant were taken. Shekh Allahyár now arrived, and Sháh Nawáz Khán engaged the enemy on the left. Their horsemen, thinking the day was won, had dismounted, and were seated in the bed of a dry tank. When the Muhammadans approached, the syces ran away, Lál Bikramájít and Jaswant Singh alone succeeded in mounting their horses. The other men tried to escape on foot pursued by Shekh Allahyár's troops. Many of the horses, owing to the uneven ground of the tank, fell and threw their riders. Shekh Dín Muhammad Bilgrámi, hampered by his armour and his iron gauntlets, and the unsteadiness of his horse, was set upon by a group of ten Rajputs, who pulled him off his horse. He succeeded in cutting off the heads of two men, and broke his sword on the third. Of the seven left one tried to wrestle with Dín Muhammad, when Sayyad Muhammad, a retainer of Shekh Allahyár's, rode up and was about to dismount. Dín Muhammad told him not to interfere. Two of the assailants now fled, another tripped and fell, and Dín Muhammad despatched him with his mace. Sayyad Muhammad then wounded the last Rajput, who threw down his sword and begged for his life. This encounter was witnessed by Shekh Allahyár, then fifteen or sixteen years of age, from the back of his elephant. Pursuit was made for three kos, till they drew near to the hills of Bijipur. In the morning 1720 dead bodies were counted; on the side of Sháh Nawáz Khán 83 men were wounded and 7 killed. $\dagger$

## Nádir Sháh's Invasion.

When Nádir Sháh invaded India and defeated the Imperial troops near Karnál in February 1739, (1151 H.) Muhammad Sháh, the day before the battle, put Nawib Muhammad Khán in charge of his women. Muhammad Sháh, the story goes, made some bitter remark as to his absence from the battle-field, which provoked a quick retort from Muhammad Khán. The Nawáb retired in dudgeon to his house at Bangash ghát on the Jamna. Many days after, Nádir Sháh asked for his friend Muhammad Khán. The Emperor sent for him, but the Nawáb replied that he was ill. The messenger went back and fore several times. At length two of Nádir Sháh's chamberlains (naskchi) and Muhammad Sháh's page (khawoás) were sent. No longer able to excuse himself, Nawáb Muhammad Khán told his companions that his last hour

[^107]bad come. Putting on his chain mail-shirt (xarrah), his breastplate and back-piece (bagtar and ochahár-aina), his helmet (khuz) and gauntlets (dastyana), and attaching to his waist his shield, sword and dagger, he started for the audience hall, taking with him his son, Ahmad Khán. Muhammad Khán, being a mere soldier, did not understand a single word of Persian, Turki or Pushtu, while Ahmad Khán understood all three.* When they arrived, Nádir Sháh and Muhammad Sháh were seated on two chairs in a line. Two hundred Wiláyatis were on the right and two hundred on the left of Nádir Sháh with drawn swords in their hands. The master of the ceremonies ('Arzbegi) announced Muhammad Khán, stating that he was armed and refused to leave his sword at the door, on the ground that he was a soldier, not a noble, and that a soldier's jewels were his arms. Nádir Sháh directed that he should be admitted armed. When Muhammad Khán appeared, he first made obeisance to his own king, and then turning to Nádir Sháh presented his dagger by way of offering (nazar). Nádir Sháh touched and remitted it. Muhammad Khán then went and stood at the right side of Muhammad Sháh. Nádir Sháh remarked, "Brother Mirza Muhammad Beg, you have three faithful servants, and the rest are traitors; those three are Nàsir Khán, Khán Daurán Khán and Muhammad Khán ; from these I received no letters, from all the rest I received invitations to invade your country." Muhammad Khán craving leave, remarked that none was so faithless as he ; for had he been staunch His Majeety would not have easily come so far; and he regretted that he had not been posted to the van of the army. Nádir Sháh made no reply. After a short interval a khila't, more valuable than given to any of his equals, was granted. Putting on the robes, he made his obeisance, but gave no money offering. Nádir Sháh's wazír, thinking this was wrong, asked the reason. Muhammad Khán answered that it was not a soldier's business to give tribute of gold and silver, that he left to amírs and wazirs. He was only a soldier, and his head was his offering.

Some days after this, Muhammad Khán attended an audience, when the two kings were seated as before, guarded by the Wiláyatis with drawn swords. Nádir Sháh's Persian troops and a small number of Muhammad Sháh's men were drawn up outside. With Muhammad was a Shekhzáda of Shekhpur, $\dagger$ very clever but very thin and very short. He was a perfect master of the art of archery, and possessed arrows of every sort. $\ddagger$

[^108]Nádir Sháh called out a champion, a great big man, and asked Muhammad Sháh to match him. Muhammad Khán proposed to meet him, but the Shekhzada offered to go instead. The Nawáb laughed at him, and said he did not want to be turned into the laughing stock of the army. The Shekhzáda would not listen. Meanwhile, the perspiration poured down Muhammad Khán's body from anxitety, and he muttered a prayer to God. Seeing his opponent, the Persian said he would lift him and carry him off on his lance point. The combatants then galloped their horses at each other, and the Persian several times failed to touch the Shekh. At last his lance hitting him penetrated through his armour, and he was lifted from his horse, sticking to the end of the lance like a nat (tumbler), and he bled a little. Nádir Sháh began to laugh, and the countenances fell of those on the other side. Then wounded as he was, the Shekh let fly an arrow at the horseman's head so that it went through his steel head-piece and his chain-shirt, then entering his horse's body it came out and fell into the ground uninjured. The man stunned sat on his horse for a minute with the lance in his hand. The Shekh, with the lance still sticking into him, called out "Come and remove this, for the man is dead." Nádir Shah praised the Shekh highly and gave him a khila't. On the 7th Safar, 1152 H. (5th May, 1739), Nádir Sháh left Delhi, taking with him all his plun. der.

Muhammad Khán's correspondence contains little or no reference to the invasion of Nádir Sháh, possibly because he was present in person at head-quarters, and thus had less occasion to write letters. Only once, in writing to Báji Ráo, he declares that when Nádir Sháb attacked Kandahár, the Afghans of Kábul wrote that if Muhammad Khán were appointed they would resist, they only wanted a leader. When he spoke to the Emperor, the plan was at first approved but subsequently rejected.

When Báji Ráo, after the departure of Nádir Sháh, wished the nobles to unite in one confederation to reduce the affairs of the Taimurya line to better order, Muhammad Khán was one of the nobles to whom he wrote. The Nawáb returned a favourable reply, though, as he professed, he had little further interest in the world-"dunyá nakshe ast bar-ab o ziyada as siráb nest"-a remark which reminds one of Bacon's-

> " Who then to frail mortality shall trust But limns on water, or but writes in dust."

These plans were put an end to by Báji Ráo's death in the year 1740.

[^109]
## Death of Akbar Khdn.

It was about this time, 1152 H. (1739), that Nizam-ul-Mulk and his son, Gházi-ud-din, now at the head of affairs, diagusted Muhammad Khán by non-fulfilment of a promise to confirm him in his government of Alláhábád, which was given to Amír Khán 'Umdat-ul-Mulk.* Muhammad Khán quitted Court withôut leave and retired to his estates. Gher Zamán Khán and Abu Samad Khán were sent at the head of a large force, with orders to turn him out of his territory. Nawáb Muhammad Khán, not being in good health himself, sent his elder sons, Akbar Khán and Ahmad Khán, to oppose the invaders. Akbar Khán had ten thousand horse, and Ahmad Khán five hundred horse and one hundred swivel guns carried on camels. The foot soldiers were also very numerous.

The two armies met at Rao-ki-Sikandra in the Aligarh district. Now, Muhammad Kbán had instructed his chief-men that on no account were they to allow Akbar Khán to fight on horseback, for being a young man of rash temper, he might ride into the enemy's ranks and be destroyed. The Paţháns therefore forced Akbar Khán to mount an elephant. Ahmad Khán's elephant was coming up alongside, when Akbar Khán called out "Keep that elephant back, why are you driving it up beside mine." Akbar Khán was of a very proud nature, and being the next in age, he did not defer even to the eldest son, Káim Khán, thinking that on Muhammad Khán's death he, Akbar Khán, would succeed. Ahmad Khán was vexed by his brother's words, and drove his elephant off to some distance.

The battle then began, both of the nobles sent from Delhi were slain, and the Paţháns gained the day. Then Ahmad Khán out of revenge turned his camel swivels in the direction of Akbar Khán, and ordered thena to be discharged. The ball from one of the zamburak penetrated Akbar Khán's brain, and he was killed on the spot. They brought the body home, and Nawáb Muhammad Khán mourned much for him, lying for three days on his cushion weeping for him and fasting.

Muhammad Khan negotiates for Ali Muhammad Khán Rohela.
In 1153 H. (18th March, 1740-7th March, 1741), Rajah Harnand was sent as Názim to Katahr, with orders to expel 'Ali Muhammad Khán Rohela. In this difficulty the Rohela appealed to the Nawáb to intercede for him, for although Harnand had given his acquittance for the kharif, he still showed hostile intentions. The Nawáb wrote to Kamr-ud-din Khán, Wazír, hoping that he would not send his son Mír Mu'ín-ud-din Khán, to reinforce Rájah Harnand. 'Ali Muhammad Khán was a loyal subject, who had attended Court every year, and in 1729 when 'Azim-ullah Khán Zahír-ud-daula, the wazir's brother, went against the Sayyads of Bárha, the Rohela joined with his troops and did good service. A man who

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\text { Dow, II, } 483 .
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performs such services should not be ruined for some little fault, especially at a time when the rebels (the Mahrattas) were very strong. Even if a fault had been committed, let it be forgiven. Káim Khán was also instructed to urge the same objections to the wazír personally. But on the 4th Muharram, 1154 H . (11th March, 1741) letters were received from Káim Khán, stating that the wazír insisted on presenting his son, Mir Mu'in-ud-din to the Emperor, so that he might be appointed to support Rajah Harnand.

Before this, Muhammad Khán had sent Rahmat Khán and Sháh Ikhtiyár to negotiate with Rájah Harnand. Sháh Ikhtiyár came back with• a message asking for two trusty men. Mulím Khán and 'Abdullah Khán were sent with him, and they took with them the wazir's letter in original. They reached Budáon. Meanwhile Rahmat Khán had joined the Rájah, and remained in his camp six days. Then he was dismissed, and the Rajah made three or four marches of twenty kos, and drew near to the army of 'Ali Muhammad Khán, who had encamped at seven or eight kos from Anwala.*

In this interval Muhammad Khán had advised 'Ali Muhammad Kbán not to hold money too dear, but to settle matters. The Nawáb had never seen his troops, no doubt they were efficient. But, by aid from friends, matters might be brought to a happy conclusion. He should, however, strengthen his posts and collect men and material. His men should be called in from all outlying posts to one point. No opponent could carry away the soil, and after he had retired the than as could be restored as before. If the troops were scattered, they could not support each other, and if one party suffered a reverse, all the rest were disheartened. All this had been experienced and proved by Muhammad Khán. But as far as possible, soft words should be used, and money spent to get rid of the difficulty. If in no way it could be settled, even at the cost of a year's income, then an efficient resistance should be made.

The affair ended by the defeat and death of Rájah Harnand. $\dagger$ Muhammad Khán did his best to persuade the wazír that 'Ali Muhammad Khán had not meant to fight, and that the calamity was not his fault. He was still ready to submit.

Nawáb Muhammad Khán's correspondence with 'Ali Muhammad Khán ends with the acknowledgment of a letter, which mentioned the arrival of the Rohelas at Almorah in Kumaon on the 5th Ramzan, 1154, (3rd Nov. 1741). The hillmen had fled to the other side of the Sarju, while the zamindar of Srinagar and Sirmúr Bahat had sent his brother to treat. Snow having fallen, the Rohelas had removed to Rudrpur and would soon be back at Anwala. Muhammad Khán refers to the advice he had given that, the climate being severe and the produce small, an arrangement should be made. The cour-

[^110]tiers, he says, looked on a settlement as a victory, and he advised 'Ali Muhammad Khan to report to Court that, to please them, he had left the hills and had returned to Anwala.

## Naráyan Dás plunders Najíb Ali Khán's camp.

Naráyan Das, an officer of Rajah Jai Singh Sawae, had been sent to restore order in Bhadáwar. While there, his troops got out of hand from want of pay, and plundered the equipage of Najíb 'Ali Khán, an officer in the employ of Kamr-uddin Khán, the wazir, who was collecting in Karhal. * Nawáb Muhammad Khán, who at the time was faujdár of Shikohábad, * sent Amr Singh and Sháistah Khán to persuade Naráyan Dás to give up the property. Purdil Khán was despatched with men to aid Najíb 'Ali Khán, and Ja'far Khán Bakhshi, who was out in the parganahs, was directed to follow. In addition Mangal Khán was sent. When the latter reached Saráe Ajít Mall, and Ja'far Khán was near Itáwah, Naráyan Dás made off by the fords on the Jamna. They followed and persuaded him to deliver up one elephant, elephant kettle-drums, several swivel guns (rakhla) and cannon, with carts and bullocks. After considerable difficulty, an acquittance was obtained from Najib 'Ali Khán and forwarded to the wazír.

## Story of a Mango.

I introduce here, as an illustration of manners, a story about a wonderful mango tree in Farrukhábád. One day Muhammad Khán was seated in the back seat of Muhammad Sháh's hauda during a hunting-expedition. The Emperor ate a mango half a seer in weight, of very fine taste, good colour and exquisite aroma. He gave the stone to Muhammad Khán, who wrapped it in his handkerchief, and sent it to Kaim Khán then at Farrukhábád. Káim Khán came out to meet it with honour as far as Soront, through which, before the founding of Kásganj, $\ddagger$ ran the road to Delhi. The mango stone was planted in the Haiyát Bágh, where is Muhammad Khán's tomb. The fruit it yielded when it grew up had no equal in Farrukhábád, though only half as good as the original.

Whenever it began to flower, a company of infantry (najib) was stationed round it, and they kept guard over it.§ During the fruit season thirty seers of milk a day were poured over the roots. It stood at the

[^111]head of Násir Khán's tomb, who had once been Subahdár of Kábul. Nawáb Muzaffar Jang (1771-1796) tried to propagate the tree by budding, but with the greatest difficulty the gardeners obtained one tree, which was put in the 'Ali Bágh, where it was known as the " golah" mango. Nawáb Shaukat Jang (1813-1823) once sent several of the mangoes from the tree in the Haiyát Bágh to Hakím Mahndi 'Ali Khán, chakladar of Muhamdi in Audh, who lived for many years in the Fatehgarh cantonment. Mahndi 'Ali Khán said he had eaten few mangoes equal to them, and he asked for some cuttings. Shaukat Jang gave permission, but from the day the cutings were taken, the original tree began to decay and in one year it dried up and died.

## Muhammad Khán's death and his character.

The close of Nawab Muhammad Khán's career was now at hand. He was more than eighty (lunar) years old when an abscess formed in his neck. The Emperor sent a letter of condolence and one of his private physicians, Alwi Khán. The Hakím's treatment was of no avail, and on the 2nd Zil Ka'd 1156 H. (9th December 1743), Muhammad Khán breathed his last. When Muhammad Sháh heard of his death, he wrote this chronogram-

## Sitún-i-báb-i-mulk-i-Hind uft̂dd.*

About three hours before his death, the Nawáb, to prove the strength with which God had endowed him, took up his bow and arrow from his bed, and aimed at the roof with such force that the arrow buried itself up to its head in the wood.

He was interred in the Haiyát Bágh, in the village of Nekpur Khúrd, pargana Pahára, half a mile or so west from the Mau gate of the city. $\dagger$ The tomb stands on an elevated platform and is surmounted with a high dome, which can be seen for some miles round. It was built by the Nawáb in his own lifetime. Round it he planted a garden in which was every fruit to be found at Delhi. There were forty wells for irrigation, and the income of twelve villages was spent on it. Roshan Khán, chela, had the care of it. While digging the foundations for the tomb, an iron " gaja" $\ddagger$ weighing five maunds was found. The workmen proposed to fix it on the top of the dome, but Roshan Khán said he could get five maunds of iron easily enough, and he had another spike made. The iron rod thus disinterred was put down at the gate of the garden, and young men went daily to try their strength by lifting it. In Násir Jang's time (1796-1813) it somehow got

[^112]broken. The two pieces, in 1839, still lay near the Mau gate, and the Hindus worshipped them, saying, that it was the head of Bhim Sen's spear.*

Nawáb Muhammad Khán to the last maintained very plain and soldierlike habits. His manner was not overbearing, he had no pride, and was free from self-glorification. He always wore clothes of the commonest stuff. In his audience hall and in his house the only carpet consisted of rows of common mats, and on these the Paţháns and chelas and all persons, high or low, had to be content to sit. The Nawáb sometimes sat on a cushion, sometimes without one. As the Paţháns presented themselves, they uttered an " Auji Nawáb, salám 'alaik" then sat down in rows. At meal times five to six hundred Paţháns would sit down to the same trays. To each were given two unleavened cakes of half a seer each with a cupful of meat, and a flat dish of pald́o, or whatever else there was, all receiving an equal share. The same food was placed before the Nawáb. Paṭháns generally eat paláo of cow and buffalo flesh, and this the Nawab liked. He disliked soft bread. They say his kitchen expenses amounted to five hundred rupees a day.

When any noble from Delhi visited the Nawáb, no change was made, the same mats were spread to sit on, and the same food presented. The visitors were astonished at the contrast between his great wealth and power, and the simplicity of his personal habits. Then, for each day after their arrival, the Nawáb would name some chela to entertain the visitor sumptuously.

Once Nawáb 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Amír Khán, on his way from the East, passed through Farrukhábád with his followers, who were so effeminate in their habits that they applied lamp-black to their eyelids, black powder to their teeth, and red dye to their hands and feet; wearing also finger-rings, silver bracelets and ear-rings. The Nawáb himself adopted the same style. Their camp was pitched in the Lakhola Bágh, planted by Nawáb Káim Khán before his accession. $\dagger$ Káim Khán went to see Amír Khán, with whom he was on familiar terms, having known him at Delhi. Amír Khán proposing a visit to Nawáb Muhammad Khán, Káim Khán said he would inform "Bábá Khán" (his father) that day, and would take him the next day. Accordingly he went from Amethi $\ddagger$ and told his father. Next morning the diván-khána was adorned with a white cloth, and a common pillow was put ready. Then Muhammad Khán sat down with a high cap on, such as then usually worn at Maū. Before him were a pán-dán of painted wood

[^113]and a bell-metal spittoon. Amír Khán arrived and was placed at the Nawáb's side. After a little, the Nawáb taking out a prepared betcl-leaf from his wooden box and a bottle of scent from a wooden casket, presented pán and scent to the visitor and dismissed him. Nawáb Amír Khán was much amused at this poor display. On the road back he said to Ḳáim Khán, " Though your father is a Báwan Hazári, he looks like a villager, why do " you not teach him better ?" Káim Khán gave some playful answer.

Meanwhile Muhammad Khán had given orders to his chela, Ja'far Khán, the chief Bakhshi, (who gives his name to the Mohulla Bazarya Ja'far Khán), to provide such an entertainment that his master's name should not be a byeword in Delhi. Ja'far Khán got out some thousands of silver vessels, he cut up many thousand rupees' worth of gold brocade, and spread scarlet broad-cloth all over his bágh. He sent for all the favourite singers, and made ready the most exquisite meats. Nawáb Muhammad Khán sent to tell Nawáb Amír Khán that a feast was ready at Ja'far Khán's house. After dinner, Amír Khán's men proposed making over the silver dishes for safety to the servants of the house, but Ja'far Khán refused them, saying they were the perquisite of the khidmatgárs. The gold brocade was taken away by the singing-women and their men. Amír Khán was now loud in his praise of Muhammad Khán. At his next visit, the Nawáb made him a handsome present, and excused himself for having entertained him so badly, on the ground that he was only a soldier.

Nawáb Muhammad Khán was a great lover of the fair sex. We know that he had twenty-two sons and twenty-two daughters who grew up and were married. For the number of his concubines he was like a second Solomon. He had, they say, seventeen hundred women in the private apartments of his palaces. There were besides nine establishments (akhára) of one hundred women each, taken from all classes, Káchi, Chamár, Koli, Rájput, Banya, Báhman, Sayyad, Mughal, Paṭhán and Shekh. Many had seen their lord's face but once, yet all their life long they received the monthly allowance first fixed. Of the seventeen hundred, some nine hundred had died in the Nawáb's lifetime; their tombs were in the Buland Bágh*, where no men were ever buried. Some days after the death of Káim Khán became known, the Bibi Sahiba, Muhammad Khán's widow, like a sensible woman, threw open the doors of the Bara Mahal, sending word to the inmates that they had three days given them, in which they might leave if they liked. Those that stayed would get bread of barley and clothes of gazi (the commonest quality of cotton cloth), for neither Muhammad Khán nor Kaim Khán was there to provide for them. About four hundred women elected to leave with all their property, and four hun. dred only remained to eat the Bibi Sahiba's barley bread.

[^114]
## The Chelas.

Slavery is a part of the Muhammadan legal system, but there must be, I think, few instances, in which it has been carried to the length practised by Muhammad Khán. Slaves were preferred to equals or relations as deputy governors of provinces, slaves led his armies, he even kept a bodyguard of slaves.

One of the reasons assigned for this preference is the trouble given by his brother Patháns of Mau. Many of them at one time had farming leases of parganahs. If the Nawáb complained of embezzled revenue, their answer was, that they would fight, but not pay. If one of them was imprisoned as a defaulter, all the other Paţháns rose in arms till he was released. For this reason, it is said, some years after his rise to power, the Nawáb remitted large sums to Afghanistan, and induced a colony of the Bangash tribe to emigrate and settle in the city of Farrukbábád. From among them he selected eighteen leaders as Jam'adars. They were petted in every way, the Nawáb looking on them as his own right arm, and to them his daughters were given in marriage. He gave them land for their houses on the side of the city nearest to the Ganges, and the quarter to this day bears the name of Bangashpura.

Another expedient resorted to was to seize the sons of Rajputs and Bráhmans, who were then made into Muhammadans. Some were obtained by consent, some by payment; others were the sons of revenue defaulters, whose sons were seized and made Muhammadans. Thousands of boys were thus obtained and taught the precepts of Islam. From them were selected the leaders of the army, and the collectors of land revenue in the parganahs.

Muhammad Khán had quite a passion for increasing the number of his chelas. All his managers (Amils) and deputies (Sábahdars) had orders to send him all the Hindu boys, whom they could procure between the ages of seven and thirteon. When they grew up, they were placed in his police or army, or were appointed to manage the Nawáb's private affairs. Whenever an 'amil had a fight with a troublesome village or invested it, he seized all the boys he could get, and forwarded them to the Nawab. Others became Muhammadans of their own accord. In this way, every year one or two hundred boys were made Muhammadans, and by the end of his life the Nawáb had made some four thousand chelas. Many of these were killed in battle in the Nawáb's lifetime, many died without issue, and many were never married. The descendants of the rest still exist, and are distinguished as Ghazanfar-bachha (progeny of Ghazanfar), the title of Muhammad Khán having been Ghazanfar Jang. During the Nawab's lifetime these men were never styled chelas, they were always known as Tifl-i-Sirkár (sons of the State). All places of trust were given to them, the Nawab's
household was in their charge, and his whole establishment under their orders. For many of them he obtained the title of Nawáb from the Emperor.

Of whatever caste a chela had been, he was married to the daughter of a chela originally of the same caste, a Rájput was given to a Rájput, a Bráhman to a Brahman, and so forth. This plan was followed till the time of Nawáb Ahmad Khán Ghálib Jang (1752-1771). After that time they all got mired together, so that one caste cannot be distinguished from another. Among the chelas were the sons of powerful Rajjahs, who by misfortune had been captured and made Muhammadans. Thus Shamsher Khán "Masjidwala" is reported to have been a Banáfir Rájput, Sher Dil Khán was a Tomar, Pur Dil Khán a Gaur, Dáúd Khán a Bráhman and so forth.

The Nawab used to tell his chelas to collect as much money, goods or jewels as possible. In adversity such property could be made of use to him or themselves. But he who built a masonry structure in any village would be at once removed from employment. Nothing was to be built but with sun-dried bricks and mud mortar, and to each chela permission was given to build a single brick room as reception hall. The only exception was in favour of Yákut Khán, Khán Bahadur, of whom we will speak again presently.*

A teacher was appointed for the boy chelas, his name was Káli Miyan Sháh. When a boy could read and write, he was taken before the Nawáb, who presented him with one hundred rupees, a shield, and a sword, by way of khila't.

From among the chelas of eighteen to twenty years of age, the Nawáb selected five hundred youths, and trained them as a picked regiment. They had frrelocks of Lahore, accoutrements of Sultani broad-cloth, powder-horns each holding two and a half seer of powder, and each a pouch with one hundred bullets. One day, they were drawn up along the Jamna bank under the fort at Delhi while the Emperor was seated on the fort wall, with Muhammad Khán atanding in an attitude of respect beside him ; Muhammad Sháh ordered them to fire at some moving object in the river, and was so delighted with the good practice they made, that he asked for a gift of the whole corps. Mubammad Khán made the objection that they were a lot of Bráhmans and Rájputs, who could do nothing but talk a rustic patois and use their swords. The Emperor accepted the excuse, and sent one thousand rupees to be distributed.

The names of the principal chelas, with any facts known about them, will now be given.

[^115]
## 1. Yákut Khín, Khín Bahídur.

On the day after the battle, in which Sayyad Abdulla Khán was taken prisoner, 'Azim Khán Bará Khail, a friend of Muhammad Khán's, presented him with a eunuch whom he na med Yákut Khán, and he obtained for him from Muhammad Sháh the title of Khán Bahádur. Yakút Khán is said to have held the office of Názir. On his seal were the words-

## Yákut surkh-rú ba-ṭufail-i-Muhammad ast.

In his case, the Nawáb removed the prohibition against building or founding towns, saying that as he had no children it did not matter. Seven ganjes were founded by Yákút Khán.

1. Kásganj, also sometimes called Yákutganj. It is now the most important town in the Eta district with, in 1872, 15,764 inhabitants. It lies nineteen miles N . of Eta.*
2. 'Aliganj, in parganah 'Azimnagar of the Eta district, 34 miles E. of Eta, and about 30 miles N. W. of Farrukhábád. The date of the fort is 1143 H . (6th July 1730 - 25 th June 1731), and the mason Muhammad Adam "Muhammad Kháni" appears to be the same as the man mentioned at p. 278, who built the fort at Farrukhábád. $\dagger$
3. Kauriyaganj. The only identification I can suggest for this place is the Kauriyaganj in parganah Akrabád of the Aligarh district, 12 miles from Aligarh. $\ddagger$
4. Khudáganj, on the left bank of the Kálinadi, in parganah Bhojpur of the Farrukhábád district, on the main road to Cawnpur, 17 miles S. E. of Farrukhábád. The ancient name of the village was Sanauli. Yákút Khán, besides the bazár, built a masonry saráe with a high gate, and a mosque. The date on the gateway was 1152 H . (30th March 1739-18th March 1740) ; § it was removed in $\mathbf{1 8 5 5 - 6}$ to make way for the metalled road to Fatehgarh.
5. Nabiganj. This is a small bazar on the Grand Trunk Road, in the parganah of Kishni Nabiganj in the Mainpuri district. It lies about half way between Bewar and Chibramau. ||
6. Yákútganj. This town is in parganah Bhojpur of the Farrushábád district, about seven miles $\mathbf{B}$. E. of the city of Farrukhábád. Kali Ráe

- Gas. N. W. P. IV, 152.
t Gar. N. W. P. IV, 110. The date, 1747 A. D., must be wrong, if the date in the Persian inscription, 1143 H. , is correct.
$\ddagger$ Gaz. N. W. P. II, p. 672.
§ Káli Ráe, p. 133.
\| Gaz. N. W. P. IV, 746.
(p. 133) says five villages were absorbed: (1), Jakká; (2), Jyáuṭi; (3). Mukarrabpur ; (4), Mustafábád alias Ganwaganw ; (5), part of Nagla Khem The place used to be called Sarái Núri, from Miyan Núri Sháh, a faqir, or as some say a eunuch, who built it. In Yákút Khán's time the site had become deserted; he built a masonry sarái and changed the name. There is still an old masjid, bearing the following inscription :

> Masjid-i-'ali biná ráhat fizá
> Az latáfut Nür Bakhsh-i-Faiz-zá
> Sál táríkh-ash Khirad guft andar in
> "Farz adá shud andar án bahr_i-Khudá."

This gives the year 1086 H. (March 1675-March 1676).
7. Daryáeganj, in parganah 'Azimnagar of the Eta district, on the Aliganj and Patiáli road, 28 miles N. E. of Eta. The remains of a large brick fort built beneath the old bank of the Ganges are still to be seen.*

The chelas of former days used to say that Miyan Khán Bahádur spent twenty-five lakhs of rupees on these gunges, his house, and the bághs he planted. The house in which Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula used to live was built by Khán Bahádur ; and he planted the Kálá Bagh, and built in it the Bárahdari where Nawáb Muzaffar Jang (1771-1796) was interred.

Yạ́ut Khín lost his life with his master, Káim Khán, in the disastrous battle of November 1748, fought with the Rohelas at Dauri Rasúlpur near Budáon. The tradition is, that his elephant carried off his dead body to 'Aliganj, and that he was buried there. His tomb is in the midst of an enclosure lying at the foot of the fort, surrounded by a low wall of block kunker. At the foot of his tomb is a mound which is, tradition says, the burial-place of his elephant. The tomb with its well-preserved enclosing walls forms, together with the handsome frontage of the ruined tomb on the high mound above, the chief feature of interest in the place. $\dagger$ In the statement, on the page just cited, that Yákút Khán was originally a Katiga Thákur of Angraiya, I suspect there is some confusion between him and another chela, Báz Bahádur Khán. At p. 154 of the Gazetteer, we are told Khán Bahídur had no issue, which is probably true, as he was a eunuch. Yet at p. 69 we hear of his son, Bakhtbuland Khán. In Káli Ráe's "Fatehgaṛh Náma", p. 108, line 15, the Kesri Singh Katiya of Angraiya, who became a Muhammadan, is said to have borne the name of Báz Bahádur Khán, and it is he who was the father of Bakhtbuland Khán, and not Yákút Khán, Khán Bahádur.
2. Daler Kiín. We have already given an account of this chela at p. 286. There is a Dalerganj called after him. It lies 9 miles N. W. of Farrukhábád, on the road to Káimganj.

[^116]3. Shamsher Khín. In 1720-1 he was appointed 'amil of the parganahs of Budáon, Sáhaswán and Mihrábád (see p. 283). At one time he had charge of the parganahs of Musenagar, Bilhor, Akbarpur, Sháhpur and Kanauj, all, except the latter, now in the Cawnpur district. Abdul Mansur Khán Safdar Jang on his way from Faizábád to Delhi crossed the Ganges at Nánámau ghát in parganah Bilhor. Shamsher Khán said that Safdar Jang's advanced tents should not be pitched within his jurisdiction, unless compensation were paid for any damage caused to the crops. This order displeased Safdar Jang, and halting, he despatched a camel rider to Farrukhábád with a letter to this effect: Nawáb námdár salámat, Shamsher-ikhud rá dar miyán bakun, wagarna áb na khwoáhad mánd. "Respected Nawáb, greeting! put up your sword (shamsher) in its scabbard, else it will lose its edge." Muhammad Khán ordered Sáhib Ráe, his scribe, to write an answer to match. The Munshi wrote thus on the back of the note, Navoáb námdár salámat, ín shamsher mardán dar ma'rkah-i-maidan be-khún chashídah ba-miyán na miáyad. "Respected Nawáb, greeting! this sword, till it has tasted blood in battle, never returns to its sheath." Safdar Jang, on receipt of this reply, wished to attack Shamsher Khán at once. His courtiers dissuaded him, pleading the displeasure of the Emperor, adding that if he won, it would be said he had fought a slave, while if he lost, he would be dishonoured for ever. Accordingly he left the neighbourhood at once, and went on to Delhi. Shamsher Khán caused the rear guard to be plundered. It is said that the ill-feeling between the rulers of Lakhnau and Muhammad Khán's family commenced from this trivial quarrel. On Shamsher Khán's seal were the words Nigahdár, ai Muhammad, áb-i-shamsher. He played a principal part in the events following the death of Nawáb Káim Khán ; he was one of the five chelas arrested and sent to Delhi, where he was executed in 1750 , as will be more particularly related hereafter. His sons were : 1, Hasan 'Ali Khán ; 2, Rahm 'Ali Khán ; 3, 'Umr 'Ali Khán ; 4, Kázim 'Ali Khán; 5, Rasúl 'Ali Khán. There is a Shamsherganj, called after him, in parganah Bewar of the Mainpuri district.
4. Mukim Khán. This chela held Ujjain during the time Muhammad Khán was Subah of Málwá. He was one of the five sent in custody to Delhi by Safdar Jang and there executed. The motto of his seal wasNuh falak az nám-i-Muhammad MLukím. He was with the Nawáb from his early days, and the Bibi Sahiba observed no pardah to him. His sons were-1, 'Azim Khán, 2, Hasan 'Ali Khán.
5. Ja'far Khín. He was the Nawáb's Bakhshi. His house was near the Tukya of Muhammad Zamán Sháh, a faqir brought by Nawáb Ahmad Khán from Delhi ; it was afterwards occupied by Nawáb Himmat Bahádur. He was another of the five chelas executed at Delhi. There is a Bazarya Ja'far Khán in the city called after him.
6. Islím Khín. One of the five principal chelas executed at Delhi. There is an Islámganj in parganah Bhojpur ; and parganah Amritpúr in the Farrukhábád District is also called Islámganj, but whether after this chela or not, I do not know. He had a son named 'Usmán Khán.
7. Sardír Khín. He, too, was one of the chelas executed at Delhi.
8. Dáud Kháv. He is said to have been originally a Bráhman. He was one of the chelas, with the Nawáb in his younger days, to whom the Bibi Sahiba observed no pardah. We have seen him employed to take a rebel Rájah to the Emperor in 1713-14 (see p. 275). In 1720-1 he was appointed 'amil of parganah Shamshábád. He had charge of the collections of Jaunpur and Banáras, when the subah of Allahábád was under the Nawáb, and he acted as náib faujdár of Sárangpur in Málwá. Dáudganj, in parganah Azimnagar of the Eta district, was founded by him.
9. Bhúre Khín. A story told of this man shows the amount of license accorded to these chelas. One day Bhúre Khán, coming into darbár late, could find no place to sit. Kicking away the pillow separating Muhainmad Khán and Káim Khán, he sat down between the Nawáb and his son. Káim Khan turned angrily to his father, and said "You have given such freedom to these chelas that they will never respect me." Muhammad Khán replied that he loved them as he did his sons. Káim Khán got up in a rage, and went off to his home at Ameţhi. Muhammad Khán then scolded Bhúre Khán,

- saying, that he had lost confidence in him, for if while he was alive they did not respect his sons, who knew what they would do when he was dead. Bhúre Khán putting up his hands, said "May God Almighty grant that I "never see the day when you no longer live." He was the Nawáb's deputy in the Súbah of Allahábád. He was killed in 1728 in the battle against Rájah Chattarsál at Ichauli. (See p. 290.)

10. Sa'dat KHín. He was 'amil of Mandeshwar" in Málwá, south of Nímach, during the time the Nawáb held that subah. His seal bore the words Be lutf-i-Muhammad Sa'dat na búd. A grandson, Imám Khán, lived in Shaukat Jang's time (1813-1823) at the gateway of the Khás Mahal, and received an allowance of a rupee a day. Another descendant, Ghairat Khán, was alive in 1839, but so poor that he had not even food to eat. When Muhammad Khán quarrelled with Sa'dat Khán Burhán-ul-Mulk, Subahdar of Audh, he gave his chela, Sa'dat Khán, the ironical title of Burhán-ul-Mulk. The revenues of the Gwáliár country, then under immediate charge of 'Umr Kihán Gwáliári, were paid in at Mandeshwar.
11. Nekńm Khín. He was one of the four chelas to whom the Bibi Sahiba used to appear unveiled. He had the charge of the buildings at Farrukhábád ; his masjid and well, fort and bágh still existed in 1839 ;

[^117]he also built a mosque at Chibramau near the tomb of Sadr Jahnn, the martyr, on the edge of the tank. His motto was, Hastam az lutf-i-Muhammad neknám. We have seen him employed ( p .301 ) to extricate Ḳáim Khán from the clutches of Sa'dat Khán Burhán-ul-Mulk at Faizábád. In 1720-1 he was appointed Amil of parganah Bhojpur, (see p. 283).
12. Jahín Khín. He was one of the Bakhshis, and an old chela to whom the Bibi Sahiba kept no pardah. He founded Jahánganj in parganah Bhojpur, on the road from Farrukhábád to Chibramau, about 9 miles S. of the former place. His son, Rahmat Khán, who was Bakhshi to Nawáb Ahmad Khán, built the masjid at the Mau gate of the city.
13. Kamál Khín. He is the founder of Kamálganj on the Cawnpúr road, 9 miles south-east of Farrukhábád. In $1720-1$ he had charge of Sipri and Jalaun (see p. 283). He was killed with Nawáb Káim Khán in the battle of Dauri.
14. Roshan Khín. The Haiyát Bágh and the building of the Nawáb's tomb were under his charge (see p. 337). There was a Roshanganj, named after him, somewhere on the road to Chibramau, but the site is not known.
15. Dilíwar Khín. He had the epithet of the "Janúbi" (the southerner) and was Darogha of the Díwán Khána. He must be the same as the man styled in one place " the Aurangábádi."
16. Purdil Khín. He was a son of the Gaur Rájah of Siroli (see p. 278). He was Darogha of the camel establishments.
17. Fakifr-ud-din Kifin. He held the office of Bakhshi of the army, and was also styled Fakhr-ud-daula. He played a prominent part on the accession of Muzaffar Jang in 1771, and was náib till his assassination a year afterwards. He is buried in the Bihisht Bágh near the Mau gate, in a separate tomb, a little to the left as you enter the gateway.
18. 'Aláwal Khín. He was originally Kesri Singh, son of Chattar Singh, a Bamtela Thakur of the village of Baraun, and some of his descendants still exist in that village and Bábarpúr.* This man is said to have been a bit of a wag. Once Muhammad Khán appointed him 'Amil of some parganah. On starting to take up his duties, 'Aláwal Khán mounted with his face to his horse's tail. The Nawáb called out to ask the scoundrel what he meant by riding like that? His answer was, "I am looking behind me to make quite sure the Nawáb Sahib is not sending off another 'Amil just behind me." The allusion was to the frequent changes of 'Amils, no one being longer than two or three months in one parganah. Dismissals and appointments were constantly occurring. On hearing the above answer, the Nawáb said, "Tell that buffoon that he is appointed for a year."

[^118]19. Rustam Khín. He was killed with Káim Khán in the battle of Dauri (1748).
20. 'Abd-ur Raśfo Khín. He was killed in 1728 at the battle of Ichauli, (see p. 290).
21. Háji Sarfaríz Khín. He was one of Ahmad Khán's Bakhshis, and he will be mentioned in the Allahábád campaign, and in the retreat to the hills.
22. Jén Nisár Khín. He held charge of Ujain in Málwá as the deputy of Mukím Khán. Having ineurred the Nawáb's displeasure he was flogged, and being very frail he died at the first stroke.
23. Rahmat Khán. There was a Rahmatganj founded by him, but its site is not known now. He was distinguished as "Sawárahwála," and commanded a cavalry regiment.
24. Karm Kha'n. He was Darogha of the elephants; his seal bore the inscription Ba fazl-i-Muhammad Karm námdár.
25. Jowíhir Khín. He was Darogha of the stables.
26. Salábat Khán. He was the "Mír 'Imárat" or superintendent of buildings.
27. Shamsher Khin, II. He had charge of the poultry.
28. Mahtíb Khín. Darogha of the kitchen.
29. Námdár Khán. He was a Gahilwár Thákur of the village of

- Chilsara, parganah Shamshábád West, and his descendants still live there. A mosque built by him still stands, and to the west of the village are the foundations of some ganj or fort once belonging to him.

30. Námdír Khín, II. 31. Sulaiman Khán. 32. Khushyál Khán. 33. Fulád Khán. 34. Nasír Khán. 35. Sherdil Khán, a converted Tomar Rajput. 36. Náhirdil Khán. 37. Hafízullah Khán. 38. Lutfullah Khán. 39. Bakhtbuland Khán. 40. Lál Khán. 41. Mashraf Khán. 42. Mubárik Khán. 43. Najm-ud-din Khán. 44. Ranmast Khán. 45. Bára Khán. 46. Pahár Khán. 47. Naḳḳi Kbán.

## The Nawáb's territory.

We do not know precisely how the large territory, of which Muhammad Khán was at his death de facto ruler, had been acquired. A grant in jágir of the parganahs of Shamshábád and Bhojpur in the first year of Muhammad Sháh's reign (1719) may have formed the nucleus; as for the rest

> "The good old rule
> Sufficeth them, the simple plan, That they should take, who have the power, And they should keep who can."

The extent of the Nawáb's dominions was popularly described by the following doggrel verse-
$\mathbf{Y} \mathbf{Y}$

Mfiyan do áb o miyan do káf
Shuda hásil in mulk jumla mu'áf
Shavand kasba-i-hol o Korí hadưd
Ba daryáe Glung o Jaman insaráff.
There is a certain amount of exaggeration in the east and west boundaries thus given, and the parganabs across the Ganges are ignored. Taking the existing division into districts, one may say roughly that Nawáb Muhammad held the western half of the Cawnpur district, the dividing line being drawn from Bithár on the Ganges to Musenagar on the Jamna; the whole of the Farrukhábád district; all of the Mainpuri district except perhaps one parganah ; the whole of the Eta district, except two small parganahs in the north-west corner; nearly one half of the Budáon district across the Ganges; and one parganah of the Sháhjahánpur district. If the Kauryaganj founded by Khán Bahádur be correctly identified with the town in the 'Aligarh district, then the Nawab's authority did extend within twelve miles of Kol-'Aligarh. The local tradition states that parganah Márahra in the Eta district was obtained in farm from the Sayyad jagirdárs in 1738,* but the mode of acquisition was most probably a little less legal than through a farming lease. We know from the Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán† that Muhammad Khán held Budáon, for it was while on an expedition with the Farrukhábad 'Amil against some zamindárs, that Dáud Khán caused Sháh Álam Khán, the father of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, to be assassinated.

The anecdotes already given show that the Nawáb kept a very strict watch upon his agents, moving them frequently and prohibiting them from building permanently. In this way he seems to have kept complete control over his country and his orders were implicitly obeyed. The following notices are gleaned from Sáhib Ráe's collection of the Nawáb's correspondence.

Kanauj. In the second year of Muhammad Sháh's reign (Feb. 1720 to Jan. 1721) the faujdári of this Sarkár was in the name of the Nawáb's son, Káim Khán. Then, when Rájah Girdhar Bahádur was removed from Allahábúd, he begged for a territory near his house as a residence for his dependents. The faujdári of Kanauj was then relinquished to Girdhar Bahádur. After his death it passed from one to another till the Bhadauriya Rájah obtained it. When Mubammad Khán was restored to Allahábád in the year 1148 H ., he objected strongly to leaving his home country in the hands of a " hypocritical infidel." The jágir was therefore granted to him. The nett income he states at Rs. 8000 a year. The old jumma payable to the Imperial Treasury was $35,00,000$ of dám, but after enhancement it had been raised to one kror of dám.

$$
\text { Gaz. IV, 158, } 162 . \quad \text { + See p. } 9 .
$$

Sifímpur. Muhammad Khán held this parganah before he went to Bundelkhand in 1139 H. (Aug. 1726-Aug. 1727). It was then resumed as part of the khálsa or crown-lands and a grant was made for only one harvest. The Nawáb beld the parganah, however, for several years, after which it was again resumed. Through the intercession of Khán Daurán Khán, it was on the 10th Ramzán 1145 H . (13th Feb. 1733) granted permanently from the Rabi barvest of 1140 F . (March 1733). This being a border district, some difficulty was caused by defaulters taking refuge in the estates of Rájah Hindu Singh of Chachendi.

Iráwain. In the later years of his life Muhammad Khán was faujdár of Itáwah. He was displaced by Ráj Adhiráj Jai Singh Sawáe about 1153 H. (March 1740-March 1741).

Jalesar. Through Rájah Jai Singh Sawáe, a lease in Yákut Khán's name was obtained of Kokaltásh Khán's jágirs in this parganah. This produced an objection from Násir-ud-daula Sádát Khán Zu'likạ́r Jang, and the Emperor addressed a farmán to Mubammad Khán, dated the 2nd Zi'l Ka'd of the 24th year (30th Dec. 1741). The lease was then relinquished.

Sauj and Ali-khera. The former was the jagir of 'Amir-ul-Umrá, Khán Daurán Khán; the latter that of Farrah Khán Bahádur and Muhamdi Khán Bahádur.

Barnar Sohír with a revenue of ten lakhs of dám was taken on ijára or lease by Yákút Khán from the jágirdar.

Nidipur, Akbaríbíd, and Sikandabpur are mentioned as in the possession of the Nawáb. In one year the estimated revenue of Akbarábád and Sikandarpur was put at 65,000 , or at the outside 70,000 rupees. In 1146 F. ( $1738-9$ ) there appears to have been a drought.

Koil and Sirandrail are stated to have been in the Nawáb's possession in 1146 F . (1738-9).

Sakith must have been included in the Farrukhábád territory, since Muhammad Khán was called on to furnish an escort for treasure coming from Jinnat-ul-bulád, Bangál. The revenue of Sakíth is stated to have been one lakh of rupees, besides the jágirs farmed to the faujdár of Itáwah.

Koríour. Káim Khán received 17 or 18 lakhs of dám from this parganah as payment on account of the faujdari of Kanauj.

Surkoríbíd. This parganah appears to have been held as a dependency on Itáwah, in which Karhal does not appear to have been included.

Bhonga'm and Tíligrám were in 1720 in the jágir of Khán Daurán Kbán.

Anwalah. This parganah was at one time the jágir of 'Umdat-ulMulk 'Amír Khán.

## Muhammad Khán's wife and children.

The Nawáb neems to have had but one legal wife, Málaha Bánú or Rába'ha Bánú, alias the Bíbi Sáhiba, daughter of Kásim Khán Bangash. She has been often mentioned already, and will be often mentioned again. She had two sons, Ḳáim Khán, the second Nawáb, and Dáim Khán, who died in childhood ; also two daughters, Roshan Jahán, wife of Roshan Khán Bangash, and another who died unmarried. She died on the 28th Zi'l Ka'd 1182 H. (5th April 1769), and was buried in a separate tomb in the Bihisht Bágh a little to the south-west of Nawáb Ahmad Khán's mausoleum. There is a handsome masjid in the city built by her, called the Bibi Sáhiba ki masjid, and the quarter round it is known by tinat name. There is also a Muhalla Bíbi ganj near the Mau gate.

The unsettled times of the 18 th century are reflected in the fact that seven sons of Muhammad Khán were killed in battle; nine died deaths of violence, and only six died a natural death. The names of the sons (whose descendants will be given in an Appendix) are as follows :

1. Káim Khán, succeeded his father as Nawáb (1743-1748) as will be related hereafter. He left no issue.
2. Ahmad Khán, succeeded in 1750 and died in 1771 .
3. Muríd Khán. Full brother of Murtazza Khán (No. 4). He was killed with Ḳáim Khán, leaving three sons.
4. Murtazza Khán. He was cut down at the order of Muzaffar Jang, son of Ahmad Khán (No. 2), and he died a prisoner in the Mubárik Mahal within the fort. He left seven sons.
5. Akbar Khán. He was killed at Sikandra Ráo (see p. 334). He left two sons. They say that the daughter of one of these sons, Khan-Khánán Khán, was betrothed to Sa'dat 'Ali, son of Shuja'-ud-daula, Nawáb Wazir, but Nawáb Ahmad Khán forbad the marriage, unless the Lakhnau family gave a wife for his son, Mahmúd Khán.
6. 'Abd-un-nabi Khán. He was killed with Káim Khán. When 'Abd-un-nabi Khán started for the campaign with Ḳáim Jang, he sneezed as he mounted his elephant and a cat crossed his path. From these evil omens, it followed that Nawáb 'Abd-un-nabi Khán never came back alive. His son, 'Abd-ul-Majíd Khán, from that day took an aversion to the name of sneezing and to cats. If a servant felt inclined to sneeze, he rushed out of the house, nor did any servant ever dare to utter the word "cat." If absow lutely necessary it was referred to as a " fish." They also had strict orders never to mention any one's death. If their master were invited to a friend's house on his death, they told him that sugar had been tasted at a certain house, referring to the practice of pouring sugar and water down a dying man's throat. If they had to remind him of the third-day ceremonies, they would say-"To-day there is a great display (dhum-dhdm)."

Whenever Nawáb 'Abd-ul-Majíd Khán went out, he gave his khánsámán several rupees with instructions to give one to Mayá Rám Baniya, a man who kept a shop at his gate, in order that he might present it as a nazar on the Nawáb's mounting, for it was a good omen. He also sent four annas to a gardener for a garland and flowers, to be given as he started. Several rupees were changed into kauris, which were divided into two-paisa lots. Orders were then given to the khánsámán to warn the troops, as the Nawáb Sáhib was coming and required an escort. Accordingly the khánsámán told all the tenants of the Nawáb's houses that the Nawáb was coming. They were of all castes high and low.

The Nawáb then mounted a horse adorned with silver trappings, a khidmatgár waved a chauñri, while some four to eight companions followed on ponies. When the Nawáb reached his gate, Máyá Rám Baniya presented the rupee. The pán-seller gave a dona of pán, of which the Nawáb ate some, and gave the rest to the khánsámán. Then the gardener offered the flowers, from which the Nawáb selected one and stuck it in his turban. When he came back, he directed the khánsámán to dismiss the army for that day. On each man present a taka in kauris was bestowed, and with a salám to the Nawáb they went away.

When any of the younger men of the Sáhibzadah families visited 'Abd-ul-Masjíd Khán, it was a favourite joke to tickle their nostrils with a straw and produce an artificial sneeze. They would then ask for pardon. But 'Abd-ul-Masjid Khán would only get the more angry, and request them never to come near him again. Then the Sáhibzadahs would hold their handkerchiefs to their faces to conceal their smiles.
7. Husain Khán. Executed at Allahábád by orders of Safdar Jang.
8. Fakhr-ud-din Khán. One account says be was killed with Káim Khán, another that he was one of the five sons executed at Allahábád. He left one daughter.
9. Ismá'il Khán. He left four sons. He was one of the five executed at Allahábád.
10. Karím Dád Khán. One of the five executed at Allahábád. He left two sons.
11. Imám Khán. He was named by the Bíbí Sáhiba as Káim Khán's successor, and he was reigning Nawáb for five months and some days. He was arrested and sent to Allahábád, where with Nos. 7, 8, 9 and 10 he was executed in 1750 by orders of Safdar Jang. He left two sons.
12. Khuda Bandah Khán, or in some MSS. Khudáwand Khán. In some lists he is placed fourth, but this seems to have been done to flatter his son, Amin-ud-daula, who as náib was all powerful from 1786 to 1803. Khuda Bandah Khán died at his fort in Delhi on the 9th Zi'l Hajj 1194 H. (7th Dec. 1780). His jágir, obtained on his daughter, Umráo Begam's,
marriage to Nawáb Muzaffar Jang, was the parganah of Sakráwa. He left one son.
13. Mansúr 'Ali Khán. He had one daughter.
14. Hádidád Khán. Killed with Káim Khán, leaving no issue.
15. Bahádur Khán. He also was killed with Káin Khán; he left two sons.
16. Shádí Khán. He was killed by a cannon shot at the siege of the Fatehgarh fort by the Mahrattas in April-May 1751. He left no issue.
17. Salábat Khín. He was living in 1802; he had four sons.
18. Manavar Khán. He left six sons.
19. Muhammad Amín Khán. He gave abuse to some zamindár, who thereupon cut him down with his sword. Diyyín 'Alím-ullah Sháh Pírzáda, who lived in Ján 'Ali Khán's masjid at the gate of the fort, cut down the zamindár. Amín Khán left two sons.
20. 'Atá-ullah Khán. He was shot by mistake by Roshan Khán Bangash Ustarzai, son-in-law of Muhammad Khán, one day that the Nawáb was out tiger-shooting in Bahbalpúr Sawárah.*
21. 'A'zim Khán. He survived the Cession and left ten sons.
22. Sháistah Khán. He also was alive in 1802, he left one son.

In the time of 'Alamgír II. (1754-1759) Nawáb Ahmad Khán attended for two years at Court, and performed his duties as Bakhshi of the empire. While he was away, Sháistah Khán set up an imperial throne in his house and made a gulál bári in imitation of the Emperor's audience hall. He ordered his servants to make him obeisance as if he were Emperor. Several thousand rupees were also coined, worth seventeen annas each, with the legend-

Sikka zad dar bahr o bar az auj máhi tá bamáh
Şáni Tuimúr o Bábar, Hazrat i Sháistah Sháh.
Sending one of the rupees, Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula reported all this to Ahmad Khán. Alarmed lest the Emperor might hear of it, he ordered the Bakhshi to take away Sháistah Khán's jagír, to scize and destroy all the rupees he could lay hands on, and to imprison the Sáhibzada in the fort. It was only after many months that Sháistah Khán was set at liberty.

## The daughters of Muhammad Khán.

It is said that the late Amír Dost Muhammad of Kábul had so

[^119]many sons that he did not know them all by sight, so when he met any wellmounted and well-dressed youth, he would ride up and ask him whether he was his son or not. A somewhat similar anecdote is related of Nawáb Muhammad Khán. One day seeing a married daughter in the women's apartments, he turned to the Bíbí Sáḥiba and asked what wife (mahal) it was. The Bíbí Sáhiba gave him one or two slaps on the back, and replied "What do you mean, she is one of your daughters."

The daughters who grew up and were married were-

1. Bíbí Rosban Jahán, the full sister of Ḳáim Khán. She was married to Roshan Khán Bangash Ustarzai, but had no issue. She founded the bazár of Roshanábád, parganah Shamshábád West, on the old road, nine miles north-west of Farrukhábád. There is a small mosque, now rapidly falling into decay, the inscription on which has gone; and a well close by with a stone let into the side on which a few words only can be now deciphered. In 1846 it was read as follows:

## Cha sharín áb-i-chahh-i-Roshanábád.

Káli Ráe (p. 113) gives the date as 1149 H . (1st May 1736-20th April 1737). She is also called the "Shahr kí Bíbí," and the villagers still believe in her power of exorcism. She is said to have been buried in Kásim Khán's tomb in the Kásim Bágh at Fatehgaṛ (see p. 276). She had one full sister who died unmarried, aged twelve or thirteen.
2. Bíbí Rahmat-un-nissa. She was married to 'Ináyat 'Ali Khán after the death of his wife, Bíbi Fátima, daughter of Himmat Khán and niece of Muḥammad Khán. This daughter had no full blood brother. She was the mother of (1) Sulṭán 'Ali Khán, (2) Rustam 'Ali Khán.
3. Karim-un-nissa. She became the wife of the above 'Ináyat 'Ali Khan after the death of Rahmat-un-nissa (No. 2). She had no full brother. Her sons were (1) Murád 'Ali Khán, (2) 'Ázim Khán.
4. (Name unknown) wife of her cousin, Shuja't 'Ali Khán, son of 'Ináyat 'Ali Khán (see above Nos. 2 and 3), by his first wife, Bíbí Fátima. This daughter had no full blood brother nor any sons.
5. Bhúrí Khánum, wife of her cousin, Muḥammad 'Ali Khán Bangash, full brother of Shuja't 'Ali Khán (see No. 4). She had no full brother, she was the mother of (1) Amír 'Ali Khán, (2) Kutb 'Ali Khán.
6. Begamá Ṣáḥiba, wife of Irádat 'Ali Khán Bangash, son of Shuja’t 'Ali Khán. She had neither full brother nor offspring.
7. Bíbí Káfiya, full sister of Isma'il Khán (No. 9), and Sháista Khán (No. 22), and wife of Rustam Khán Bangash. She had no children.
8. (Name unknown) wife of Mustaffa Khín and full sister of No. 7. She had no children.
9. Bíbí Daulat Khátun. She married Kḷudá Dád Khán, Bangash

Ustarzai Karlâni, and was the great-grandmother of Manavar 'Ali Khán, one of the joint authors of the "Lauh-i-Táríkh." The family tree is

# Khuda Dád Khán = Daulat Khátun 

Sikandar 'Ali Khán
d. 12th Sha'bán 1195 H. (16th July 1781)

Sarfaráz 'Ali Khán
d. 5th Shawwál 1238 H. (15th June 1823)

1


She is said to have been very generous and charitable. It was at her expense that the tomb of her father, Muhammad Khán, in the Haiyát Bágh was repaired. She became a disciple of 'Atá Karím Sháh of Salon.* When Nawáb Muzaffar Jang stopped all the family pensions, she went to Delhi, and the Emperor made over to her the income of Bangashghát. On Muzaffar Jang's entreaties she returned, and received in jágir the village of Barna Khúrd, parganah Bhojpúr, 900 kacha bigahs in Khanḍiya, parganah Kampil, and the Tárwála Bagh or Naulakha. When her son Sikandar 'Ali Khán died, she turned faqir, wearing only white clothes or in winter a blanket. She was very humble-minded and spent her time in spinning or in praying at her son's tomb. Among her other accomplishments she understood bricklaying and carpenter's work. We hear of her tending the bruises of Káim Khán's widow after the assault on the Amethi fort in 1772-73 (see Part II).

She was excessively fond of her great-grandson, Manavar 'Ali Khán, and never allowed him to be for a moment out of her sight. When he was five years old, she married him to the granddaughter of Sanjar Khán of Rudáin, parganah Kampil, and obtained for him from Nawáb Násir Jang (1796-1813) an allowance of ten rupees a month.

One day she returned to the Bará Mahal from the house she was building in Bangashpura, on the site given her by her father at her marriage. When she got out of her conveyance she at once asked for a drink of water. Her slave girls having conspired to poison her, brought poisoned water in a fresh vessel. She drank and then Manavar 'Ali Khán. The latter vomited at once and so recovered. Daulat Khátun did nothing, as no traces of poison betrayed themselves. At length when the poison showed itself, every remedy was resorted to without effect. In the evening her bed was brought out, and her grandson, Sarfaráz 'Ali Khán, with his own hand gave her some

[^120]medicine, but as her teeth were clenched, it could not be got down her throat. She then expired. The date was the 17th Rabi I. 1224 (2nd May, 1809).

At once Nawáb Násir Jang and Sarfaráz Mahal came to the dwelling where Daulat Khátun died, placed their own locks on all the doors, and stationed a guard at the gate, any one passing in or out was searched. Next morning Amín-ud-daula (son of Khudábandah Khán No. 12) came, and when she was bathed for interment he noticed that some one must have poisoned his aunt. However, he did nothing, and she was buried within her own house at Bangashpura. Násir Jang then confiscated all the property, and at the suggestion of Sarfaráz Mahal stopped Manavar 'Ali Khan's allowance. Sarfaraz 'Ali Khán, the deceased's grandson, was then pressed to give a relinquishment on condition of receiving a zi-hakka pension; giving way to other's advice, he went and filed a rázináma in the Collector's Ofice.

Khuda Dád Khán, the husband of Daulat Khátun, quarrelled with his wife because she asked him to pay the usual visits of ceremony to the ruling Nawáb, Ahmad Khán (1750-1771). He left his home and went to the Dakhin, whence he kept up a correspondence by letter but never returned. There, in a city when Paţháns dwell called Kirpá Khunḍ or Kirya Khunḍ (?), he married again. His son by that wife married the daughter of Wáhid 'Ạli Khán Bangash of the same city, a man of high position. Although Khuda Dád Khán in the war with Holkar and Daulat Rám Sendhia had his shin bone injured by a bullet, he insisted on riding and refused to mount an elephant or take to a palki. Daulat Rám to honour him styled him Nawáb Sáhib, but he objected alleging that at Farrukhábád that title was given to slaves. Daulat Rám then addressed him as "Khán Sáhib." Khairáti Khán Bangash, Sher Muhammad Khán, Najíb 'Ali Khán, Nawáb Abd-ul-Karím Khán and Mír Nawáb were serving under Sendhia at that time.
10. Asálat Khátun, wife of Bangash Khán, full sister of 'Atá-ullah Khán (No. 20), and mother of Walí Muhammad Khán.
11. (Name unknown), wife of Yúsaf Khán and full sister to Mansúr 'Ali Khán (No. 13). She had no children.
12. Kámila Khánum, the wife of Murád Khán (Maṣalle) Bangash, son of the uncle of 'Ináyat 'Ali Khán above-named (husband of Nos. 2 and 3). She had no full brother. She was the mother of Khairáti Khán Bangash. Her husband's family was as follows:


Murad Khán was reputed to be very wealthy. At the battle of Dauri Rasúlpur in Nov. 1748, he received such severe wounds that he fell from his elephant in the battle-field. For three days he lay unnoticed among the corpses. At length a zamindár searching among the dead recognized him. As Murád Khán had once procured his release when kept in custody by Nawab Muhammad Khán, the man went for a litter and carried the wounded Nawab to his village, applied some remedies to his wounds and gave him food. When he was better they sent him back to Farrukhábád. Murád Khán had received eighty wounds in different parts of the body, and a sword-cut had so disfigured his nose, that he went by the name of the "Nakatta Paţhán" or noseless Paṭhán. He also had a wound in his throat which had left a hole, and when he ate or drank he had to apply a wax plug.
13. (Name unknown), full sister of Karím Dád Khán (No. 10), and the wife of Khán 'Alam Khán.
14. (Name unknown), full sister of Bahádur Khán (No. 15), and the wife of 'Ali Dád Khán.
15. (Name unknown), full sister of Bahádur Khán.(Na. 15), and the wife of Sardár Khán.
16. Sáhib Khátun, wife of Johar Khán Bangash. She had no full brother.
17. 'A'bida Khánum, daughter of of 'Arifa Khźnum, and wife of Hurmat Khán Bangash. She had no full brother.
18. (Name unknown), wife of Bábar Khán.
19. Alif Khátun, wife of Heak-dád Khán Bangash.
20. Ládli Khánum, wife of Muhammad Khán Bangash.
21. Khánum Sáhiba, full sister of Murtazza Khán (No. 4). She died in youth unmarried.
22. Nanhí Bíbí, wife of Báz Khán Bangash.

Note $\mathbf{A}$.
RASHYD KHAN AND THE KHANZADAS.
The few Khánzadas, descendants of Rashíd Khán, now found in a state of poverty in Mau, state the descent of their ancestor as follows :-


The above is all that the Khánzádas know ; they are ignorant of the part played in history by Jalala, of the events of Rashíd Khán's life, where he served or when he died. Maulvi Manzúr Ahmad, Deputy Collector, then Tahsildar of Kaimganj, to whom I am indebted for much information on this and other subjects, pointed out how closely the names given by the Khánzádas coincided with those connected with the Jalála, who gave so much trouble in Akbar's reign (see "Haiyát-i-Afgháni" by Muhamąad

Haiyát Khán, Lahor, Kohinúr Press, Sept. 1865, pp. 154, 155-158 and "Tiríkh-i-Farishta," Lucknow edition, Vol. I, p. 266). For want of further authorities to refer to, Manzúr Ahmad was unable to identify. Rashíd Khan, founder of Mau, with Rashíd Khán, son of the historical Jalála. From the "Maasir-ul-Umra," however, it is made quite clear that the two men are the same (see in that work under "Rashíd Khán"). I proceed to give an abstract of the Biography from the "Maásir-ul-Umrá" adding from the articles "Allahdád Khán," "Asadullah," "Hádidád Khán" and "Rashíd Khán" in Kewal Rám Agarwálah's " Tazkira-ul-Umrá."

The founder of the Rosháni sect, called in derision the Táríki or the obscure,* was Shekh Báyazid who was descended in the seventh generation from Siráj-ud-din Anṣari, and was born at Jálandhar one year before Bábar entered India (i. e., in 1527). On growing up he left his birth-place with his mother and went to his father 'Abdullah at Káli Kurm in the hills of Roh. In the year 949 H . (April 1542-April 1543), he became notorious by pretending to do miracles, through which he induced many tribes of the Afgháns to become his disciples. At this time he wrote a book in Pushtu called "Khair-ul-bayán." They say that when it was brought to the Court of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, ruler of Kábul, the learned men there were unable to refute it. When Pir Roshán died he was buried at Tahyapar (?) in the hills. He left four sons and one daughter. The sons are (1) Shekh 'Umr, (2) Núr-ud-din, whose son Mirzá Khân entered the Imperial service and was killed in the Daulátábád campaign in the Dakhin (most probably in February 1633), $\dagger$ (3) Jamál-nd-din, (4) Jalál-ud-din.

Jalál-ud-din in the year 989 H . (Feb. 1581 -Jan. 1582), being then fourteen years of age, attended Akbar when that Emperor was on his return from Kábul. He was graciously received, but for some reason being dissatisfied he returned to his father's disciples among the Warakzais and Afrídis, to whom he was also related. In the 31st year of Akbar's reign (2nd April 1585-22nd March 1586), the Mahmand and Gharba, who lived round Pasháwar and could muster ten thousand horse, were aroused by the oppressions of the subordinates of Sayyad Hámid Bukhári $\ddagger$ practised on the Tayúldars of that neighbourhood. They placed Jalála (Jalál-ud-din) at their head, attacked and slew Sayyad Hámid and then made Teráh their stronghold. Rájah Mán Singh§ Názim of Kábul advanced on Teráh and dispersed the Afrídis. He then went to 'Ali Masjid and infticted considerable punishment on Jalála. Shortly after Zain Khán Kokah arrived, having been appointed to super-

[^121]sede the Rajáh, and he made great efforts to uproot the rebels. In the 32nd year (23rd March 1586-12th March 1587), Jalála was forced to quit Teráh for Bijaur, the head-quarters of the Yúsafzai. Zain Khan" followed him up and posted 'Isma'il Kuli Khán $\dagger$ and Ṣádik Muhammad Khán $\ddagger$ to watch the passes. Jalála managed to elude them and return to Teráh. Sádik Muhammad Khán, however, so troubled the Afrídís and Warakzais that they gave up Mullá Ibráhím, who was looked on by Jalála like a father. Jalála losing confidence made off for Túrán. The Afghans seized all his property and made it over to the imperial commander.

In the 37 th year (20th March 1591-to 10th March 1592), Jalála returned from Túrán and again raised thé standard of revolt. Asaf Khán Ja'far was sent by the Emperor to restore order. He defeated the rebel and captured his family. Asaf Khán made over Jalála's family to one Wahdat 'Ali.

In 1007 H. (25th July 1598-13th July 1599), Jalála took Ghazni but could not maintain his position. In the 45 th year, 1007 H . (12th Sept. 1599-2nd Sept. 1600), Jalála who was in company with the Lohánis near Ghazni was surprised and wounded. Murád Beg, with some of Sharif Khán's troops, pursued and slew him.

The spiritual succession fell to Ahdád, son of Shekh 'Umr, Jalála's brother, § who had married his uncle, Jalála's, daughter. In the reign of Jahángír (1605-1627) he gave the imperial troops much trouble, sometimes gaining the victory and sometimes being defeated. In 1035 H . (23rd Sept. 1625-11th Sept. 1626), Zafar Khán, son of Khwaja Abúl Hasan, náib of Mirzá Intizám Balkhsh, Subahdar of Kábul, besieged his, Umr's, fort. On the day of assault a bullet struck him and killed him.

He was followed by his son, 'Abd-ul-Kádir, who continued the warfare. At length by the exertions of Saiid Khán, \| Názim of Kábul, he was induced to submit to the Emperor Sháhjahán, from whom he received the rank of a Hazári. In 1043 H. (28th June 1633-17th June 1634), while employed in Kábul, he lost his life. In the beginning of the 11 th year, in 1047 H . (18th Oct. 1637-7th Oct. 1638), Sa'íd Khán sent to the Emperor's Court his mother, Bibi Aláe (the daughter of Jalála,) $\uparrow$ with her two sons-in-law (1) Muhammad Zamán, (2) Sáhib Dád, and (3) Kádir Dád, the son of

- ' A in I, 344.
+ 'Ain I, 360.
$\ddagger$ 'Ain I, 355.
§ The Mau tradition is that he was no relation, but usurped the succession.
$\| \quad$ 'Ain I, 466.
I $\mathbf{A}$ sanad dated 15th Zi'l Ka'd of the 12th year, 1048 H. gives Jamal Khálun as the name of $\mathbf{A}$ bd-ul-K
-Muhammad Zamin. The Emperor took pity on them and aent them on to Rashíd Khén, who was then in Talingána.

In the same year Karím Dád, the younger son of Jalala, who was leading a wandering life among the Lohánis, was sent for by all the tribes in order to renew the struggle. Sa'id Khan sent Rajah Jagat Singh* against the Paṭháns ; all the other tribes submitted, except the Lakan and two others with whom Karim Dad had taken refuge. Reduced to extremities, these saw themselves forced to deliver up Karím Dád. By royal order he was sent to the Emperor. Afterwards Jamdat-ul-Mulk Sa'd-ullah Khén married the daughter of Karim Dád, and she bore to him Lutf-ullah Kbián and others.

Allahdad, son of Jalál-ud-din, was either one of the children captured in 1591-1592 and made over to Wahdat 'Ali, or else came to Hindústin after his father's death (1599-1600) owing to a quarrel with his brothers. If the second of these two suppositions is correct, the date of 1016 H . (1607) which I have given for the founding of Mau Rashídábéd would seem a little too early. The first notice of Shekh Allahdád is in Jahán. gir's 11th year (10th July 1615-28th June 1616), when he was made a Hazári with the title of Khán added to his own name. In the 12th year (29th June 1616-18th June 1617), he received the title of Rashíd Khan with the rank of two thousand five hundred. In the 14th year (7th June 1618-27th May 1619), be rebelled in Kábul, but in the 15th year (28th May 1619-17th May 1620), his fault was forgiven and he was restored to his dignities. In the 18th year (25th April 1622-14th April 1623), he was under Mahábat Khán and did good service in the Dakhin. In the 1st year of Sháhjahán's reign (4th Feb. 1628-24th Jan. 1629), he came from his jágirs, was raised to be a Commander of Three Thousand with 1500 horse, and was appointed to the campaign against Jhujhár Singh Bundela, son of Bír Singh Deo. In the 2nd year (25th June 1629-14th June 1630), he accompanied the Emperor to the Dakhin and in the third year did good service. In the 4th year (5th Jan. 1632-25th Dec. 1632), he was wounded while fighting under 'Azim Khán against 'Adil Sháh and Nizám-ul-Mulk. His brothert and many personal followers were slain in the same battle. In the 5th year (26th Dec. 1632-15th Dec. 1633), Rashíd Khan was appointed faujdar of part of the Akbarábád Subah. In the 6th year (16th Dec. 1633-5th Dec. 1634), he went with Sháh Shuja' to the Dakhin. He fought against the Bijipur forces in the 7th year (6th Dec. 1634-25th Nov. 1635) ; in the 8th year (26th Nov. 1635-15th Nov. 1636), he was attached to Khán Daurán, and in the 9th year he was no-

[^122]ticed for his bravery in capturing a fort. In the 10th year (28th Oct. 1636 -17th Oct. 1637), he was appointed Názim of Burhánpar and raised to be a Chahár Hazári. In the 11th year (18th Oct. 1637-7th Oct. 1638), he was made Faujdár of Sarkár Bijágaŗ in addition to Burhánpár. In the 18th year (2nd Aug. 1644-22nd July 1645), he was put in charge of the Súbahs of Talingána. In the 22nd year (20th June 1648-9th June 1649) he died in that country at Nánder.* He was buried at Man, a town which he had founded near Shamshábád. $\dagger$

The governors of the Dakhin never undertook any important enterprise without consulting him. He had a large number of well-armed fighting men in his service, who were very faithful to him and looked on him as their spiritual guide. Mabábat Khán once wrote to the Emperor that Rashid Khản, having such a powerful following, ought to be recalled from the Dakhin. He and Khán Zamán were friends and of one mind; they ought not, therefore, to be left on the frontier, for if they rebelled it would be difficult to reduce them.

Rashíd Khán so governed his Subah of Burhánpur that high-way robbery and thefts ceased, the bad characters thinking themselves lucky to escape with their lives. The 'Idgah of Burhanpúr, till then very small, was enlarged by him. He was learned in history, secretly bigotted in religion ; he wrote much poetry which has been approved by good judges. His expenditure on his harem was larger than that of any Amír of his time. In most of his habits and in his way of wielding his sword he followed the customs of Irán.

Two sons of Rashíd Khán are named in history, (1) Asadullah, (2) Hhámullah (Rashíd Khán). Asadullah, the eldest son, on the death of his father in Shábjúhan's 22nd year (20th June 1648-9th June 1649), was made a Hazari. In the 24th year (29th May 1651-18th May 1652), he was appointed Thanadár of Chándaur in the Dałhin Súbah, and in the 27th year (25th April 1653-14th April 1654), faujdár of Dabdauri (?) in Sarkar Saukhar (?). In the 28th year (15th April 1(i54-4th April 1655), he became Faujdár of Ilichpur with a mansab of 1500 ; in this year he died.

Ilhámullah, the second son, on the death of his father in Sháhjáhan's 22nd year, had also been raised in rank. On the death of Asadullah in the 28th year (15th April 1654-4th April 1655), he was appointed Thanadár of Chándaur in succession to his brother. In the 30th year (24th March 1656-18th March 1657), on the death of his uncle Hádidád Khán,

[^123]Ilhámullah was selected as having the best claims to succeed him and keep his force together. He was made a commander of 1500 horse. When Aurangzeb left the Dakhin for Hindústán, Ilhámullah accompanied him. After the successful campaign against Jaswant Singh was over (April 1658-Elphinstone 521), he was made a Sih Hazári, three thousand horse, and at the same time his father's title of Rashíd Khán was conferred upon him. After the first campaign against Dárá Shikoh, (June 1658), he received a grant of twenty thousand rupees. When Sultán Shujá' had been defeated in January 1659, he was sent under Ma'zum Khán, comman-der-in-chief, and Prince Muhammad Sultán to the province of Bengal. In the 4th year (25th Jan. 1661-14th Jan. 1662), he took part in the campaign in Koch Bihár and Assam. In the 5th year (15th Jan. 1662-4th Jan. 1663), he was made faujdár of Sarkár Kámrup.* For a short time he was Subahdár of Orissa. In the 19th year (13th Aug. 1675-1st Aug. 1676), he was removed from Orissa and re-posted to the Dakhin. He acted as faujdár of Nánder for a time. In the 28th year (1684-5) he received a khilat. $\dagger$ He was alive in 1097 H . (1686) in 'Alamgir's 29th year and still jágirdár of parganah Shamshábád, as is shown by the inscription from Saráe Aghaţ in parganah 'Azimnagar, formerly called Tappah 'Azimnagar, a modern off-shoot from Shamshábád. $\ddagger$

Hádi Dád Khán, brother of Rashíd Khán, was in the beginning of Sháhjahán's reign a commander of seven hundred. In the 11th year (18th Oct. 1637-7th Oct. 1638), he was made a Hazári. In the 22nd year (20th June 1648-9th June 1649), he was appointed to the Subah of Talingána in succession to his deceased brother Rashíd Khán, with a rise in rank. In the 24th year (29th May 1651-18th May 1652). he was given the title of Khán to be affixed to his own name with the rank of 2,500. He died in the 30th year (24th March 1656-13th March 1657). He left a number of sons, many of whom attained to mansabs.

Another distinguished member of the family was Shekh Núrullah, son of Kádirdád Khán, son of Muhammad Zamán, son-in-law of Ahdád, the nephew of Allahdád Rashíd Khán. In the time of Alamgír he was a commander of 400, and had charge of one of the forts in the Dakhin. During the reign of Bahádur Sháh (1707-1712) he was made a Hazári with his father's title of Kádirdád Khán. He was appointed faujdár of Jamand (?) in the Subah of Khándesh. In Farrukhsiyar's reign (1713-1719) he joined Asaf Jáh Nizám-ul-Mulk, who had been appointed Subahdár of the Dakhin. Núrullah was closely related to Asaf Jáh's mother. He fought bravely in the campaign against Sayyad Diláwar 'Ali Khán and 'Alam 'Ali

[^124]Khán, after which he was rewarded with the rank of Three Thousand, 2000 horse, and the title of Bahadur. In the attack on Mubáriz Khán he commanded the van. When Asaf Jáh had overcome all opposition he obtained for Kádirdád Khán the rank of Panj Hazári, 4000 horse. Kádirdád was assassinated by one of his own servants. As he left no issue, Asaf Jáh out of his jágirs granted to his relations the town of Jániganw (?) in the. Subah of Aurangábád and the village of Ambárah in Subah Khándesh. These were still in possession of the family when the "Maasir-ul-Umra" was written.

The Mau tradition alleges that Shamshábád was granted to Mirzáe Khán, while Rashíd Khán and Hádidád Khán received appointments in the Dakhin. At first the Nawáb lived in Shamshábád close to the tomb of Fir Azíz-ullah, and Mau was not founded for two years. The Nawáb's troops who took up their residence in Mau are said to have been 900 Toyah horsemen, Muhammadzai, 600, Warakzai, 500, Dilázák, 400, Ghilzai, 400, Khalíl, 400, Khatak, 400, Mataníya, 300, Loháni, 200, Afrídí 200, Bangash, 100 , in all, including other tribes, about 15,000 fighting men. Oral tradition asserts that the settlement of Mau was opposed by the Ráthor chiefs of Rámpúr* and Khemsipúr. $\dagger$ The Muhammadans under 'Abd-us-Samad, aliá Mirzá Khán, Muhammadzai, Dáud Khán, Yár Khán, Burhán Khán, Toyah, and Mír Khán, Khaţak, gained a signal victory near Kbemsipur. The Rájah of Rámpúr was wounded and taken prisoner.

Nawáb Rashíd Khán's tomb, a plain but substantial domed edifice without any inscription, stands on the high land above the Burh-Ganga or old bed of the Ganges. It was repaired by a former Collector, Mr. Newnham, in 1826. $\ddagger$ At its side, surrounded by a wall, is the masonry tomb of the Nawáb's wife. The tombs are surrounded by ancient dsupalú and nim trees. The attendant in charge is an old Khánzádah woman.

At Masíta Khán Khánzádah's chaupál, there lies a flat stone weighing some ten maunds which the popular voice, with, as my informant truly says, some exaggeration, declares was carried every day by the Nawáb to the Ganges to stand on while bathing. The site of the Nawáb's fort is styled the kot, Kachis and some Khánzádahs occupy it, two high gates still stand, and there is some brick pavement left. Part of the land is still called Muhalla Gau-khána, and a little of the so-called Bapa Bázar still-exists; in it is a mosque known as the Jáma' Masjid, without any inscription, which was repaired two years ago by Nizám 'Ali Khán Mataniya of Muhalla Kila', an employé of the Haidarábád State. In Khánpur, close to Shamshábád, there is a Bárahdari built by Mirzá Khán, cousin of the Nawáb, and

[^125]at Mau there is a Muhalla called after him " Kot Mirzá Kháni." Nawáb Hádi Dád Khán's tomb is at Nánder on the Godáveri where he died, but there is a village in pargana Shamshábád called after him Hádidádpúr. Bibi Raba'h, wife of Ilhámullah Khán, son of Rashíd Khán, built a saráe and well with stairs in Mauza Kuberpúr, south of Mau and east of Káimganj; the Afridis knocked the saráe down and used the bricks, the Báoli is still there half in ruins. The place near it is called "Sarée Bíbí Raba'h" to this day. A separate village, formerly called Sayyad Firúzpur, lying between Mau and Chak Mau-Rashídábád, is known as " Katra Rahmat Khán" (marketplace of K. K.) after a great-grandson of Mirzá Khán. His tomb is in Mauza 'Ataipur, east of Mau, a village formerly called Baripur but now named after a Nawáb 'Atai Khán. Subhán Khán, another chief, resettled Mauza Bhartpur just south of Ḳ́imganj, and called it after himself Suhbénpúr. In the lands of Hamirpur, the next village west of Mau, is a shrine dedicated to Pír Roshán, the ancestor of the Khánzádahs. The Putwari who pointed it out to me gave the correct pronunciation, with the long a in the name " Roshán."

Mau Rashídábád remained a jágir of the descendants of Rashíd Khán till it was resumed by Nawáb Muzaffar Jang (1771-1796). All they now have is a few revenue-free plots, and one of them is glad to be a Head Constable on Rs. 10 a month.

## Note B.

## THE BAMTELAS.

There are two origins assigned for the name Bamţela. The first is, that a Thákur chief when bathing in the Ganges made as was usual a gift of his wife to the officiating Bráhmans, and then purchased her back by a large gift of money. One of the conditions imposed by the Bráhmans was, that her issue should be called Bamţela. The other story is, that this Rajah having seized a Bráhman woman and made her his concubine, her children by him were called Bamṭelas.

She had three sons (1) Háthi Ráe, whose descendants lived in Bhaopur, Jasmai, Núrpúr, Dháranagar, Sáthanpúr; (2) Nibal Deo, whose descendants held Dhaláwal, Ghárampur, Garhya ; (3) Sab Sukh. This Sab Sukh had three sons (1) Bhart Sáh, whose descendants lived in Háthipur, Awajpur, Na'matpur and Baraun ( 8 Bíswahs) ; (2) Nandan Sáh, whose family held Adúli and Rashídpur ; (3) Chattar Singh, whose family held Baraun ( 12 Biswabs) and Bábarpur. The founders of these families are said to have lived fourteen or fifteen generations ago, but the Awajpur zamindars, when enquiry was made by the Settlement Officer, could not carry back their genealogy more than six generations.

The Bamţelas are not found outside pargana Pabára, and therẹ they are usually divided into the Eight villages and the Fifty-two villages. In the former, which lie west of the city, they are still prominent, especially in Baraun. In nearly every one of the eight villages they still hold the zamindári. Some of them are Musalmáns. In only thirteen of the fiftytwo villages can any trace of them be found, many of the villages have been absorbed into the City, and in the others their position is insignificant.

Note C.

## TRADITIONS OF DALEL KHAN IN BUNDELKHAND.

I am indebted to the kindness of Alan Cadell, Esq., C. S., Settlement Officer of Banda, for a memorandum on Dalel Khán by Pandit Mathura Parshád, Settlement Munsarim, founded on oral traditions derived from an old man Rúp Bráhman, and other inhabitants of pargana Maudha. Dalel Khán is called the son of Muhammad Khán Bangash. He was given, they say, by his father to Raijah Chattarsál who adopted him, and when he grew up endowed him with the pargana of Sonḍha (or Sihonḍa). Dalel Khán appointed his nephew, Murád Khán, to be thánadar of Sihonḍa. After a time Harde Sáh, son of Chattarsál, angered Dalel Khán by some deceit he practised, and Dalel Khán prepared for war. The Hindu Rájahs were also afraid that Dalel Khán would in time oust them, for Chattarsál had nursed him to be like a snake in their sleeves. They therefore entered into a league to destroy him, binding themselves by an oath, according to the Shastras, or Ganges water, holding a sword in one hand. Then all the Rájahs marched from Panná, Datiya, and Chirkhári, and assembled at Bándá. Dalel Khán was told that twenty-two Rájahs and thirty chiefs had come with intent to kill him.

Dalel Khán marched from Sihonḍa and on his way hunted in the forest of Mungas, 14 miles N. E. of Banda. Thence he went by way of Pipronda, about 7 miles west of Mungas, to Alona about six miles northwest of Pipronda, where he encamped on the banks of the river Ken.

The Bundelas advanced to Maudha, about thirteen miles west of Aloná, to Makaránw, Achrela, Bharela, Tandohi, Ingoṭha, Pipronda, all villages three or four miles to the north-west of Maudha. Jagat Raj's camp was in Makaránw, while Kírat Ráj went to a distance, to the village of Pothya Buzarg on the Betwá, about sixteen miles north of Maudha in pargana Sumerpur, Hamírpur district. When Kírat Ráj left his camp followers behind, the village which sprung up was named Kíratpur.

One day while out hunting Dalel Khán went from Aloná to Bhulsi, two or three miles off, across the Ken, and thence to Paḍhori seven miles further on and only four miles east of Maudha. The Musalmáns of Maudha remonstrated with him on his rashness, and advised him to take shelter
in their houses or to return to Sihonḍa. Dalel Khán rejected their counsel, saying he would be disgraced if he retreated, that he had with him Ibrahím Khán, his brother, 'Ináyat Khán, Haidar Khán, Himmat Khán, Mu'az-uddín Khán, Sayyad Hámid 'Ali, Báz Khán, Mukhtár Khán, Rahím Khán, and five hundred other Paţháns. Turning to his troops he harangued them, and offered to pay up and discharge all those who held their wives and children dearer than honour. A number of the Pathans then left him. With the rest he marched from Paḍhori to Maudha.

Now Himmat Khán was Dalel Khán's chief friend, and he usually rode by the Nawab's side and conversed with him. That day as he rode along half stupified with opium, Dalel Khán as usual addressed his conversation to Himmat Khán, and playing on his name remarked that if Himmat (courage) held firm, they might after all win the day. As no reply came the Nawáb called out, " Brother, are you nodding or have you dropped behind ?" Haidar Khán who was at some distance cantered up and answered, "Nawáb Sahib, he was only Himmat Khán at meal time, he left us at Paḍhori, I am the Himmat Khán for this emergency."

When they reached Korhiya Tál, near the Paráo, Dalel Khán told his men to alight and breakfast. They then mounted and drawing their swords made ready for the attack. The Bundelas meanwhile advanced from Makaránw, and Tandohi. The battle then commenced. The first day fifty Paţháns and three hundred Bundelas were killed, the second day one hunand fifty Paţháns and four hundred Bundelas. Haidar Khán pushed his advance as far as Makaránw, and on his way killed five leaders and sixty men. He was killed himself in Makaránw. His tomb exists there near a pond, to the west. of the metalled road to Hamírpur, and it is known as Haidar Shahid. Sayyad Hámid 'Ali was killed to the east of Maudha, and his tomb is some twenty-five or thirty rassi to the east of the town; its name is Hámi Shahíd or Hámid Shahíd. Báz Khán's tomb is close to Shekh Chánd Pír's dargáh, and it is called Bájá Sarmúr Shahíd. 'Ináyat Kh.n's tomb is to the south of the Bandá and Jalálpur road, it is called 'Inái Shahíd.

Dalel Khán was slain himself on the third day. Many others were killed with him. Ibráhím Khán, brother of Dalel Khán, fell at a place now in Maudha but then a jungle. A second Ibráhím Kbán was killed near where 'Abd-ul-Karím Kanungo's house now stands. There is a Dargáh known as that of Maudi Shahíd, which no doubt is meant for Muaz-ud-din. There is also a Shahíd's tomb called vaguely Bábá Shahíd, which Mr. Kaye, late Collector, put into repair when opening out a new road. There are numerous other tombs in Maudha and its vicinity.

They relate that on the day of his death Dalel Khán drove the Bundelas before him as far as Mowaiya, about four miles south-west of Maudha.

Here one Bundela, urged by despair, struck at him and cut off his left hand ; where the hand fell a tomb was built, which is also called Dalel Shahíd. It lies to the east of the metalled road to Nyaganw. The Bundelas finally drove Dalel Khán back into Maudha, where he received the cup of martyrdom. His tomb and a masjid with well still exist. The date assigned locally for Dalel Khán's death, viz., 1792 S. (1735 A. D.) is fourteen years out, the correct date being May 1721.

The Hindi poets of his time composed many dohd (couplets) in praise of Dalel Khán's courage ; such as are still current were collected from the lips of the before-named Rúp Bráhman, from Shákir Musalmán of Maudha, Sardár Khán of Bhamaura, about three miles to the south-west of Maudha, and others.

1st.-At the time Harde Sáh, Jagat Ráj and Mohan Singh had appointed to take the oath on Ganges water, Mohan Singh went away to Bijánagar, about two miles east of Mahoba. Then Harde Sáh refused to join ; and Jagat Rajj set out alone. The poets on this occasion put the following dohá into Chattarsál's mouth-


"Mohan has decided not to join, Harde Sáh is angry, Jagat fights "alone, but he cannot bear the weight of it."

2nd.-Chattarsal wrote a long letter to Dalel Khán trying to dissuade him from fighting. The inhabitants of Maudha remember these verses.

"I am not deceived by Harde Sáh, Kirat Sen is a disobedient son; tell my son Dalel, of Bangash race, a good son, that brother Muhammad Khán made him over to me, since then he is my son, better than all the world; Mohan has gone off, Harde has concealed himself, let him (Dalel) give ear, and Jagat will then be talked over."

3rd.-The following answer was sent by Dalel Khán :

"You are a great king, and the most powerful of all Rájahs, now how can Dalel retreat, it would disgrace both creeds," i. e., his own and that of his supposed adoptive father Chattarsál.

4th. -Some miscellaneous verses are given which have been handed down.

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"You occupy great jágirs, you eat butter and sugar, if you do not defeat Dalel, he will make widows in many houses."

5th.-The following call for aid was sent to Harde Sah.
गड़ी चाबी नार में बहुसम बरी च पेश।
बव गाड़ी डरकाय दे देबस देस षिरदेशः
"Our cart has stuck in the clay, make no childish excuses, help us now to shove on the cart, lend aid to your country, 0 Hirdesh! (Harde Sáh)."

6th.-Harde Sáh's answer was-
षीब सार माबी नरीं जगत हिठाई कोज।
बैषे बत मूंड़े परी पोर श्रा मस खीव।।
" He heeded not my counsel, Jagat acted wilfully; now the calamity has fallen on his head, he comes back in submission to me."

7th.-Verses in praise of Dalel Khán.
गच भर ₹ाती दक्षेस की बीस पिसे का ब्याज।
नेतित में नोति सका गर्ष पायो पद्र निरान $॥$
सारी सरन उकल को मरन कियो एक टार ।
बाँँ पतंग दीपक जरे या विधि छँस्यू दछ्चेस ।

नमत राज सहराज सोँ मार मेंदषा बीच ।
भर्ष युष्ठ पड्डान की बर्चो रकत की कीच $n$
बीम दिवस पद्वान ने करेा बत़ो घमझान।
जगत्त रान कम्पित भये हाड़े भग्येत मैदान ॥
चेचे दिन दो पहर को घेर बुण्देसम सीन।
तब दोंल भुर्द्या गिर चु्रन घार्द्र कीन ॥
" Dalel's chest was a yard wide, he was a perfect soldier ; the bright soul has rejoined its essence, he has gained the rank of beatitude; collecting together all his followers, he was killed in the field of battle. Like a lamp. burns a moth, so did Dalel rush into the fight. From Delhi came Dalel Khán, with sword in hand, and fought by Maudha town with Jagat Maharáj. The fight was like that of practised wrestlers (Patţhán, a play upon the word Paṭhán) ; the blood flowed and turned the earth into mire. For three days the Paţháns undaunted fought, Jagat trembled and fled from the field. The fourth day at noon the Bundelas surrounded him (Dalel Khán); then fell Dalel to the earth, and many swords wounded him."

8th.-The following verses were taken down as recited by Sardár Khán of Bhamaura village, pargana Maudha :


सब बंम के जपर दूद परें जस चीच्च भाकोर घरे चिरना।




 बम्मल से बारे मटमतवारे चठे दतारे इल चिसी।
मचसद का भम्दन षठा जबम्टल यारन बेरी घली बसी ॥






"They gathered in Sihunḍa-garh, when came word of the war ; they took up bow and arrow and repaired to the hunting-ground of Mungas. They leapt into the midst of the foe, like the chitah* seizes and shakes a deer. All the Rajahs hesitated, when bold Dalel began to drive his way through them. The Paţhán left Mungas, Dalela encamped in Paprenr. He hunted the herds of deer, and his bullet killed many a one. Leaving Paprenr, they camped in Aloná, and lingered on the banks of the Karunáwati. Passing through Bhulsi, they stopped in Panḍhori, and fought with the Bundelas in Baharela. Like elephants black as lamp-black, maddened, lifting up their tusks, they drove all before them. Muhammad's son jumped exultingly, his followers shouted 'Ali, 'Ali. Eight-barrelled and seven-barrelled guns were let off, they discharged the great Janjals. In many ways did he thrust with his spear, did brave Dalela, the mighty. The cannon roared, the swords clashed, the rockets flashed like lightning clouds. They drew their chapnál, look at them once! on every side the Mughal and the Bundelas are mingled in one wave. In the rivers of blood there are numbers of Rájahs and lords of armies. The Mugalánis and Turkánis are disheartened. Hear thus, $O$ friend! the fighting, the sword wounds, in the battle of Maudha, and how the field was won."

[^126]9th.-Verses in praise of Dalel Khán's horses.

बेटरन चुरन घरन दं ही रबेष पाँबँ बायु चे जढ़ायं दटी चिली संग हैं।
पाणे बाँ बी मते सा मिर्च मुछ पाब पुछ्च पथारी पर्टों चही माने संग रें। बकरे बंगीरन चे पकरे षर्दंस दुर्ष्ट सबरें डुराबत करत ोोर बंब से।
को दार कुबर निकम्दर बुराबर काब बंबन से बारे है बभाये बन्ँ बन्षैं।
भूल ताश बादली की पाँँ संग रंग हे।
ररी पेरी ख्याष छेत बेचक्१ कुरंम है।
घंग से चड़त ोोर णन मे मतेग ते।



#### Abstract

"Their hoofs stamp the ground, as soon as the foot touches the stirrup ; they go like the wind, these milk-white steeds. 'They are fed on ghi and sugar, they get a handful of spices. A line is formed in their back, they are so stout ; they are fiery and strong. By strong chains two grooms lead them; they pull at the chains and plunge and prance. They have arched necks, are white, youthful, strong and young. They are as if formed in moulds out of gold, they are of beautiful shape and form. They have cloths of gold stuff and brocade of every colour, green, yellow, black, white, purple, every colour. They leap and bound, in strength they are elephants. Sahib Asgar, these are the steeds of a great lord."

10th.-Verses in praise of Dalel Khán obtained from Shákir Muhammad called Láhori.


गई किरपाल द्शेस पठाक
" Muhammad Khán's son was Dalel, he scattered the Bundelas, many swords were drawn, there was no delay, from bravery their livers burst their clothes. The armies met, they bravely fought. Though pressed hard they would not give way before those hosts. Sword in hand Dalel Paţhán went forward, twirling his moustache."

11th.-The following verses are handed down as Dalel Khán's answer to the Musalmáns of Maudha when they entreated him to turn back.
" My name is Dalel Khán, how can I retreat, the good name of the Bangash is in my hands, on me is the hand of Muhammad Sháh, whose is this sword. This Pathán honour have I bound fast round me, I will fight face to face. Through their youthful strength the Patháns will enter the hottest of the struggle. They fear not the fray. Rajah and Maharájah will flee at the sight of my bare sword. Said brave Dalel, boldly in the battlefield, call 'Ali, Ali' as Hindus call on Hanumán."

12th.-When Dalel Khán saw his companions fall, he exclaimed :
चटा मरे मराड बाँ भाई दूबराहीम ।
 करे द्रनायत बँान पुन परिस बान पहान ।
सेटेर बीवन बल छृया यह की मर्ही छ्रपान ॥
"My son Murad Khán is dead and brother Ibráhím; Hámid, Haidar, Fatte Khán, each ate opium and died. Dead, too, is Ináyat Khán, the powerful Paţhán. My life is now worthless ; saying this, he grasped his sword."

13th.-When Dalel Khán rushed into the midst of the Bundelas, a poet of their side said-

## बुम्देल बी इनेत्च में द्शेन्ज भमे ज:त से।

"Dalel flees before the waves of the Bundelas." A Bundela reproved him, and said he should say-

द ऐेस की उत्ने में बुन्देल भगे जात हें।
"The Bundelas flee before the torrent of Dalel's attack."

> NAWAB KA'IM KHAN.

On his father's death in December 1743, Káim Khán the eldest son succeeded without opposition. We have already seen that he was employed in 1721 to avenge the death of Daler Khán ; and in 1729 it was he who collected a force to relieve his father from investment by the Mahrattas at Jaitpar. During the later years of Muhammad Khan's life he had lived at Delhi as his father's representative, and many stories, trivial in themselves and not worth repetition here, are told of the affection shown to him by the

Emperor Muhammad Sháh from whom he obtained the title of "Farzand Bahádur."

He was a very strict Sunni, said the prayers five times daily, observed Friday, and every day wrote out a verie of the Kura'n. He is said to have been a great protector of learned men. He was fond of sport of every kind, and at Delhi had the Emperor's permission to shoot in his private preserves. He was also a perfect cavalier, and in those days no one equalled him in the wielding of the lance. He had a riding horse named Pari (the Fairy) famed even in the Dakhin. Mounted on it he used to hunt the Sáras and ride them down. Many other horsemen attempted it but not one succeeded. He was also clever in other ways. He could found cannon with his own hands; and he could make very good shoes. Thirty to forty years ago shoes of a pattern invented by him called "Káim-kháni" were much worn in Mau and Káimganj. He is said to have ruled over eighty-four maháls, but their names are not given.

Once a Mahratta in the employ of Baji Ráo came all the way from Púna to try his skill at the lance with Kaim Khán. The Nawíb gave him a house at Ameţhí and entertained him for six months. In this interval he made enquiries from Mau Paţháns in service at Púna, who wrote back that the man was what he professed. A day was then fixed for the tournament in despite of Mahmúd Khán Bakhshi's exhortations. All the Paţháns were ordered to be ready before sunrise at Shikárpur, three or four miles north-west of the city, where in the bed of the Ganges was an open space in which the troops were usually exercised. The Nawáb mounted his horse Pari, and taking the Mahratta with him rode out to the plain. There they contended till full noon, but neither had been touched. Now, the Mahratta had a handkerchief round his arm, such as they usually tie above their other clothes. The Nawáb decided to try and loose this handkerchief with the point of his spear. He touched it repeatedly, but being wet with perspiration the knot had become extremely tight. After some hours, however, the Nawáb succeeded in untying it with his lance and carried it off on the point. The Mahratta was offered presents which be refused, being a noble in his own country, and he then took his departure for Púna.

Káim Khán's home was in the fort at Ameţhi, which he had built in his father's lifetime. It lay one mile south-east of the city within the boundary of New Amethi, a small town founded by the Nawáb, round which there was a ditch and earthen rampart with bastions which can still be traced in parts. The remains of the fort and its site were confiscated after 1857 for the rebellion of the then Nawáb Rais, and being put up to auction, were bought by 'Ali Muhammad, a native of Ameţhi, then tahsildár of the city. He has used the bricks to build a house of a semi-English fashion and he has planted the ground with fruit trees.

Káim Khán, it was, who planted the large mango grove outside the Kádiri gate, called the Lakhula Bágh from the number of trees (Lakh = 100,000 ). It lies within the bounds of Khánpúr, Baṛhpur, Chándpúr, Museni, and Nekpúr Kalán, and still covers some 158 acres. One of his last acts before starting on the Rohilkhand campaign was to order Kamál Khán chela to have the gateways of the Tirpolya Bázár and the bastions of the Káli Burj, just beneath the fort, completed by the time he returned.

In his time on every birthday the fort used to be sumptuously adorn. ed. In the Bíradari and Buland Mahal, canopies of Sultáni broadcloth embroidered in gold used to be set up. There were twelve hundred staves or poles of gold and silver in his store-house. These were used when required to support the broadcloth awnings. A cloth of gold curtain was hung at the Kamáni gate. No one's horse, or pálki or elephant was allow. ed to enter the fort ; all, however high in rank, dismounted at the gate.

He had four wives, besides concubines ; the wives were (1) Sháh Begam, his first wife, daughter of Káli Khán Bangash and nieer of Kásim Khán, (2) Bibi Jowáhir, a Paţhán woman, (3) Khás Mahal, a Domni from Chaloli close to Káimganj, (4) Ma'tabar Mahal, a native of Delhi. He left no issue.

No non-Moslem was allowed to touch his women's ornaments; no man was ever employed to sew their clothes ; and no physician was ever permitted to feel their pulse. The four wives all lived at the Ameţhi fort. They had extensive jágirs in their own names. As they died off, this property passed part to Sarfaráz Mahal, wife of Nawáb Násir Jang (1796-1813), part to Nasrat Jang, younger son of Násir Jang, and part to the ruling Nawáb.

Whenever Sháh Begam came from Ameţhi to visit her mother-in-law at Farrukhábád the whole of the bázár was closed. The shopkeepers call. ed this "Hartál" or "Hát-tára," from hát a shop and tárá a lock, that is, they had to put locks on their shop doors. The conveyances were fourwheeled bullock carriages, covered with broadcloth from top to bottom. The Begam sat in the middle, and the slave girls round the edge. The cover was tied on with silken cords, and the whole was then locked up. A. free woman of great age sat in front, and the driver was an old man. On the road no word was spoken. The eunuchs on horseback cleared the way. The bazar was closed for fear the Begams might overhear an unfit word.

They say Nawáb Muhammad Khán had four chosen friends (1) Mangal Khán Musenagari, so named from his being a native of the town of Musenagar on the Jamna, which was then within the Nawáb's territory, (2) Ma'zum Khán Daryábádi,* (3) Khizr Khán Panni,† (4) Shuja't Khán

[^127]Ghilzai, Kádirganjwálá.* On his death-bed Muhammad Khán said to his son that he must look on these four as his true friends. If there was war he should fight by the advice of Mangal Khán, who had been in every fight from his childhood ; if an army had to be raised, he should do it through Shuja't Khán, a chief from Afghanistàn ; if revenue had to be collected, he should employ Khizr Khán Panni; if a negotiator were required at the imperial court, he should send Ma'zum Khán who had great experience there. All four of these men were killed in the battle of Dauri when Káim Khán lost his own life.

We shall see how little heed was paid to these dying injunctions. The new Nawáb appears to have placed himself entirely in the hands of Mahmúd Khán Afrídí, a resident of Ameţhi, whom he appointed to be his Bakhshi. His brothers and relations, Yusúf Khán, Mu'azzam Khán, 'Azam Khán, 'Sa'dat Khán, and others had several thousands of Afrídís under their standard, and seem to have formed a powerful body in the state. Mahmúd Khán's kettle-drums were beaten at Kanauj, and he had complete authority over a territory paying a very large amount of revenue. He had one son, Shádi Khán, who was thrown from his horse the fourth day after his marriage ; his foot caught and he was dragged and killed. In 1839 the arches of Mahmúd Khán's audience hall in Ameţhi were standing in a dilapidated state. They are not in existence now, and the family seems to have entirely disappeared.

## Rohilkhand affairs.

Katahr or Rohilkhand had gradually come into possession of 'Ali Muhammad Khán Rohela, and he paid no revenue to the imperial exchequer. Once Muhammad Sháh sent his Diwán, Harnand, with an army to recover 'Ali Muhammad Khán's country. He got as far as Bangaṛh and opened his batteries. 'Ali Muhammad Khán came out and defeated him, so that the imperial army fled to Delhi. $\ddagger$ Muhammad Sháh was very angry and a second time, after an interval, he prepared an army, which he put under Khwajah Aspli Śáhib. He too opened batteries against Bangaṛh, to be repulsed like Harnand with the loss of a number of men on the Imperial side.

A third time Muhammad Sháh despatched all his forces under Kamr-ud-din Wazir. Now, Kamr-ud-din, who was a wary man, reflected that if he went he should meet the same fate as the others, the same army having already fled twice. He would be forced to flee or would get killed, in either

* Gaz. N. W. P. IV. 74, 151. Kádirganj is in parganah Nidhpur, Tahsil 'Aliganj, Eta district, 82 miles N. E. of Eta. Shuja't Khán was killed with Káim Khân at Dauri, as we shall see further on.
+ In the Budáon district, 14 miles N. E. of Budáon. Misprinted Bangask iu Elliot, VIII, 116 and 350.
$\ddagger$ Life of H. R. K., pp. 16. to 18.
case his Wazárat would be gone. A defeated Wazir was always dismissed. The Wazir therefore persuaded the Emperor to march in person to the attack of Bangarh. Káim Khán joined the imperial army with his troops. This was in 1158 H. (Jan. 1745-Jan. 1746.)*

For three stages the army came to the same river and drank its waters, so the Emperor gave it the name of the "faithful friend" (Yár-i-wafadár); it flows below Auseth. At length the army reached Bangarh and proceeded to invest it. Mirzá Muḳím 'Abd-ul-Mansúr Khán Safdar Jang commanded the vanguard. One night the Paţháns made a night attack and surprised Safdar Jang's battery, many of his men being killed. The Rohelas returned in safety to Bangarh. Their fort was surrounded with such a thick plantation of bamboos that a cannon ball could not penetrate it. The firing went on for several days, till at last the Rohelas advised 'Ali Muhammad Khán to make peace, for to him who fights his sovereign, his wife becomes unlawful. 'Ali Muhammad Khán was to be introduced to the presence through Safdar Jang, the negotiations being conducted by his Diwán Naval Ráe.

Káim Khán's troops lay on Safdar Jang's right hand. One day 'Ali Muhammad Khán was on his way to Safdar Jang followed by twelve thousand mail-clad Paṭháns. As he passed his eye fell on Káim Khán's tents, and he asked whose camp it was. They told him that it was Káim Khán's. Then his principal men said, "Why let the credit of the peace be gained by "this Mughal and his Diwán, Naval Ráe, there is your clansman, Káim "Khán, ask him to introduce you." 'Ali Muhammad Khán agreed to the proposal and went to Káim Khán, who received him most cordially. When Safdar Jang, who had been kept waiting, heard this he was much vexed, and for the rest of his life he bore a grudge to Káim Khán. Then Káim Khán tied 'Ali Muhammad Khán's hands together with his own handkerchief, and took him to the presence, where his nazar was accepted. The Emperor forgave him, invested him with a robe of honour, and appointed him to the Subah of Sarhind, to the west of the Jamna. The Emperor and all the nobles then returned to Delhi. $\dagger$

In the year that Muhammad Sháh died (1748) 'Ali Muhammad Khán left Sarhind and came back to Katahr. He died shortly afterwards on the 3rd Shawwal 1161 H. (14th Sept. 1748), leaving three sons. 'Abdullah Khán, Faizullah Khán and Sa'dullah Khán. $\ddagger$

[^128]
## Accession of Ahmad Shäh.

Muhammad Sháh died in 1161 H . and on the 2nd Jamadi I. of that year (19th April 1748), was succeeded by his son Ahmad Sháh. Soon after, Safdar Jang was appointed wazír in place of 'Itimád-ud-daula, Kamr-uddín Khán, killed in the fighting against Ahmad Sháh Durráni. Now Safdar Jang, who was a deadly enemy of the Bangash family, caused a farmán to be sent calling Káim Khán to court. Káim Khán in his reply told the Emperor not to place reliance on Safdar Jang, who was his, Káim Khán's, hereditary enemy. The Emperor and the Wazir were enraged. The Wazir laid plans of revenge in consultation with Jáwed Khán. Accordingly a farmán was prepared telling Káim Khán that an important work was confided to him, that many of the Maháls of Bareli and Murádábád, recovered with his aid in the late Emperor's time, had again been usurped by Sa'dullah Khán, son of 'Ali Muhammad Khán Rohela. This territory was therefore made over to him, Káim Khán, with orders to march and occupy it. This farmán was sent by a relation of the Wazír's, Sher Jang, son of Sayádat Khán, the elder brother of the late Burhán-ul-Mulk Sa'dat Khán.* On the 4th Shawwal 1161 H. (16th Sept. 1748), the messenger was within one or two kos of Farrukhábád, and hearing of his approach Nawáb Káim Khán caused a Bári to be erected near the 'Idgáh. Then he proceeded in state to the spot surrounded by nobles on elephants. First the farmán was read, then making his obeisance, the Nawáb put on the accompanying dress of investiture. With kettle-drums beating he returned to the fort, where the chief men, money-lenders, and officials presented gifts of money, and offered their congratulations.

The principal leaders were then sent for to be consulted. Chief among them was Mahmúd Khán Afrídi, the Bakhshi, with his brothers. These all voted for immediate war, but the Nawab seems to have been reluctant to attack his fellow Paţháns. Shuja't Khán Ghilzai, who had formerly exchan. ged turbans with the late 'Ali Muhammad Khán Rohela, Yákut Khán Khán Bahádur, Shamsher Khán, Mukím Khán, Islám Khán, Kamál Khán and Sardár Khán, chelas, represented to the Nawáb that the Rohelas were not his enemies, and if some one was sent across the Ganges, Sa'dullah Khán might be persuaded to attend. As a compromise Ma'zūm Khán, brother of Mahmúd Khán Bakhshi, was despatched with a small retinue to Anwalah $\dagger$ with three robes of investiture for the three sons of 'Ali Muhammad Khán. His orders were to invest them with the succession, but as usual to confis-

[^129]cate to the Emperor's use all the moveable property. If any difficulty was made, the Nawáb would march in person. It is suggested that the three sons had, before Ma'zum Khán's arrival, accepted investiture at the hand of a messenger sent direct by the Wazír. However that may be, Ma'zum Khán's mission failed, and next day he set out for Farrukhábád.

When Ma'zum Khán reported his want of success, Mahmúd Khán declared that by the return of the khilats, a disgrace had been inflicted, which could only be wiped out by an immediate march upon Anwalah. For many days the matter was discussed with Shuja't Khán Ghilzai and the chelas. Shuja't Khán still wished to avoid hostilities. But Mahmúd Khán, thirsting for territory and plunder, charged Shuja't Khán with acting the go-between in favour of the other side; alluding to the fact that he and 'Ali Muhammad Khán had exchanged turbans." Stung by this insult, Shuja't Khán exclaimed, "In the name of God the Great, the Com" passionate, bring out the flag and I shall be the first in the fray." That day the coffers of the treasure were unsealed, the flag set up, and the artillery brought out.

Meanwhile orders had been issued offering service to noted leaders of mercenaries and to neighbouring zamindárs, such as Rájah Kusal Singh of Rúrú, $\dagger$ Kájah Hindu Singh of Chachendi, $\ddagger$ and the Rájah of Shiú-

- The "Gulistan-i-Rahmat" tells us that after 'Ali Muhammad Khan was captured and taken to Delhi, Háfiz Rahmat Khán and his relations for six months sought a shelter with Shuja't Khán Ghilzai at Ḳédirganj.
† Rúrf, in parganah Bidhúna, lies some thirty miles east of the town of Etáwah (Gaz. IV. 469). It was the chief place of a taluka belonging to a family of Sengar Thákurs, whose head has always borne the title of Rajah (id. IV. 299). The story goes that when Kusal Singh reached home, his mother asked him for news of the battle-field, and out of affection began to shampoo him. When he told her that "Bhai Kaim (brother Káim) was slain," she exclaimed that he was no son of hers, and could never have been in the fight. When the Rajah had bathed, he went to the cooking-place to eat his food. Then the Ráni called to the slave girl ${ }^{\text {Ai cheri, kabardár rasoi mes }}$ lohá na ján páwe, Rájah lohd se bahut darat hai. The story concludes dramatically by saying the Rajah then and there committed suicide, by swallowing the diamond out of his ring. But the sober trath seems to be that he lived for many years, and died about 1786 A. D. (Gaz. IV. 299).
$\ddagger$ Chachendi (or Sachendi) lies in parganah Jajmau of the Cawnpur district, fourteen miles south-west of Cawnpar, on the Kalpi road. From a manuscript kindly lent me by Mr. F. N. Wright, C. S. (through the good offices of Mr. Atkinson, C. S.) I learn that Hindú Singh, son of Har Singh Deo, son of Kharakjít Deo, was a Chándel Thákur of Bihári on the banks of the Ganges. After a quarrel with Rajjah Indarjít of Shiárájpar, he left his home, and took service with the Ráo of Sapihi in parganah Jájmau, a minor branch of the Shiúrajpár house. After a time Hindú Singh set up on his own account, raised an army, built forts at Bihnor and Chachendi, and having acquired a large territory took the title of Rajah. He was contemporary with Rajahs Míndhátú and Hindúpat of Shiúrajpúr.
ájpúr,* In answer to the appeal they joined Káaim Khán with some twenty thousand men. Several Mahratta leaders, then Názims of Kálpi, were also entertained and brought to Farrukhábád by Ja'far Khán, chela, Názim of parganah Akbarpur. $\dagger$ Sheikh Farhatullah of Lakhnau, out of enmity to Sa'dat Khán and Safdar Jang, also joined with his force.

The Rohelas were much dismayed at the prospect of attack. To avert it if possible, they drew up a petition and sent it with the veil of 'Ali Muhammad Khán's widow by the hand of Sayyad Ma'sum. $\ddagger$ Their petition was to this effect: "When the father of this orphan, i. e., Sa'dullah "Khán, died, he relied on none but God and you; if you wish to take "this territory, be it so ; send here Shuja't Khan and Shamsher Khán " and Khán Bahádur, we will accompany them to your presence ; in exchange "for our father's lands, we will conquer by our swords some of the country " held by Safdar Jang further to the east." When the holy man came before the Nawáb in open darbar, he threw down the wrapper of Sa'dullah Khán's mother at the Nawáb's feet. Then he held aloft a Kura'n and said, " O Nawáb ! head of this clan, by this holy book, by regard for this helpless "faqir, and the unprotected owner of this veil, I adjure you to have mercy " on this race and slay not the defenceless, for the Book says 'Peace is a "good work both to saints and the Prophet', accept then my prayer."

Having heard the Sayyad's words, the Nawáb turned towards Mahmud Khán Bakhshi, and to him confided the whole discussion. This man at heart wished nought but harm and dissension. He replied "You are a "Sayyad and a Pírzáda, what know you of worldly affairs, why do you in"terfere?" Several remarks to the same effect having passed, the Sayyad saw that no favourable impression had been produced. Repeating the denunciations of God and his prophet against the proud-minded, he told all those then present that the displeasure of God and the Prophet would fall upon them. He then took his way back to the town of Anwalah, where he reported to the Rohelas and warned them to prepare at once for war. Accordingly, the Rohela leaders at the head of some twenty-five thousand men§ set up their tents in the groves near Dauri Rasúlpúr, not far from the town of Budáon, and there prayed night and day to God.

[^130]Káim Khán and Mahmúd Khán Bakhshi now determined to march. They had fifty thousand horse and foot paid direct by the State, besides the contingents of two hundred brothers, dependents and chiefs of the Bangash clan, all provided with elephants, and each vieing with the other in the completeness of his preparations. These served at their own expense. There were further the contingents of the Rajahs already mentioned. Nawáb Ahmad Khán, too, who on account of differences with his elder brother caused by Mahmúd Khán Bukhshi, had lived for two years at Delhi, hearing of the intended campaign, took leave of the Emperor on some pretest, and by rapid marches joined his brother's army. There were two hundred large cannon, besides swivel guns, and chádar, and camel-guns attached to the howdahs of the elephants, as used by Europeans,* with abundance of lead and powder.

The army marched on the 2nd Zi'l Hajj 1161, $\dagger$ (12th Nov. 1748), and by stages reached the Ganges at Kádirganj, about forty-three miles northwest of Farrukhábád, where it crossed by a bridge of boats into the Budáon district. Shamsher Khán and Khán Bahádur were sent on in advance, and cutting a way quickly past Auseth and other villages, they prepared the Nawab's encampment at the edge of the water. Daily skirmishing parties, armed with bows and arrows or muskets, were sent out from the Nawab's army. Meanwhile the angel of death had visited the camp of Kaim Khán, fear and destruction never left it, all whether old or young were depressed and agitated. The whole of the night of the 11th Zi'l Hajj (21st November 1748) they wore out on their prayer-carpets interceding for a favourable answer to their prayers.

On the other side the Rohelas, having given up all hope of escape, had begun to form an entrenchment round their camp, close to the village of

[^131]Dauri Rastilpúr, four miles south-east of the town of Budáon. On the morning of Monday the 12th Zi'l Haje (22nd Nov. 1748), Káim Khán gave the order for battle. Putting on his war attire, he rode out on his elephant followed by fifteen of his brothers, $\dagger$ and the principal leaders and relations of Mahmúd Khén Bakhshi, namely, Ma'zúm Khán, 'Azím Khán, Yusúf Khán, Sa’dat Khán, Salábat Khán, Ahmad Khán and others, besides the friendly Rájáhs.

The chelas, Shamsher Khán, Muḳim Khán, Islám Khán, Ja’far Khán, Rustam Khán, Kamál Khán, Khán Bahádur Khán, were sent on as an advanced guard. They advanced rapidly towards the grove of mango trees where were posted the Rohelą leaders, Háfiz Rahmat Khán, Donḍe Khán, Fath Khán, and others. Shamsher Khán made his attack at the south corner of the bágh, and putting its defenders to the sword captured their guns. Some of the Rohelas, who had climbed the trees unperceived by the other side, suddenly poured down arrows and balls like as if the heavens had fallen to the earth. Several of the bullets struck the chain armour of Khán Bahádur Khán, and an arrow grazed Shamsher Khán upon the forehead. Many of the men were killed. After this Káim Khán and the leading men arrived with their elephants to re-inforce the first attack. A discharge of arrows and musketry was delivered, and then their men drawing their swords put many of the Rohelas to death.

At the very moment of the contest at the south corner, Ma'zúm Khán, brother of Mahmúd Khán, Manavvar Khán, and Námdár Khán, brother of 'Izzat Khán, advanced against Sa'dullah Khán, who was in position at the north corner of the same lágh. They fought their way close up to Sa'dullah Khán. Manavvar Khán had in his hand an iron mace (gurz). He had raised it to fell Sa'dullah Khán, when Ma'zúm Khán cried out "Brother, take him alive," and at the same time drove his own elephant forward, intending to throw his cloth (chadar), made into a noose, over Sa'dullah Khán's head, thus dragging him from the one elephant on to the other. Sa'dullah Khán crouched down in his howdah, and the noose missed him. Just at this moment Mullá Sardár Khán Bakhshi with some horsemen and matchlockmen rushed up from his battery, which was to the south of the bagh, and the whole of the Bangash leaders and their elephants came under fire. Ma'zúm Khán, 'Azim Khán, Salibat Khán, Jalál Khán and other Afrídi leaders were killed.

[^132]On seeing this, Mahmúd Khán Bakhshi drove his elephant forward, and was soon afterwards shot dead. Then Nawáb Káim Khán ordered his brother, 'Abd-un-nabi Khán, to advance in support. 'Abd-un-nabi Khán and Sháh Asad 'Ali" were seated on one elephant. The former was killed andthe latter wounded above the elbow. One after another, the sons of Muhammad Khán advanced by Káim Khán's order and were shot down. Those killed were 'Abd-un-nabi Khán, Hádidád Khán, Bahádur Khán, Muríd Khán; while those wounded were Imám Khán, Fakhr-ud-din Khán and Murtazza Khán. Those sons of an Amir in bravery and courage did not belie their race; but "against the foreordained what avails, failure and success are ${ }^{4}$ alike in the hand of God."

Three accounts $\dagger$ attribute the Nawáb's death to an ambuscade, an in. cident omitted by others. $\ddagger$ Some such accident is almost required to account for the immense slaughter of leaders. It is related thus. Mangal Khán Musenagari had counselled Káim Khán not to advance too far, before the fate of the day was decided. His advice was disregarded. Now between the two armies lay a hollow, long, wide and deep, like the ditch of a fort, called in the Hindi tongue Bihar§. Close to the edge of this hollow were high bajra crops. The Rohelas had three thousand men on one side with muskets ready loaded, and five thousand on the other hidden in the high crop along the edge of the ravine. Káim Khán in his pride charged at the enemy, the Rohelas gave way and threw themselves into the hollow. Káim Khán with sixteen thousand veterans and fifty-one chiefs on elephants descended into the hollow in pursuit of the fugitives. As these were on foot, they could scramble up the high bank on the other side, and thus made good their escape. Nawáb Káim Khán had only got half way across the low land, when suddenly the Rohelas in ambush rushed up to the edge, and eight thousand matchlocks were fired down in one volley.

At the critical moment of the attack, Rajáahs Hindú Singh and Ganga Singh and Kusal Singh, who were on Káim Khán's right, turned for flighto Their bad example was imitated by the Mahrattas from Kálpi. Seeing this, the other Rohelas, Hafiz Rahmat Khán, Donḍe Khán, Fath Khán and others, came out of the bágh, joined Mullá Sardár Khán, and with their united forces turned agąinst Nawáb Kaim Khán. Those of his companions, who were still unhurt, gathered round his elephant. The enemy maintained their fire, but attempted no hand-to-hand encounter. When most of those round the Nawáb had been slain, the Rohelas surrounded his elephant and pointed their matchlocks upwards to shoot at him. Shekh Farhatullah of Lakhnau, who was on the right hand, brought his elephant closer

[^133]up ; but at that moment he was carried off by a musket shot. Shortly afterwards, at about one and a half hours after sunrise, a ball struck Káim Khán on the forehead and he fell dead. Diláwar Khán Narkasse, who was seated in the Nawáb's howdah, received him in his arms and wiped off the blood. An attempt was made to carry off the body, but the Rohelas pursued and coming up with the elephants cut off the head of the Nawáb. Others who lost their lives in this battle were Mangal Khán Musenagari, Ma’zum Khán Daryábádi, Khizr Khán Panni, Khán Bahádur Khán Khwája Saráe, Rustam Khán and Kamál Khán, chelas, and Roshan Imám, son of Miyan Fazl Imám. Khán Bahádur Khán was buried at 'Aliganj, the popular tradition asserting that his elephant carried his body there from the field of battle.

During the battle Shuja't Khán Ghilzai, who had come there from a sense of duty though against his own inclination, had stood alone on one side. When he was told that Káim Khán was dead, he wept and exclaimed, '. Shall such a leader be slain, and I go back alive to appear before the Bibi "Sáhiba; to do so would be more than I can bear." He went towards the leaders of the enemy's army, intending to give himself up. When he came near to Háfz Rahmat Khán, the men about him said, "May your mouth be filled with dust." But Háfiz Rahmat Khán, who had got down from his elephant, said, "Send for a pàlki, meanwhile will you get down P" Diwán Mán Ráé, who was standing close by, said in Pushtu, $\dagger$ "Wise men do not kill the scorpion and leave his brood" During this conversation one of the Rohelas rode up with his matchlock across his shoulder. He fired it at Shuja't Khán and shot him through the breast.

After the death of the Nawab the rest of the leaders, some wounded and some scatheless, took to flight. They were Nawáb Ahmad Khán, who was wounded, his son Mahmúd Khán, Husain Khán, Fakhr-ud-din Khán, Ismá’il Khán, Imám Khán, Karim-dád Khán, brothers of Káim Khán, and the chelas, Shamsher Khán, Mukeím Khán, Islám Khán. They fled though no one cut off their retreat nor was any man pursuing them. After being much scattered and after much molestation from the zamindárs of that part, they re-assembled near the banks of the Ganges. At first a bridge of boats was thrown across, but Nawáb Ahmad Khán and the others caused it to be broken up. Then driving their elephants into the river they forded it, while the horsemen and infantry, stripping to their waist-cloths, threw themselves into the water and swam across. Out of shame they all slunk into the city and sought their homes by bye-ways. When it was noised abroad that Nawáb Káim Khán was slain and his army defeated, there

[^134]arose weeping and wailing in every lane and in every house. Not a household was left untouched by this sorrowful event, and the fate of thousands was never traced. Many had been wounded and taken prisoners, many were found dead on the field Of these latter, those that were recognized were carried away and interred in the graveyards.

The body of the slain Nawáb, clad in rich garments and followed by holy men and mourners, was despatched from the battle-field to Farrukhábád.* The next day but one, three headless corpses were laid at the feet of the Bíbí Sáhiba. Káim Khán was identified by a lily mark on his foot. It is a coloured mark on the sole of the foot, and he who has it is destined to bear rule. The Bibi Sáhiba after her lamentations were over, took the body of her son, and wrapping it in the clothes he wore when slain, carried it out to the Haiyát Bágh for burial at the side of his venerable father.

The following chronograms give the year of Kaim Khán's death :
I. - Kuíim-i-bihisht shud (1162).
"He stood firm in paradise."
II.-Kanjashf ba-báz kard shikár (1163).
"The sparrow pursues the hawk."
III.—Pák be-bad shahid Ķíim Khán (1162).

After the victory the Rohelas felt as if they had been raised from the dead, and they offered up a thousand prayers and thanks to God. Then with drums beating a triumphal march, they returned to their capital of Anwalah; and parties were sent out to overrun and occupy the Farrukhábád parganahs on the north or left bank of the Ganges. These consisted at that time of ten mahals: 1, Budáon, 2, Auseţh, 3, Jalálábád, 4, Mihrábád, 5, Ausáyá, 6, Aujháni, 7, Khákatmau-Dahlya, and three others not named (two of them probably 8, Amritpur-Islamganj and 9, Paramnagar, and the third perhaps 10, Sahaswán). The Rohelas advanced as far as Khákatmau, opposite Farrakhábád, where they first met with resistance. A chela who was 'Amil of the place showed a strong front and kept up a vigorous musketry fire at the enemy, many of whom were killed. He would not abandon his parganah, and the Rohelas thinking there was no need to entangle themselves in brambles, left the place and marched back. All the rest of the Trans-Ganges country was thus lost permanently to the Farrukhábád Nawábs. Only Amritpur, Khákatmau and Paramnagar were preserved through the courage of this namele s chela. $\dagger$
(To be continued.)

[^135]
## On the Pala and the Sena Rajas of Bengal.-By RAjmidrata'ma Mitra, LL. D., C. I. E.

The Society has lately received from Mr. Smith of Bhagalpur a copperplate of one of the Pála Kings of Bengal. It measures $15.5 \times 12.7$ inches, and has a scalloped top 6 inches high and 6.5 long at the base. The centre of the top is enclosed in a circle, $\mathbf{3}$ inches in diameter, and around it is a band of lotus petals. The legend in the centre is a wheel mounted on a stand, and supported by a deer rampant on each side-a well-known Buddhist symbol. Below this is the name of Náráyaṇa-pála Deva, and below that a sprig formed of a flower and two leaves. The front of the plate is surrounded by a border line, but on the reverse this does not occur. The inscription in front extends to 29 lines, of which the first four are broken in the middle by the base of the scalloped top, which covers the plate to the depth of 2 inches. On the reverse there are 25 lines of inscription. The plate is thick, and in a fair state of preservation. The letters are of the Kutila type. See plates XXII and XXIII.

The record opens with a stanza in praise of Go-pála, who was a devout Buddhist, and a follower of Sugata. His son and immediate successor was Dharma-pála. The latter had a brother named Vák-pála, who lived under his sway. On his death Deva-pála the eldest son of his brother succeeded him. Vák-pála had a second son named Jaya-pála, who is said to have brought Orissa and Allahabad under his brother's government. On the death of Devapála, Vigraha-pála, the son of Jaya-pála, came to the throne. Vigraha-pála married Lajjá of the Haihaya race, and had by her a son, named Náráy-ana-pala. The last, as the reigning sovereign, is spoken of in the highest terms of praise ; but the only noticeable work of his described in the record is a bridge of boats across the Ganges near Mungher. In the 17th year of his reign, on the 9th of Vaiśakha, when this prince was encamped near Mudgagiri, modern Mungher, he presented the village of Mukatika for the support of Siva Bhatţáraka and his followers. The donee appears to have been a Hindu, and the gift was made with a view to assist him in offering chars and bali to a divinity named Sahasraksha, and also for the dispensation of medicines to the sick, and food and shelter to the indigent. The record was composed by Bhatta Gurava, the minister who erected the Budal pillar, and engraved by Meghadása, son of Subhadása. The genealogical table deducible from this record may be thus arranged :


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The genealogy here given is apparently not in accord with what has been hitherto known to be the family tree of the Pálas, and, in order to elucidate the history of the Palas, it is necessary to advert to certain records, already published, relating to some of the sovereigns of the family. General Cunningham, in his Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. III, has already noticed them at length; but some of the facts contained in them require to be further discussed.

The first inscription brought to the notice of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was a copper-plate grant of one of the Pála Rájás of Bengal. It had been discovered among some ruins at Mungher, and trauslated by Sir Charles Wilkins, in 1781, three years before the foundation of the Society. The translation was published in the first volume of the 'Asiatic Researches,' (pp. 122, et seq.,) but without any facsimile or transcript of the original. The original is lost, and so many doubtful points in it cannot now be solved. It opens with the name of Go-pala, a pious king, who acted according to what is written in the S'ástra, and obliged the different sects to conform to their proper tenets. His religion is not mentioned; but he was evidently a Buddhist, for the document begins with a comparison between him and Sugata Buddha, the allusion to the S'ástra being intended either to imply his tolerant character, or to the scriptures of the Buddhists. His son, Dharma-pála, seems to have died while engaged in a marauding excursion towards the Himálays. The circumstance is explained by his panegyrist in the following manner: "He went to extirpate the wicked and plant the good, and happily his salvation was effected at the same time, for his servants visited Kedár, and drank milk according to the law, and they offered up their vows where the Ganges joins the ocean, and at Gokarna and other places." It is scarcely likely that the king had ever exercised any power in those places. His accomplished wife, Kanna Deví, bore him a son, Prince Deva-pala, who succeeded his father in the kingdom "even as Bodhisattva succeeded Sugata." His name occurs as "the lord of the land" in a Buddhist inscription found in a mound near Pesserawa in Behar."

[^136]His conquests, according to the chronicler, extended from the source of the Ganges to Adam's bridge, including the Vindhya and Kámboja countries ; but probably it did not in reality stretch much beyond the Vindhyan range. The conquest of Kámboja evidently had no firmer basis than the imagination of the poet. When encamped at Mudgagiri, modern Mungher, this prince, on the 21st day of Márgasirsa, (November-December,) in the 33rd year of his reign, bestowed the town of Misika in Krimila, a department of Šrínagara, modern Patna, to one Bodha Bhikshurata Miśra. The imprecations against the resumption of the grant are given in the usual Puráṇic style.

Soon after, a second monument of that dynasty was found at Budál in Dinájpur, and also translated by Sir Charles Wilkins. It was a record inscribed on a stone pillar, by order of a minister of one of the Pála Rajás. As in the last case so in this the translation was published in the ' Researches,' (Vol. I, pp. 131 et seq.,) without any text. But a plate was added, giving a front and a side view of the pillar and a specimen of the character of the inscription. Sir William Jones was not satisfied with either of the translations, and appended to them some explanatory notes. A revised transcript and translation of the last, however, has since been published by Bábu Pratápachandra Ghosha,* and all doubts regarding the original have now been removed. This inscription was put up by a minister of Náráyaṇapála who recorded the merits of his ancestors, who seem to have been all officers of the Pála family. Trusting to the wisdom of one of them, the chronicler states, "The king of Gauda for a long time enjoyed the country of the eradicated race of Utkala (Orissa), of the Hunnas of humbled pride, of the kings of Dráviḍa and Gurjara, whose glory was reduced, and the universal sea-girt throne." Bábu Pratápachandra Ghosha has thus summarised the historical results of this record.
I. Sándilya.
II. Viradeva.
III. Páncḥála.
IV. Garga, married Ichchhá.
V. Sri Darbhapáni, minister of Deva-pála, married Sárkara.
VI. Somésvara Mísra, married Taralá.
VII. Kedárnátha Miśra, married Badhvá of Devagráma, Sura-pála, contemporary.
VIII. Gurava Miśra, minister of Náráyana-pála.

The third record was found at Sárnáth, near Banáras. It was inscribed on a stone, and a facsimile transcript and a translation of it were published in the fifth volume of the 'Asiatic Researches' It contained the

* Ante XLIII, pt. I. pp. 366 .
names of four members of the dynasty under notice, viz., Mahi-pála, Sthirapála, Vasanta-pála, and Kumára-pála; but the record was throughout so corrupt, and the reading so manifestly incorrect, that no reliance whatever could be placed on it for purposes of historical deduction. The stone was not forthcoming early in this century ; but General Cunningham pointed out to Major Kittoe, the probability that the original stone would be found somewhere about the tank of Diwán Jagat Siñha in the city of Benáres, which was constructed entirely of stones removed from Sárnáth. After a short search the latter found it. "The inscription was recorded", says General Cunningham, " on the base of a squatted figure of Buddha, which was broken at the waist. Kittoe sent me a tracing of his sketch of the statue, and a copy of the inscription, with transcript in modern Nágari. This differs very much from Wilford's version, as will be seen in the following translation."
"Adoration to Buddhs. Having worshipped the lotus foot of Sri Dhama-rási, sprung from the lake of Varánasí, and having for its moss the hairs of prostrate kings, the fortunate Mahi-pála, King of Gauḍa, caused to be built in Kásí hundreds of monuments, such as Yśána and Chitraghaṇta.
"The fortunate Sthira-pála and his younger brother, the fortunate Vasanta-pála, have renewed religion completely in all its parts, and have raised a tower ( (saila) with an inner chamber (garbha-kut $i$ ), and eight large niches. Samvat 1083, the 11th day of Pausha.'"

The learned antiquarian does not mention where the stone now is, nor the name of the person who translated the record. He has also not given a facsimile or transcript of it. Under the circumstances no critical enquiry can be made as to the correctness of the reading and the translation. This is much to be regretted, as the document is the only one which has a really intelligible and useful date in it.

It is to be regretted also that the next record to which I have to refer, a copper-plate inscription found at Amgáchhi in Dinájpur, appears also to be defective. Colebrooke, who translated it, published only an abstract. According to Colebrooke's abstract the first prince mentioned in it is Loka-pála, and after him, Dharma-pála. The next name has not been deciphered, but the following one is Jaya-pála, succeeded by Deva-pala; two or three subsequent names are yet undeciphered; then follow Raja-pála,-Pála Deva, and Vigraha-pála, and subsequently Mahi-pála Deva, Naya-pála and Vigraha-pála. The date appears to be of the last king's reign, the 9th day of Chaitra (March-April), Samvat 12.

The next record, in order of discovery, was found by Captain Marshallin 1864, but not published in any form. Mr. Broadley noticed it in 1872. It was found inscribed on the jamb of the entrance to the Nálandá temple. It occurs at the foot of an ornamental scroll, and measures 8 inches by 5.

- Arch. Survey Report III, p. 121.

Its language is Sanskrit, and its extent 12 lines, of which the second breaksoff in the middle after the word Samvat, and the third begins so as to leave some space at the beginning. This was done probably with a view to leave room enough for the date in figures or words; but they were never put in. The jamb being made of hard basalt, and having been placed on the door side, deep behind a broad portico or veranda, suffered not at all from the influence of the weather when in situ; and, since the destruction of the temple, having remained buried under a large mass of rubbish, between 20 and 30 feet deep, looks as fresh as when it was first turned out of the sculptor's atillier.

The subject of the record is a donation to the temple, but the nature of the gift is not apparent. The words used for the purpose are deya dharmoyam "this is a religious gift," and the pronoun therefore may apply to the stone on which it occurs, or to the gate of which the stone forms a part, or to the portico, or to the entire temple. The words, however, are generally used as a formula for expressing a gift, and the gift might be other than the substance on which they occur. Looking to the nature of the temple,-a brick structure cemented with clay and plastered with stucco, which had undergone several repairs, the plastering in many places being not in keeping with the mouldings formed of bricks, and the door-ways, apart from the stone-facings, being perfect and bearing marks of plastering under the stones-there is no doubt now that the temple existed from long before the time of the Pala Kings of Bengal, and the formula therefore does not apply to it. General Cunningham takes the temple to date from the lst century B. C. The donor was one Báláditya, a native of Kausámbi in the Doab of the Ganges, the son of Gurudatta, and grandson of Haradatta. He was a Buddhist by religion, a follower of the Maháyána school, and a devout worshipper. He belonged to a clan of oil-sellers named Tailadhaka. He had no pretension to royalty, but in religion, whether Hindu or Buddhist, it was not necessary for a devout person to have high social position, to make a religious gift in an ancient public temple. He claims no merit to himself for the gift, but desires that the fruit of it may promote "the advancement of the highest (religious) knowledge among the mass of mankind."*

When I first read the inscription from a facsimile, I was disposed to take the date of this inscription to be the Samvat year $913=$ A. D. 856. I made out the figures from three symbolical words: the first-agni, "fire," being equal to 3, the second rágha, "power," = to 1 ; and the third dvára, 'door' $=9$. This would be equal to 319 ; but the practice invariably followed in explaining symbolical figures is to transpose them according to the wellknown rule, ankkasya vámá gatí, "figures run to the left," and I had no

[^137]hesitation, therefore, in adopting it, particularly as the character of the writing, the Kuţila, which had a range of between four or five centuries from the 8 th to the 12 th, fully justified my course. The symbolical mean. ings of the first and the last words are well known and undoubted. The second, however, was not in common use, at least I had never found it used in that sense. Its first letter rá was unmistakable, but the second could be a compound of $d$ and ya, which would produce ádya or one, the $r$ being taken for the visarga after agni. This would lead to the same result. Inasmuch however as the first word cannot take the nominative case-mark in the midst of a compound term, I preferred the reading adopted. Soon after communicating my translation to Mr. Broadley I paid a visit to Behar, and, on examining the stone, I found the second letter to be clearly a dh, and the word rádha being equivalent to the Hindu month Vaisákha(April-May), I came to the conclusion that the first two words meant the 3rd of Vaisákha, the subsequent word dvára tate meaning "spread on the door", i. e., the gift whatever it was given at the gate.* This explanation left the figures of the Samvat unprovided, but the blank space after the word Samvat I supposed was the locale of the figures or symbolical words which were never engraved. Professor Ráma Krishṇa Gopál Bhandárkar of Bombay, to whom a facsimile had been communicated by Mr. Broadley, took the two upright strokes after the word Samvat to be equal to 11.† I could not, however, subscribe to this opinion. In the Kuțila character the figure for 1 is not an upright stroke, and there was no reason to suppose that a departure had been made in this case. The blank spaces after the word at the end of the first line and at the beginning of the second line would under the supposition also be unaccountable. In Sanskrit inscriptions and MSS. it is not usual to break the matter into paragraphs, and the blank spaces cannot but imply a deliberate act intended for something to be put in afterwards, the matter not being ready at hand at the time of the incision.

Mr. Broadley found an inscription of Go-pala at the same place, two of Madana-pala and Vigraha-pála respectively at Behár ; three of Mahi-pála, and one each of Káma-pála and Deva-pála at Ghosrawáñ and Titrawáñ. The Ghosrawáñ inscription was first noticed by Major Kittoe. $\ddagger$

With a view to complete the summary of the references to the history of the Pála Kings, it is necessary further to refer to the list of the Pálas given in the Ain-i-Akbari (vol. I, p. 413) and in Táránáth's work. They have been entirely superseded by the inscriptions, but they afford curious illustrations of the changes which had been effected by the traditions current in the time of Abul Fazl. Abul Fazl's list has been reproduced in Pere Tieffenthaler's work.

The Genealogical lists derived from these several sources may be thus tabulated:

[^138]The Pála Kings of Bengal and Bchar.'

| No. | Bhágalpur Plate. | Mungher Plate. | Budál Pillar. | Dinájpur Plate. | Sárnâth stone. | Small inscriptions. each a single name. | Ain i Akbari. | Táránáth in Bas-relief. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 3 4 5 | Go-pala. <br> Dharma-pála. <br> Vák-pála. <br> Deva-pála. <br> Jaya-pála. | Go-pála. <br> Dharma-pála. <br> Deva-pála. | Deva-pála. Sura-pála | Loka-pála. <br> Dharma-pála. <br> (Illegible). <br> Jaya-pála. <br> Deva-pála. | . $\cdot$. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Go-pála (²). } \\ \ldots . . \\ \text { Deva-pála (²). } \end{gathered}$ | Bhu-pála. <br> Dhir-pála. <br> Deva-pála. <br> Bhupati-pála. | Go-pála. <br> Deva-pála. <br> Raso-pala. <br> Dharma-pála. <br> Masurakshita. |
| $\begin{array}{r} 7 \\ 8 \\ 9 \\ 10 \end{array}$ | Vigrahá-pála. Náráapa-pála. ... | $\because$ | Nárayana-pala. $\cdots$ $\ldots . .$. | (Illegible.) <br> Náráyanapála. <br> Rája-pála. <br> - pála. <br> Vigraha-pála I. | - | Naráyana-pála ${ }^{(3)}$. $\ldots .$. Vigraha-pála ${ }^{(4)}$. | Dhanapat-pála. <br> Bijjen-pála. <br> Jaya-pála. <br> Rája-pala. <br> Bhoj-pala. | Vana-pala. Mahi-pála. Maha-pala. Shamu-pála. Sresţha-pala. |
| 11 12 13 14 16 16 17 18 | … $\ldots$ $\ldots$. $\ldots$ $\ldots$. $\ldots$ | … $\ldots$ $\ldots \ldots$ $\ldots \ldots$ $\ldots \ldots$ $\ldots \ldots$ $\ldots .$. |  | Mahi-pála. <br> Naya-pála. <br> Vigraha-pála II. <br> .... <br> .... <br> .... <br> -... <br> .... | Mahi-pála. <br> Sthira-pala. <br> Vasanta-pála. <br> .... <br> .... <br> .... <br> .... <br> - - - | Naya-paila (s). <br> Mahendra-pala ( ${ }^{\circ}$ ) <br> Ráma-pála ( ${ }^{\text {¹ }}$ ). <br> Madana-pála ( ${ }^{\circ}$ ). <br> Govinda-pala ( ${ }^{\circ}$ ). | Jagat-pála. <br> .... <br> .... <br> .... <br> .... <br> .... <br> .... | Chanaka-pála. <br> Beira-pála. <br> Neia-pála. <br> Amara-pála. <br> Hasti-pála. <br> Kshánti-pála. <br> Ráma-pála. <br> Yaksha-pala. |

> (7) Behar, No. 15 of C . (e) Guyá, No. 18 of $\mathbf{C}$. Remarks. of $C$. (b) Gayá, No. 12 of C.
(') Rama Gayá, No. 13 of C.
(2) Nalandá, No. 1 of C.
(2) Ghosrawáñ, No. 5 of C.
(') Gayદ, No. 6 of 0.

It is obvious that the several authorities quoted above all refer to the same dynasty, and the question therefore arises-how to reconcile their discrepancies? The list of the Ain-i-Akbari and that of Táránáth, may be left out of consideration, as they are founded upon tradition, and, in dealing with long lists of names, tradition is always open to mistakes. But the case is different with patents issued during the lifetime of the grantors, and which, from that circumstance, are naturally expected to be accurate in so important a matter as the names of the immediate ancestors of royal personages. Discrepancies in such cases cannot easily be explained away, and in the present instance the difficulty has been greatly enhanced by some of the patents available being imperfect and mutilated. It is the farthest from my wish to cast any reflection on the translators whose works I have to review ; I have high respect for their ability and profound scholarship; but where the originals they had to work upon were smudgy, obliterated, and partially illegible, their translations cannot be implicitly relied upon.

The first discrepancy I have to notice is in the name of the founder of the dynasty. According to three inscriptions, of which two are in a perfect state of preservation, and tradition as recorded by Táránáth, it is Goopála; but in a fourth, and that the most defective, it is Loka-pála; and the Ain-iAkbari changes it to Bhu-pála. Assuming Colebrooke's reading of the Dinajpur plate to be in this part correct, I can account for the difference by attributing it to the exigency of metre. The genealogy is given in verso, and the necessity for a word of two syllables, I think, induced the conveyancer to change the first part of the name from the monosyllable go to the dissyllable loka, the meaning remaining unchanged-go $=$ 'earth' and loka $=$ ' region' or earth. The bhu of the Ain-i-Akbari has the same signification. It might appear repulsive to an Englishman that Mr. Black should change into Mr. Melanos, to suit the convenience of a poet, but in the middle ages it was not uncommon in Europe to translate English names into Latin even in prose epitaphs, and in the present day poets not unfrequently change the quantity of proper names to suit their rhyme. In Sanskrit the practice of using synonyms either for the sake of metre, or for that of rhetoric, was at one time not unknown. If this explanation be not acceptable, it might be supposed that the person referred to had two aliases ; and the writer of the Dinájpur plate used one name, that of the Ain i Akbari another. It is worthy of note that the writer of the Bhágalpur monument was only five generations removed from the founder of the dynasty, whereas that of the Dinájpur plate was separated from him by over twice that interval, and greater faith must be reposed on him who was the nearest to the founder.

The second name is the same in all the three inscriptions in which it occurs, and calls for no remark. The third, however, is not so. In the Bhágalpur record, which is the most perfect, it is Vák-pála, but in the

Mungher plate Deva-pala. In the Dinájpur plate it is illegible. It appears, however, from the first record that Vák-pala was the younger brother of Dharma-pala, and served as a lieutenant to his brother. The second record in giving the succession of the reigning sovereign, did not, therefore, feel called upon to name him. In the third record I think the illegible name which Colebrooke could not read and the nest name Jaya-pala are not names of reigning sovereigns, but epithets of Dharma-pala, which have been mistaken for proper names. The word pala 'a protector' is just one of those which a Hindu poet would most likely play upon in a variety of ways, and try to educe as many alliterations out of it as possible, and as Colebrooke says, "so great a part of the inscription is obliterated, (portions of every line being illegible) that it is difficult to discover the purport of the inscription," ${ }^{*}$ such a mistake was not at all unlikely to happen. If the illegible name be assumed to be Deva-pála, the son of Vák-pála and successor of Dharma-pála, we could not make Jaya-pála his son, for the Bhágal pur plate makes Jaya-pála the son of Vák-pála and brother of Deva-pála, and Vigraha-pála his son. The Budál pillar names Sura-pála only, leaving out Vigraha-pála, but as the object of the pillar was not to give a genealogical table of the kings of the Pala dynasty, but to record the names of the ancestors of one Garava, the minister of Náráyana-pála, naming the kings incidentally as patrons of those ancestors, the omission is not remarkable. The Dinájpur plate names only one person between Deva-pála and Náráyaṇa-pála, and his name is illegible. We may reasonably assume it to have been Vigraha-pála.

The sixth name in the Bhágalpur plate has not its counterpart in any other record. Its absence from the Mungher plate is accounted for by the fact of the latter not extending beyond Deva-pála ; and from the Budál plate, on the supposition of the owner of it not having been a patron of the family to whose honour it was dedicated. It should have been present in the Dinajpur plate, but as the entirety of that document is not forthcoming, it is impossible to say precisely whether there is only one name illegible in it after Deva-pála, or two.

Leaving out of consideration the lists of the Ain i Akbari and of Táranáth, which are unreliable and quite irreconcilable, we have only the Dinájpur plate to supply the names of the descendants of Náráyana-pála down to Mahi-pála, and it gives us four names viz., Rája-pála, -pála, Vigrahapála and Mahi-pála, which we must accept as correct pending the discovery of some more authentic document. I accept the Naya-pala and Vigraha-pála II. on the same authority, with Sthira-pála and Vasanta-pála as their aliases on the testimony of the Benares stone.

In addition to the above there are four other names in inscriptions, each giving a single name; but as there is nothing reliable to show the order

[^139]of their succession, and further as they do not fall within the scope of this paper, which I wish to confine to the sovereigns of Bengal only, I shall take no note of them. Within the limits which I prescribe for myself, the materials available, as aforesaid, afford a list of eleven reigning sovereigns instead of thirteen, as given by General Cunningham, his Nos. 3 and 4 being inadmissible in the face of the Bhagalpur plate.

The only intelligible date available for these eleven reigns is afforded by the Benares stone, and that is Samvat $1083=1026$ A. D. The document when first read was utterly untrustworthy, and in drawing up my monograph of the Sena Rajás I took no notice of it. Although no facsimile has since been published, as General Cunningham obtained a copy of the record from so able an antiquarian as the late Major Kittoe, and himself read the date as given above, $I$ am bound to accept it; for $I$ am of opinion that no one in India in the present day has so thorough a knowledge of Indian lapidary writing as that profound scholar, and he is not at all likely to make a mistake in reading a mediæval figure. The date may be taken to be about the middle of Mahi-pala's reign, and as Mahipála was the most renowned of the Pálas of Bengal, the only one whose name is still remembered by the people, and whose monument, the Mahipala Dighi of Dinájpur, is still in existence, his reign may be fairly assumed to have beon of more than average length. If I say it lasted from 1015 to 1040 A. D., I fancy it would not be by any means thought to be improbable.

With this starting-point gained it is necessary to calculate backwards the times of his eight predecessors. For this purpose General Cunningham adopts an average of 25 years. He says, "Assigning 25 years to a generation, and working backwards from Mahi-pála, the accession of Go-pála, the founder of the dynasty, will fall in the latter half of the 8th century ; or still earlier, if we allow 30 years to each generation. By either reckoning, the rise of the Pála dynasty of Magadha is fixed to the 8th century A. D., at which time great changes would appear to have taken place amongst most of the ruling families of Northern India."*

The General assigns no reason for adopting this average, and I cannot help thinking that it is too high. It is certainly not in accord with data available from Indian history. Twenty reigns of the Mughals, from 1494 to 1806, give an average of 15 years and 7 months. Twenty-one reigns in Káshmir, from 1326 to 1588 , give 12 years and 6 months. Forty reigns of the Delhi Paţháns yield an average of 9 years and 9 days. Twenty.four reigns of the Bengal Patháns, from 1200 to 1350, produce a little over 6 years. Similarly twenty reigns in Burmah, from 1541 to 1781 , offer an average of 12 years. Doubtless these averages are of periods and reigns - Arch. Surv. Beport, ШI, p. 135.
some of which were much troubled; but in a place like Ceylon, whose insular position protected it to a great extent from outside or foreign attacks, twenty reigns from 1410 to 1798 yield an average of 19 years and nearly 5 months. In England, in the same way, from Edward IV to William IV, or 1461 to 1837, twenty-one reigns yield an average of no more than 17 years, 10 months and 25 days. There was nothing in the physical or political condition of the Pálas in Bengal which could give them a greater immunity from the vicissitudes of changes incident to royalty than in the places named. James Prinsep, after a careful survey of the history of Indian dynasties, took 16 to 18 years to be the average, and nothing has since been found to show that his calculations were wrong. Doubtless in taking averages a great deal depends upon the period and the number of reigns taken into account. A George III, or an Akbar, with two or three average reigns, would often upset all calculations; but with 20 to 40 reigns, the risk of error from occasionally protracted reigns is reduced to a minimum. The Pálas in Bengal did not enjoy any great immunity from outside attacks. They had very powerful rivals in the kings of Orissa on one side, in those of Behar and Kanauj on another, and those of Assam and Tipperah and Eastern Bengal on a third, and it is well known how outside rivalry foments domestic discord; and, taking these facts into consideration, I cannot assign them a higher average. Eighteen years, in my opinion, would be (if anything) high, but in consideration of the number of reigns being small—only eight before Mahi-pala-and to provide for the possibility of there having been an Akbar or two among them, I shall take it at 20, which would be the highest possible admission. At this rate the result will be as follows:

| I. | Go-pála, .................. | 855 |  |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| II. | Dharma-pála, ........... | 875 |  |
| III. | Deva-pála, ............. | 895 |  |
| IV. | Vigraha-pála, I | $\ldots . . .$. | 915 |
| V. | Náráyaṇa-pála, ........... | 935 |  |
| VI. | Rája-pála, ................ | 955 |  |

$$
\begin{array}{rlr}
\text { VII. } & \text { - pála,............. } 975 \\
\text { VIII. } & 975 \text { Vigraha-pála, II,.. } & 995 \\
\text { IX. } & \text { Mahi-pála, } 1015 \text { to } 1040 \\
\text { X. } & \text { Naya-pála, ..... } 1060 \\
\text { XI. } & \text { Vigraha-pála, III, } 1080
\end{array}
$$

955

The inscriptions noticed above clearly show that all the Palas were staunch Buddhists; but several of them were tolerant enough to employ Hindus as their principal officers of state; and, though they no doubt encouraged the diffusion of their own religion, they not only did not oppress their people for their religion, but even allowed their Hindu ministers to apply to them, in official and estate documents, praise which could be grateful only to Hindu ears. They went further, and sometimes gave lands for religious purposes which cannot be strictly called Buddhist.

The last question in connexion with the Palas is the locale or extent of their dominion. Táránáth calls them all kings of Bengal; so does abul

Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbari. The Mungher plate does not name the kingdom of the three Pálas, but it was executed when the camp of Deva-pála was pitched at Mudgagiri, i. e., Mungher. The Bhágalpur plate was also executed at Mungher, and in it Náráyana-pála is called the "lord of Anga," or king of Bhágalpur and its neighbourbood, including Mungher. The Budál pillar occurs in the Dinajpur district, and that would show that in the time of Náráyana-pála his minister Gurava had administrative power on the north of the Padmá. The Dinájpur plate not having been fully deciphered, we know not where it was executed, and, though found at Amgáchi, it is possible that the grant may refer to some place at a great distance from it. There can be no doubt, however, that one of the latest kings named in it, Mahi-pala, exercised full severeignty in the province to the north of the Padmá. That vast sheet of water in Dinájpur which still bears his name, the Mahi-pála dighi, is a proof positive on this point. We have also the evidence of the Sárnáth stone which calls him lord of Gauda, though the stone cannot be accepted as a proof of Mahi-pála's reign having extended as far as Benares. In a sacred place of pilgrimage any person could go and dedicate a temple or an image, without in any way acquiring political power in the locality.

Mr. Westmacott, in his "Traces of Buddhism in Dinájpur," supplies several other proofs in support of the sovereignty of the Pálas on the north of the Padmá. He says, "In all south-eastern Dinajpur, and the neighbouring parts of Bagurá, remains of Buddhism, and of the Buddhist Pála kings are numerous. It was in this neighbourhood that in the seventh century the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen-Thsang found the Buddhist court of Paundravardhana which I identify with Vardhana Kúțí, the residence of a very ancient family, close to Govindaganj, on the Karatoyá. Mr. Fergusson, in his paper on Hiouen-Thsang, quotes from an account of Paundradesa in the fourth volume of the 'Oriental Quarterly Magazine,' that Vardhana Kúțí, governed by a Yavana, or Musalmán, was one of the chief towns of Nirvritti, comprising Dinájpur, Rangpur and Koch Behar, and consequently the eastern half of Hiouen-Thsang's kingdom of Paundra Vardhana."* Elsewhere he says: "Dharma-pála, whose fort still bears his name, more than seventy miles north of Vardhana Kútíi, and other Pála kings, were ruling east of the Karatoyá long after Bengal had been subdued by the Senas, before whom indeed the Palas probably retreated by degrees to the north-east, and were supplanted without any great catastrophe." $\dagger$ Again, "close to Jogi-ghopá are extensive brick remains, said to have been the palace of Devá-pála, whether the Deva-pála of the Mungher plate or not I will not say, but certainly of the Amgáchi plate. Bhimlá Deví, daughter of Deva-pala, is said by the ignorant pujáris to be represented by one

[^140]of the Jogi-ghopá carvings. A mile to the south-west, at Amári, are more brick remains which Dr. Buchanan heard called the palace of Mahi-pála. Across the bíl, two miles north-east, at Chondirá, are remains, which he was told were those of Chandra-pala's palace; there are more bricks at Kaṭak and Dhoral, and indeed in all the country round are innumerable brick ruins. Seven miles north of the great stúpa is the celebrated Budal pillar, set up by a minister of Náráyaṇa-pála, and bearing an inscription, in which Deva-pála and Sura-pála are mentioned as having preceded Náráyana-pala. A dozen miles north of that again was found the Amgáchi plate, containing a grant of Vígraha-pala, and enumerating his ancestors, Sura-pála his father, Mahi-pála, Dharma-pála, and others."* Several local names, such as Mahiganj, Mahinagar, Mahipur, Mahi-santosh, Nayanagar, \&e., also bear remains of the names of former Pala kings.

The evidence thus is on the whole sufficient to show that the Pálas exercised sovereignty on the west of the Bhágirathi, certainly as far as the boundary of Behar and probably further, taking the whole of the ancient kingdom of Magadha. On the north it included Tirhut, Máldá, Rájsháhi, Dinájpur, Rangpur and Bagurá, which constituted the ancient kingdom of Paundravardhana. The bulk of the delta seems, however, not to have belonged to them. To show this and to prove the time when they were finally expelled from Bengal proper, we must turn to the history of the Sena Rajás of Bengal.

In my paper on the Sena Rájás, $\dagger$ I have already put together the names of all the Sena Rájás that have been brought to light by authentic records, and nothing has since been discovered to disturb their genealogical table as published by me. Mr. Westmacott, in $1875, \ddagger$ published some remarks on my paper, but his criticisms did not apply to the order of succession. But several important facts have since been brought prominently to notice, and they necessitate slight alterations in the dates assigned by me to the several princes of that dynasty.

The most important of these facts is the era of Lakshmana Sena. The credit of first discovering it is due to Colebrooke. In the Preface to his translation of the 'Digest of Hindu Laws,' he remarked: "Haláyudha, the spiritual adviser of Lakshmana Sena, (a renowned monarch who gave his name to an era of which six hundred and ninety-two years are expired), is the author of Nyáya-sarvaśva, \&c." But no notice was afterwards taken of this era, and Prinsep in his ' Useful Tables' entirely passed it over. Subsequently an opportunity offered him when he noticed an inscription from Buddha Gayá,§ in which the era of Lakshmaṇa is distinctly mentioned,

[^141]but he overlooked it. In that record the date is given in these words : त्रौमझ्नच ससेक देबपादाबामतीतराब्ये सं० ०४ बैसाख्यदि १P गुरो।
"On Thursday, the 12th of the wane, in the mouth of Vaiśásha, Sam. or year 74 after the expiration of the reign of the auspicious Lakshmana Sena Deva." Calculated with the datum given by Colebrooke, it would have at once settled the date of Lakshmana Sena; but this was not done. In 1873, I found a MS. of the 'Sadukti-kaṛ̣ámrita,' dated Šaka $1500=1578$ A. D., in the colophon of which the work is described to have been compiled in the Saka year $1127=1205$ A. D., which corresponded with some date of Lakshmana Sena which I could not make out. The date is given in words, the meaning of which could not be reconciled; the words are श्रोमक्णसासेन चिनिपस्य रंस्रैकविंने। The author was the son of a confidential friend and a general under Lakshmaṇa Sena.*

Shortly after the publication of my remarks on this MS., in an anonymous article on the life of Váchaspati Miśra, published in a Bengali magazine called Banga Darsana, Bábu Rájakrishṇa Mukarji announced that the era of Lakshmaṇa Sena was still current in Tirhut, and its date in 1874 was 767, its distinctive mark being *• *•, the initial letters of "Lakshmana Sena Samvat." The Bábu also noticed an inscription of Siva Siñha, a local chieftain, which bore date the 280th of Lakshmaṇa Sena's era. A brief notice of this article appeared in the 'Indian Antiquary' for 1875 The Bábu, likewise, used this date in an elementary history of Bengal, published in that year. Thus the credit of utilizing the date and bringing it to bear on the history of Bengal is entirely due to him.

In 1875 Mr . Westmacott brought to notice a copper-plate grant found in the bed of a tank called Tarpandighi, seven miles S. S. E. of Debkot in Dinájpur, $\dagger$ which bore the 7th year of Lakshmana Sena's reign; but no attempt was then made to trace the initial date of the era.

In 1877, Paṇ̣it Rámanátha Tarkaratna, who is employed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal to collect information regarding Sanskrit MSS. in private libraries, while travelling in Tirhut, collected some information on the subject, and communicated it to me. He also purchased there two old Sanskrit MSS. for the Government of India, which were dated in the era in question. One of them Anumánáloka-fiká, a gloss by Madhusúdana Thakkura on the Anumána Khanda of Gañésa, is dated 玉• *• yue
 479." The other, Pratyahsháloka-darpana, a gloss by Mahesa Thakkura,
 "In the year of the Vedas (4) the eight, and the Nigamas (4,) according to the king Lakshmana."

- Notices of Sanskrit MSS. III, pp. 134-148-9. † Ante, XLIV, p. 18.

Apparently disjointed as these facts are, they are of great importance in the elucidation of the date of the Sena Rájás. To put them together, we have first in the Tarpandighi plate the 7th year of Lakshmana's reign. In the Buddha Gayá inscription we have the 74th year of his era. Then we have in the Sadukti-karṇamrita MS. some date which corresponded with the Šaka $1127=1205$ A. D. Then comes the Siva Siñha inscription, dated in the 280th year of that king's era. Then we have two MSS., one dated in the 459th year, and the other in the 484th of that era. And lastly we have the fact that the era is still current, and in the present year reckons 771. That the era is not a newly devised one, is abundantly evident from the fact of its having been in regular currency all along, and its present figure, therefore, gives us a very correct clue to its initial date. The pandits of Tirhut reckon the era to be a luni-solar one, commencing from the lst of the lnni-solar month of Mágha, and it must have therefore commenced in January 1106 A. D., or within three years of the date which I conjecturally assigned to Lakshmaṇa Sena in my paper on the Sena Rajás.* This settles the date of Lakshmana Sena on infinitely more reliable data than what we have for any other Hindu sovereign of the preMuhammadan era.

Beginning with 1106, Lakshmana had a very prosperous reign of many years, for his minister Haláyudha informs us, in the preface to his Bráhmana Sarvasva, that he commenced service when very young as a court pandit, and was successively raised by the king to higher ranks, till he was made a minister when he had become old. $\dagger$ A period of 30 years would scarcely be too much for this, and Lakshmana's reign may very fairly be assumed to have extended to the close of the fourth decade of the 12th century. His immediate successors, Mádhava Sena and Keśava Sena did not take up each two or three years, and the rest of the century was taken up by Lákshmaṇeya alias Asoka Sena, the Lakshmaniý of Muhammadan writers.

The name Asoka has puzzled many antiquarians. With the vivid recollection of the name as that of the great patron of Buddhism, they have found it difficult to reconcile with it the idea of a. Hindu bearing the name. But the word simply means "griefless," and there is nothing to prevent such a name being given to a Hindu. On the contrary, Hindu mothers and guardians often use terms indicative of immunity from pain, grief and the like; and, in the case of a posthumous child which lost its mother immediately after its birth, a term implying that it would never have cause to mourn the loss of its parents, would by no means be inappropriate.

With the close of Asoka Sena's reign, the sovereignty of the Hindus in the delta passed to the Muhammadans; but the exact time when this

[^142]happened, yet remains undetermined. When writing my paper on the Sena Rajás I accepted as a fact the opiuion then prevalent, that this happened in 1203 A. D. This, however, has since been questioned. The late Mr. Blochmann, whose researches into the dark points in the Muhammadan history of India were unrivalled, came to the conclusion, that the transfer must have taken place four years earlier, or between 1198 and 1199, whereas Major Raverty, in his translation of Albiruni, removed it $590 \mathrm{H} .=1194 \mathrm{~A}$. D., ${ }^{*}$ while Mr. Thomas placed it at $599 \mathrm{H} .=1204$ A. D. Even the latest of these dates would seem to be a little too early, if we should take the statement of the author of the Sadukti-karnámrita, who completed his work in 1205, when he described himself as a district Commissioner in the service of Lákshmaṇeya, to mean that his master was then reigning at Nuddea. He couid not have held that position in 1205, if the kingdom had passed away to the Muhammadans five years before. But it was possible for him to describe his official rank in his work, even after he had lost it, or to refer to the king when he reigned at Sonárgáoñ after his retirement from Nuddea; for it is now well-known that he and his descendants lived at the latter place for several years after his overthrow by Bukhtiar Khiliji. $\dagger$ Dr. Wise believes that there must have been a Ballála Sena reigning in Vikrámpur or Sonárgáoñ after Lakshmaníyá, and Susena and Sura Sena, whose names I once tonk to be aliases of Laksh. maníya, were probably those of other successors. On this point, however, there is no reliable information at hand; and as the question of date is related to Muhammadan history, I shall leave it unnoticed for the present.

Turning to the ancestors of Lakshmana Sena, the first name I bave to deal with is that of Ballála. The close of his reign of course took place in the year of the commencement of the reign of his son. But when it commenced, remains uncertain. The Ain i Akbari makes it begin at 1066, which would give it a duration of 41 years. The authority of Abul Fazl, however, is not great in such matters; and, as $I$ have rejected it in the case of the Pálas, I cannot consistently accept it in the present instance. This much, however, may be unhesitatingly stated, that Ballála's reign was a long and prosperous one. He is the best known to this day of all the Sena Rajjás, and the system of nobility or Kulinism which he organized, exists to this day in full force. None but a powerful sovereign, reigning with considerable eclát for a prolonged period, could have carried out the system so thoroughly as he did; and a reign of 41 years is after all not so improbable as absolutely to necessitate its rejection.

Of the predecessors of Ballála we have lapidary proofs of four names, Vijaya Sena, Hemanta Sena, Sámanta Sena, and Vira Sena, extending, at an average of 18 years, to 994 A. D., or at 20 years, which I have reluctantly

- Ante XLIV, p. 277.
$\dagger$ Anto XLIII, p. 83.
assigned to the Pálas, to 986 A. D. The last name I took to be an alias of Adisura, Vira and Sura being synonymous, and a notable instance of the use of synonyms occurs in the name of the founder of the Pala dynasty, who is at option called Go-pála, Bhú-pála or Loka-pála. In a Bengali book, entitled Sambandha-nirnaya, published two years ago, Paṇdit Lálamohana Vidyánidhi states that he had been informed of a tradition current in the Varen. dra country which makes one Bhúsura the son of Adisura, and adds that Bhúsura dying without male issue, his daughter's son Asoka Sena succeeded him, who was followed by Sura Sena, and the latter by Vira Sena. On asking the paṇ̣it for his authority for this tradition, he told me that he had got it from a Kulajña at Murshidabad, but that he had heard it nowhere else. On so slender an authority, I cannot induce myself to accept it as a matter worthy of historical enquiry. The two names Asoka and Sura are later names, which the Kulajña put at the beginning, evidently not knowing where else to place them. Leaving these names aside, it will be seen that the Pála and the Sena dynasties fall for some time within the same period. The one beginning in the 9th decade and the other in the 6th decade of the 10th century. It is obvious, therefore, that they could not have reigned over the whole of Bengal at the same time, nor could the Senas have followed the Pálas, as the modern Anglo-Indian historians usually make them ; but there can be no doubt that both dynasties did reign in Bengal at the same time. The difficulty, however, may be easily overcome.

It has been already shown that the Pálas occupied western and northern Bengal. There is nothing, however, to show that they had extended their sway to the eastern districts. Whereas tradition assigns to the Senas the whole of the delta and the districts to the east of it. The chief seat of their power was at Vikrampur near Dháká, where the ruins of Ballála's palace are still shown to travellers. Dr. Wise, in his notice of Vikrampur, says-" A remarkable evidence of this is afforded by the names of the 56 villages assigned to the descendants of the Five Bráhmans whom Ádisura brought from Kanauj. All those villages were situated within the delta, and none out of it." This is of course an indirect evidence, butit is not the less significant. It may be added that none of those who dwelt out of the delta, in the northern districts, were included in the scheme of Ballala's nobility. The Várendras bave since organized a system of their own, but it is not in accord with that which prevails as the system of Ballála.

The religion of the Senas was Hinduism, either of the S'aiva or of the Vaishṇava sect. In the Rájsháhí stone and the Bákerganj copper-plate, Siva is the divinity invoked. In the Tarpandighi plate preference is given to Vishṇu or Náráyaṇa, and the epithet Parama-máheśvara occurs in all the three. The well-known fact of the founder of the family obtaining five Bráhmans to perform Vedic rites which, owing to the dominance of the

Buddhists, had become obsolete in Bengal, clearly shows that they were Hindus, and there is nothing to give rise to suspicion in the matter.

In no part of the world could two such near neighbours as the Pálas and the Senas, professing such antagonistic faiths as Buddhism and Hinduism, co-exist without coming into hostile contact; and in Bengal there is no reason to suppose that the case was otherwise than what has been elsewhere invariably the result of such neighbourhood. Even chiefs professing the same faith have not been noted for their amity to rivals, and we may therefore take it for granted that the Palas and the Senas frequently fell out with each other, until one expelled the other from the country. When this expulsion took place, it is at present impossible to determine with absolute precision. But materials are not wanting to show that this happened about the middle of the 11th century. It has been already shown that to the time of Mahi-pála, northern Bengal belonged to the Pálas, and the Tarpandighi plate of Lakshmana Sena, and the prevalence of that sovereign's era in Tirhut to this day, incontestably prove that northern Bengal had come into the possession of the Senas before the commencement of the 12 th century. Ballála, the father of Lakshmaṇa, had the title of "King of Gauda," and that takes us to the 7th decade of the 11th century; and in the Bhágulpur stone there is a verse which says "Vijaya overthrew the king of Gauḍa." The verse is somewhat involved in its construction, but the most obvious meaning appears to be the following :
" ' Thou hast no hero to conquer,' said the bards. On hearing it, through a misconception (the words being susceptible of the meaning 'thou hast conquered no hero') the king overthrew the king of Gauda, subjugated the hero of Kamrúpa and quickly conquered him of Kalinga."* At an average reign of 18 years Vijaya must have commenced his reign in 1048. At an average of 20 years the date would be 1046, the overthrow therefore must bave taken place between 1046 and 1055. As it is not likely that Mahi-pala's reign had extended beyond 1040, the event must have taken place when Naya-pála, his successor, was the sovereign of Gauda. The Pálas then receded from northern Bengal, and reigned for some time in the western districts of the kingdom, making Magadha or Mungher their capital.

The result of these remarks may be thus tabulated :

Pála Kinga.
In Western \& Northern Bengal.
I.-Go-pála, ............ 855
II.-Dharma-pála, ...... 875
III.—Deva-pála, _....... 895

Sena Kings.
In Eastern \& Deltaic Bengal. I.-Vira Sena, ......... 986
II. Sámanta Sena, ...... 1006
III.-Hemanta Sena, ... 1026

- Ante, XXXIV, p. 144.

| IV.-Vigraha-pála, I, ... | 915 | In the whole of Bengal. IV.-Vijaya alias Sukha |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Sena, | 1046 |
| V.-Náráyana-pála, ... | 935 | V.-Ballála Sena, | 1066 |
| VI.-Rája-pála, ......... | 955 | VI.-Lakshmana Sena, ... | 1106 |
| VII.- - pála, ..... | 975 | VII.-Mádhava Sena, ...... | 1136 |
| VIII.-Vigraha-pala II, ... | 995 | VIII.-Kesava Sena, ......... IX.-Lákshmaneya alias | 1188 |
| IX.-Mahi-pála, | 1015 | Asoka Sena,............ In Vikrampur. | 142 ? |
| to | 1040 | Ballála Sena, ......... |  |
| X.-Naya-pála, | 1040 | Su Sena, .............. |  |
| to | P | Sura Sena, \&c., ...... |  |

## In Behar.

XI.-Vigraha-pála III and others.

In my first paper on the subject I started the opinion that the Senas were Kshatríyas of the lunar race, and not Vaidyas as they are supposed to have been by the people of the present day. The opinion was founded upon the positive declaration of two inscriptions, and that of a work, the Dána-sdgara, written by Ballála himself. It has now the support of another inseription. In the Tarpandighi plate there occurs a verse which Mr. Westmacott thus renders into English : "The kings of the race of Aushadhinátha (moon) neutralize the sharp fever-poison of their enemies by the lustre of the nails of their feet, as with the juice of the creepers nurtured (as plants with water) by the lustre of the diadems of numbers of kings, prostrate in homage."* Exception, however, has been taken to the deduction by some of my countrymen, mostly Vaidyas of the Sena family, who claim themselves to be of the royal race, and several Bengali books have been written to prove my error. My critics all labour under the mistake that I wanted to make the Sena kings members of the Kayastha caste, in order to glorify that caste, and enjoy the advantage of a ray of that glory, being myself a Káyastha; but as I have nowhere said anything of the kind, I cannot but leave this part of their criticisms unnoticed. They have created their own Frankenstein, and I leave them to lay it in the best way they can. The chief arguments which they urge to controvert the statements of the inscriptions are- 1 st , that the statements may be due to poetical license, or a desire to eulogize the kings in an exaggerated style ; 2nd, that the reference to the moon, who is, according to the Puránic mythology, the lord of medicines, may be due to a desire to make an indirect allusion to the profession of the Vaidya caste ; 3rd, that others than Kshatríyas could call themselves descendants of the lunar race ; 4th, that Adisura, who is described as a descendant

[^143]of the lunar race cannot be the same with Vira Sena, for none would employ a synonym to indicate a proper name, and so the epithet of the former cannot apply to the latter.

Little need be said in reply to these arguments. The first is a mere assumption, and not by any means a permissible one. Exaggerations and hyperboles are the chief aliments on which poets most do thrive; but there is not a single authentic instance in which poetical license has been, in India, permitted to invade the domains of caste. The Puránas have made mortals conquer the immortal gods, endowed them with the most transcendental attributes, called them gods, but never changed their castes; nor have they ever attempted to disown cross sinisters from the escutcheon of the greatest of their kings. And what is true of these Puránas, is equally so of later writings, when tenacity for caste distinctions had grown much stronger. It is observable also, that no spirit of poetical hyperbole can be predicated of Ballála Sena describing his own caste in a law treatise by himself.

The second argument is ingenious; but it is, like the first, a mere assumption. I have no hesitation in saying, that in the whole range of Sanskrit literature, there is not an instance in which the caste of the Vaidyas has been indirectly referred to by allusion to the moon. At best it is an attempt to give preëminence to a possible metaphorical interpretation, in preference to an obvious literal meaning.

The third is incorrect. None but a Kshetríya could call himself a member of the lunar or the solar race, and members of those races, when degraded or outcasted, could not retain their claim to the honor of membership under them. The instances cited of Yayáti's children becoming members of different castes refer to the earliest stage of Hindu society, when caste distinctions probably did not exist, or at any rate were not very strictly observed; and even then there is no proof to show that those who were degraded were in the habit of calling themselves members of the solar race. Within the last two thousand years, a Bráhman or a Kshetríya, condemned to be a Chaṇ̣ála, has never been permitted to call himself a Bráhman or a Kshetríya Chaṇ̣ála. The idea is simply ridiculous.

The fourth argument has already been answered by the parallel case of Go-pála appearing also under the names of Bhu-pála and Lokapala. Were it otherwise, the argument would not advance in the least, for my antagonists admit that Vira Sena was the great-grandson of Adisura by the daughter's side, and if so, the son-in-law of Bhúsura and his son-in-law could not be of other than the caste of Adisura. On the whole the arguments are based on a series of suppositions, in order to support a modern tradition against the avowed declarations of authentic contemporary records. I deny the accuracy of the tradition, and
my antagonists beg the question at issue, by saying that the tradition must be correct, and the records must be made to conform to it by a number of suppositions. Truth can never be elicited by such a course of reasoning, and it would be a mere waste of time to enter into a disputation with persons who attach greater importance to traditions than to authentio contemporary records.

## Transcript of a Copper-plate from Bhágalpur.


-। प्रेयसी मम्थ घानः सम्द क्सम्बारि चि बामरिदम $उ ज-~$
Q। च्वालितानपनः। fिता यः वाम

 चाभरं पच्चेदभयाडु-
 डुग्बाभिरषिषिलाष-
 इयनी: । इणा पुक्र


<। दितुस्तमषिमा बाक्पास्सलानानुजः। घः त्रीमाद्धयविक्रमेबव सितर्षातुः स्थितः आाषो घून्बा: घघुपताकिबी-
 जबपालबामा। घर्ष्घनि-
 रेगद्व ्णवति परितः प्रस्बसे
 प्रणियिरएटते विधद्ड-
 बिम्रव्रवास्बस्खनुरजानलऩरि-
 विपद्रामास्सीक्रतःः। पुष्षायु-
 दतहै हैवंश्रूषा। यस्याः शुष्षी-
२८। नि बरितानि पितुण बंमे पत्युच पावसचिधिः परमे बभूब॥ दिव्पात्बै: चितिपा क्रकाय दघनं दें विभत्ता:
 चर्चिद्या त्रुपी ठोपस्स न्यायोपा-
 बारिप्मक्षे चतस्यानि चरितानि मीबसतः ॥
 से 5 त्र रज्न क्यां ॥ भयाद्रातिभिर्यस्य रए-
 च नगछ्डिनीय नित्यं न्यवीविश्-
 बं नीषाषं।। ख्यीपतित ह्रघ्वकर्म्मा विद्या-
 चिजर्गति मरचन्द्रगेंर्यंस्रोー
 बेतकीनां पचापीक़ரः स्रुचिरम-
 विय्यदाधेन समरें भमीरघे $\|+$ स च्डु भा-
 सात् निरातम्यषनधनाघनघहा-
 प्राभ्टनीद्धताप्रमेयषयवांचनीयर-
 नम्नपादात् भरबमद्वने: गीम़-
 सदे वपादा सुभ्यातः परसेच्धरः पर-
 चिक्तुम्मबाविधिघ्वसब्बे।
Q. 1 पेतमकुतिकापामे बनुपयकाओेषराजपुब बान्। शजरा-


 दाशापराधक। चिरेटारीजक
 धबर्च। नदाधुक्त। विभिगुकक। इस्य-
 गसागमिक । षभिल्बमान। विषयपनि।
 भउ। मेबषाद्रीम् । घन्यंच:की, हैत।
 पर्य्यकाज्। बधाषं माअर्य़ति।
 खीनारायपाषरेंेक स यंबारितषष्ठबा-
 यथाईं पूबावरिष ष्षचणवक-
y० , र्षार्यध्यं। इस खपरिक्पितविभायेन। बनबघभे-
 सेाॅॅः। साब्रमधूकः। षण
 पोच:। बचाटभउप्रवे पः । षकिषि-
 चिनिसमकां घावत् नातापि-
y 1 चेरात्मनघ पुष्ये

 इनमिदस नुमेय पासनीयं
 दिसर्भ्वप्रत्यायेपषययः बा-
 भुक्ता राजभि: छगरादि किः।
 दः। बचेत्रा बानुमक्ता च तान्येव ग-
 विछभि: स प्रते ॥ चर्षानेतान् भाविण:
 पास्डलीय: क्रमेष ॥ हति ब-
 वुद्रा ब चिं पुष्षे: परकीर्षंये विलो-
 मत्रेरपीती(fि)। ये यचामां समुदितमाभू-
 डामेक श्रभदासस्य घू(द) मुना। दूं सा-


## Translation.

Be it auspicious! May Dasabala, whose heart is resplendent with the jewel of mercy, whose loved mistress is benevolence, whose mind was washed clean of the mud of book-learning by the pure water of the river of perfect Sambodhi knowledge, who, having conquered the promptings of desire *** acquired eternal fame,-may the Lord of the universe, prosper.

Now Go-pála Deva made his family the abode of prosperity. (Lakshmí). Well able to sustain the weight of the earth, the only asylum of kings whose wings having been clipt by fear sought his protection, always devoted to protect honor, he was the home of heroism. Of him was born the auspicious king Dharma-pála, whose greatness was as beauteous as the ripple of the milky ocean. Having conquered Indraraja and other kings, he (Dhar-ma-pala) earned the glorious S'rí, goddess of fortune, whom he presented as a sacrifice to the father of wealth, Vámana, the wielder of the discus.

Like Ráma, that saintly king had a brother of equal merit, in Vákpala, who was in glory the counterpart of the son of Sumitra (Lakshmana). This prince, the abode of justice and valour, living under the rule of his brother, placed all the quarters under one umbrella, by divesting them of all hostile armies.

Unto him was born a son named Jaya-pála, by whose imperial virtues the earth was sanctified. Overcoming all enemies to religion, he established his elder brother, the heroic Deva-pála, in the dominion of the earth. When by the order of his brother he issued forth to conquer, the lord of Utkala, oppressed from a distance by his very name, forsook his home. Bearing that prince's order on his head, the king of Prágjyotisha, trembling from fear, withdrawing his army, with all his dependents lived under him.

The auspicious Vigraha-pála, enemyless from birth, was born his son. His spotless sword was like the water which wiped away the beauty of the wives of his enemies. By him his enemies were made the objects of heary misfortune, and his friends long-lived. Lajjá, the ornament of the Haibaya race, became his wife, even as the daughter of Jahnu (Ganges) is that of the Ocean, and her virtuous conduct alike purified her father's and her husband's race.

He, through the essence of the guardians of the quarters gave birth, in her, for the protection of the earth, to the auspicious Naráyana-pala Deva, the virtuous whose feet became resplendent by the light of the crownjewels of kings. He has sanctified his throne by his justice. Kings, forsaking the Lainga Purána, the source of the fourfold blessings, wish to follow his conduct. He is esteemed in the mind of good men, and confirmed (in his position) by his own dependents. By his charity he has suppressed in
his country the expression, "give, $O$ king."* Through his fear his sword, though dark as a blue lotus, appears flame-coloured to his enemies. He, by his wisdom and his own virtues, has kept the helpless earth always in the path of justice. Attaining his protection, beggars no longer turn their minds to seeking alms. Lord of wealth, doer of no wrong, patron of learned men, and endowed with great affluence, he is in his glory like unto a blazing fire (anala), and yet by his conduct he is like Nala. $\dagger$ His fame, bright as the rays of the autumnal moon, spread over the three worlds, wears a resplendence which even the loud laughter of Siva cannot rival, and the garlands of Ketaki flowers on the hands of Siddha ladies (are so eclipsed that their existence can be ascertained only) by the hum of bees (about them). Two persons did say to two others, "let penance be mine and the kingdom thine ;" once to him (Náráyaṇa-pála) by Vigraba-pála, and once to Bhagiratha by Sagara.

In his victorious camp in Mudgagiri on the bank of the Bhágirathí river, where he has made a bridge of boats, which seems to rival a line of rocky hills where the roaming of excessively dense (crowds of) elephants has so clouded the glory of day-light, as to produce the impression of an approaching rainy season, where the dust raised by the hoofs of the countless cavalry of the only king of the north, has covered the quarters, where the earth has sunk low by the weight of the innumerable kings of Jambudvipa who had assembled to serve the great lord, the mighty sovereign, the supreme king among kings, the auspicious Náráyáṇa-pála Deva, the successor of the devout follower of Sugata, the supreme king among kings, the auspicious Vigraha-pála Deva. prospers. To subordinate kings (rájaránaka), to princes (rájaputra), to the Prime Minister (rájámátya), to the minister of Peace and War (mahá-sandhi-vigrahika), to the Chief Justice (maháksha-paṭalika) to the Generalissimo (mahásámanta), to chief commanders (mahasenápati), to the grand warder (mahápratihára), to the chief investigator of all works (mahákartákritika), to the chief obviator of difficulties (mahádosasádhasádhanika), to the chief criminal judge (maháḍạ̣-ḍa-náyaka), to chief minister of the heir-apparent (mahákumárámátya), to viceroys (rájasthánino upádhika), to Investigators of crimes (dosháparádhika), to the chief detective officer (choroddharanika), to the mace-bearers (dáṇdika), to the keeper of the instruments of punishment (dáṇdapásika),

[^144]$\dagger$ Nala, the famous king of Vidarbha noticed in the Mahábhárata. The comparison is forced for the sake of the alliteration in the words nala and anaba.
to collectors of customs (s'aulkika), to commanders of divisions (gaulmika), to supervisors of cultivation (kshetrapa), to boundary rangers (prántapála), to treasurers (koshapála), to superintendents of wards (khanda-raksha), to inspectors of wards (tadáyuktaka), to the superintendents of appointments (viniyuktaka), to the superintendent of elephants, horses, camels, and warboats, (hastyaśva-nau-balavyápritaka), to the superintendents of mares, colts, cows, buffaloes, sheep and goats (kisora-vaḍavá-go-mahishyajávikádhyaksha), to the chief of swift messengers (drutapeshanika), to messengers (gamágamanika), to swift messengers (abhitvamána), to commissioners of districts (vishayapati), to head officers of villages (grámapati), to superintendents of boats (tarika), to (men of the different tribes of) Goda, Málava, Khaśa, Huna, Kulika, Kalláţa, Láṭa, Cháṭa, and Bhaţa,*-to all servants and others who are not specified here, to all who have assembled here in the village of Mukuțika in the division of Kuksha on the bank of the river, as also to the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, who live by service under the king, from the respected Bráhman to the lowest Meda, Andha and Chanḍála-to all these he sends appropriate greetings and acquaints and commands them. Be it known unto you that in the villuge of Kal\& sapota, where Náráyaṇa-pála Deva himself has established thousands of temples, and where he has placed the honorable Siva Bhatta and Pasupati Achárya, I, Náráyaṇa-pála Deva, for purposes of due worship, for the offering of oblations charu and yajnas, for the performance of new ceremonies, and for the dispensation of medicines, bedding añd seats, to diseased persons, and for the purpose of enabling them to enjoy without let or hindrance the village as defined, I have given the above-named village of Mukuţika, along with its surrounding grazing-grounds, with all the waters and lands belonging to it, above and below the surface, together with the mango and the madhuka trees, with all its low and barren lands, along with its rents and tolls, including all fines for crimes, and rewards for catching thieves. In it there shall be no molestation, no passage permitted for Chatas (jugglers) and Bhatas (troops). The land shall not be a trouble (to the possessors) who shall have the enjoyment of all shares, privileges, gold \&c., and other income. I grant this to be enjoyed as many years as there are holes in the earth, and as long as the sun and the moon shall endure, in order that the virtue and fame of my parents and of myself may be enhanced. I have given this edict engraved to you, honcrable Siva.

Be it then respected by all; and future kings, knowing the grievous $\sin$ that is incurred by destroying the great merit of grants-of-land, should uphold it. Let the neighbours and those who till the land, be obedient to

[^145]my commands. They should render to the donees their respective shares, privileges, rent, gold and all other dues. Dated the 9th Vaiśkeha, Samvat 17.

The following are excerpts for those who dread the mandates of virtue :
The earth has been enjoyed by Sagara and many other kings. The fruit (of grants-of-land) belongs to him to whom the land belongs for the time.

The donor of land enjoys heaven for sixty thousand years. He who abrogates or prompts others to abrogate such a gift, suffers in hell for a like . period.

He who resumes land given by him or others, becoming a worm, rots in ordure along with his forefathers.

Again and again doth Ráma entreat all future kings to protect this common bridge of virtue.

Knowing riches and life to be as unsteady as water on a lotus petal, no man should intentionally attempt to deprive another of his reputation.

Bhatta Gurava, the spiritual guide of the king, the proficient in the difficult knowledge of God through the Vedánta, versed in all the Vedas and the Vedángas, and the most proficient in the performance of sacrificial rites, has composed this. Mudgadása, son of Subhadása, an inhabitant of Satsámatata, has engraved this edict.

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# A SKETCH OF THE <br> <br> T URKI LANGUAGE <br> <br> T URKI LANGUAGE <br> AS SPOKEN IN 

# EASTERN TURKISTAN <br> (Kàhghar and Yarkand.) 

## BY

# R0BERT BARKLEY SHAW, F.R.G.S., <br> Political Agent, late on opecial duty at Kdohghar, <br> Gold Medallist, Rojal Geographical Society . 

> PART II. VOCABULARY, Trimi-Enalish.

Wify liet of names of Birds and Plants by J. Scully, Esa., Gurghon, H. M. Bengal Abmy (late on apocial duty, at Kuishghar).

Extra Number to Part I of the Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal.

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## NOTES FOR GUIDANCE

## IN CONSULTING THE VOCABULARY.

In many words the letters 1 , and are either inserted or omitted according to the fancy of the writer. If not found under one spelling, then look under the other.


If not found with a (medial) try and vice versa : e. g., واورمای =

 found written بيونا for for for for

Many verbs ending in -la-mak, -la't-mak, -la'n-mak and -la'sh-mak will not be found here, as they are formed at will from other words (often Persian or Arabic), with a sense that is obvious on inspection. La-mike gives a simple verbal meaning (generally transitive), la't-mak a causative one, la'n-mak a reflective (or simply intransitive) or passive one, la'sh-mak a reciprocative or collective one. E. g. köz-la-mak = to eye (from köz "an eye") ; pichdq-la-mdq = to knife; ghazab-la't-mdq = to make angry (to cause to be angry) ; sust-la'n-mak $=$ to become, or make one self, inactive; rù-ba-rù-la'sh-mak = to go, or come, or be, opposite, or facing, one another (from rì-ba-rì " face to face," P.).

The ordinary final aspirate 8 , which in many Persian words is pronounced merely as a short a (or, more correctly, is imperceptible after the fatha of the last conso-nant)-is by some Turki scribes employed to represent the short vowel a even before another consonant. This is due to the tendency of the Turkis to use some visible letter to represent even the short vowel sounds, a tendency carried even to the extent of employing one and the same letter for the long and the short vowel (after our occidental fashion: cf. all and an. See Gram. p. 15, at bottom). E. g. قيلس or

 spellings. It will save some puzzles if this be remembered in reading MSS.

 sound $u$ seems nearly to approach the sound of $\ell$, (dyün for $d t n$ ). Hence in practice also , and are sometimes interchanged : e. g. pronounced by them almost like an English final $y$, as in "very;" e.g., ïtrï pronounced ütry.

## JOURNAL

OF THE

## ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.-HISTORY, LITERATURE, \&c.

## EXTRA NUMBER

To Part I for 1878.

A Vocabulary of the Language of Eastern Turkistán.-By R. B. Shaw, Political Agent. With two Therki Vocabularies of Birds and Plants by J. Scully, Esq., Surgeon, H. M. Bengal Army (late on special duty, Kàshghar).
Abbreviations:-P. signifies Persian derivation; A. Arabic; T. Turki ; Kaz. Kh. K. and Y. signify respectively that the words so marked are used in the Kazzàk, Khoqand, Kàshghar, and Yarkand dialects. P. T. means partly Persian, partly Turki, \&c.

Rec. and coll. mean reciprocative and collective, $t r$. and intr. signify transitive and intransitive, refl. and pass. stand for reflective and passire, caus. stand for causative ; p. p. means post-position, prd. stands for pronounced, pron. for pronoun.

آباد هُ保 ábád-liq (subs. and adj.) an inhabited place ; inhabited, [cultivated, P. T.
آبعار ábgar (adj.) occupied, full of care, busy. ابابر abuz (adj.) learned, well-read.
ابوشا) abushqa (adj.) old, advanced in years.
إ ap, intensitive particle prefixed to àq "white."
U Tapa (subs.) elder sister.

 àptáb (subs.) the sun, (for aftáb P.). [àftába, P.). àptába (subs.) a disk-shaped basin for hand-washing, (for Aptába-chi or Abtaba-chi (subs.) Basin-bearer, the title of a high dignitary at the Court of Khoqand (spelt by the Russians Autobashi).
إمغوت apqut (subs.) the back part of the boot above the heel. 1

آفmt (subs.) name.
آ at (subs.) horse.
أهس
(i) atá (subs.) father.
[sian dynasty). elitictar-beg (subs.) father-king, patriarch (the name of a Perاتاداشُ atá-dash (adj.) of the same father.
( آتاشمآ at-a'sh-máq (v. rec.) to name together; to assign to, to entitle so and so to.
[nick-name.
$\dot{\chi}^{\text {آ }}$ آágh (subs.) renown, high name, sur-name, title; also © átágh-la'sh-máq (v. coll.) to combine to give a name.
cicicicích-la-máq (v. tr.) to give a name, sur-name or nick-
átágh-liq (adj.) called, sur-named.
[name.
آتات atáq (subs.) same as átágh.
átáq-la'sh-máq (v. coll.) same as átágh-lash-mák.
átáq-la-máq (v. tr.) same as átágh-la-máq.
átáq-liq (adj.) same as átágh-liq.
انقاليتى atá-liq (sub.) one who is in the place of a father, a guardian, tutor. Title of a high official in Turkistàn.

( ${ }^{\text {أتانمات } t-a ' n-m a ́ q ~(v . ~ p a s s .) ~ t o ~ b e ~ g i v e n ~ a ~ n a m e ~ t o, ~ t o ~ b e ~ n a m e d, ~}$ to be renowned. [but into large cylinders. (آتباشُ atbásh-chái (subs.) a sort of Tea compressed like brick-tea,
at-tur-máq (v. caus.) to cause to throw, to cause to beat out cotton (from át-máq).
át-dásh (subs. and adj.) name-sake, having the aame name.
(آتقوچيـا specially, a thrower or beater out of cotton.
at-qur-máq (v. caus.) the same as át-tur-máq, (but without its special meaning of beating out cotton).
at-kuz-màq (v. caus.) the same as at-qur-maq.
أتقولآ at-qu-làq (subs.) a kind of grass of which tinder is made.
[to step over.
侕 $a t-l a^{\prime} n-d u r-m a q$ (v. caus.) to cause oneself to bestride, viz.,
at-la'n-màq ( v . intr. or refl.) to be astride, to bestride, to sit or mount on horse back, to ride.

解 at-máq (v. tr.) to throw, propel, project, shoot ; also to spin.和-mish (num.) sisty (for alt-mish).
atiz (subs.) a bed, or portion of land divided off for irri( at-ish-màq (v. rec.) to throw, doc., at one another: [gation. at-il-màq (v. pass.) to be thrown or shot ; (of a gun), to $\widetilde{c}^{\top}$ ach (adj.) hungry. [go off. © ich (subs.) the interior, the inside.
 tinuative of àch-màq ).
ajra-'t-máq ( v . caus.) to cause to be in a divided state, to (اجراشُهات ajra-'sh-máq (v. rec.) to divide from one another. [divide. ajra-l-máq (v. pass.) to be divided, separated.
© اجرامات ajra-maq (v. intr.) to be in a divided condition.
اجريتى ajriq (subs.) dhub grass (whose roots run along underإجو aju (subs.) a black bear. [ground).
آach-qu (subs.) a key, i. e. opener (from ach-màq).
Tach-liq (subs.) hunger (from ach.)
जach-maq (v. tr.) to open.
ciong ach-maq (v. tr.) to be hungry.
آach-vq ( $\quad$ ( adj.) open.
unchial ach-it-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become bitter or sour (see achi-mak).
ज̈hing T ach-ish-màq (v. rec.) to open to one another, or with one another.
سhinilach-ish-mak (v. rec.) to be made sour together (see achi-
[mak).


آ $ا$ Tachiq or achwq (adj.) open.


जtheral dekiq-maq (r. intr.) to be hungry.
ach－il－máq（v．pass．）to be opened．
｜achi－mak（v．intr．）to become sour ；to smart（as a wound）．
آ ${ }^{\text {Thehta（adj．）castrated．}}$
آذ ákhta－chi（subs．）castrator．
ákhtar－t－máq（v．caus．）to cause to search，or seek．
آختاريششماق ákhtar－ish－máq（v．rec．）to search one another．
أختاماتُ álhtar－máq（v．tr．）to search，seek．
مخh akhsham（adv．）last night，yesterday evening．
آخششارليت akhsham－liq（subs．）the evening of this day，this evening． الخلات akhlat（subs．）sweepings．
akhur－maq（v．tr．）to shout，to call loudly．
人 panion（for آدهأه）
位 adash－máq（v．intr．）to lose the way．
adra－qálsun（part of verb）May he remain uncared for ［an imprecation］Kaz．

ادير adir（subs．）uneven broken ground．
آنيم adim（subs．）a pace，step．
和
adim－la－máq（v．intr．）to pace，step．

IT ara（subs．）the midst，the middle（often used with da adverbially）．Expressions ：Ara－ga tuishmak $=$ to inter－ vene ；àra－ga sàlmàq＝to interpose $;$ ara－gha kirmak $=$ to interfere，to intervene．
arرآ $\mathrm{T}_{\text {araba（subs．）a cart（generally with two wheels and }}$ shafts）．
الراحالاماتى àra－cha－la－máq（v．）to separate．
＊آر ara－da（adv．\＆post－p．）in the midst．
آرال aral（subs．）island．（Qu．passive form from ára＂middle．＂）
ara－la－t－màq（v．caus．）to cause to visit or inspect［see ara－la－màq］．
划 Tra－lash（adv．）middle－wards，intermixedly，confusedly．
ara-lash-tur-máq (v. caus.) to cause to be mixed, to mix [(trans.).

ara-liq (subs.) a bribe, present [to one who intervenes ára$g a$ " in the midst"].
位 آرآ aram-almáq (v.) to take rest, to repose, P. T.
آراممدان àràmadàn (subs.) a tall tree whose leaves are made into Tea.
آراس arán (subs.) butter milk.
اراس ărăn [prd. eren] (adv.) unwillingly, reluctantly, with

آربا arba (subs.) cart, waggon (see áraba).
 purpose of curing wounds, \&c.).
 supposed causes of ill, to say charms in company.
اربات àrbá'q (subs.) a spoken charm for curing snake bites, or procuring fine weather.
arbáq-chi (subs.) one who uses such charms.
 curing fine weather.
ارص art (subs.) a low Pass, a water-parting or watershed, rising ground. Often used in composition, as : Kizilart, Muz-art, \&c. and often pronounced and written at.

Tرتمأ art-máq ( v. intr.) to remain over, to exceed.
art-tur-máq (v. caus.) 1, to cause to load ; 2, to cause to remain over.
آرتوغراتٍ artugh-ráq (adj.) more [comparative of artugh, much].
(آرتوت آرتوغ artugh or artuq (adj.) excessive, much, many. (From artmáq.)
آرتوتلوق artuq-luq (suibs.) quantity, great amount (muchness).
ártish (subs.) the pencil cedar, "Juniperus excelsa" кн.
art-ish-màq (v. coll.) to aid one another in loading (from art-máq).
( T آرتيلمt-il-máq (v. pass.) to be laden (said of the load) ; (of a man) to be carried hanging on to a horse without sitting on his back.
art-in-máq (v. refl.) ditto.
li arch (subs.) the pencil cedar [see artieh].
, To archi-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to clear, \&c., (see archtmake).
[make).

 peel (as a fruit).
arzán-chi-liq (subs.) cheapness, abundance, P. T.
ditto.

قيشمهاق arzi-sh-máq (v. recip.) to please one another, to be agreeable to one another.
(jorzi-máq (v. intr.) to please, to be agreeable [gov. the person in ha].
(رسlalàn (subs.) a lion.
ارغا argha (subs.) remedy, aid, method of action.
ارغاسيز argha-sêz (adj.) helpless, unfortunate.
إرغمهي arghamchi (subs.) rope, cord. (For following):

(غ) arghumáq (subs.) a large horse, a charger.
berarqa (subs.) the back, the rear.
(آرقاسيلغ \&rqa-8i-da (post-pos.) behind, after (lit. at its back).
$\dot{\mathcal{E}} \mathrm{E}_{\mathrm{j}}^{\mathrm{T}} \mathrm{T}$ arqagh (subs.) the woof (of a stuff), the cross-wise threads placed by the shuttle.
[support.
col arqa-la-máq (v.) 1. to carry on the back ; 2. to back up,
arqa-la'n-máq (v. p.) to be backed up, supported, \&c.
dardan (subs.) rope, Khz.

b , T ärka [ped. errka] (subs.) a pet child.
(ركيشَ [er] Rishi (subs.) a male person.
eJkjarkcke (subs.) a male [of animals as well as mankind].
cilo, $T$ ar-máq (v. tr.) to separate, divide.
ciskitarnan-liq (adj.) desirous, troubled with longing, P. T.
[to peel.
cilorit-máq (v. caus.) to make clean, to clean, to rub clean;
اروغ arugh (verbal adj.) thin, out of condition (from arru-màq).
اروت aruq (adj.) ditto.

aruq-liq (subs.) ditto.
aru-máq (v. intr.) to be tired, fatigued.
crín-máq (v. p.) to be cleaned.
اري ari (subs.) a wasp.
ari-1. (conj.) further, moreover, verily ; 2. (post-p.) beyond (see nari).
[clean.
©̈larit-máq (v. tr.) to clean [see ariit-màq] to cause to be [water-course.

اريغ arigh, 1 (adj.) clean, (from ari-màq); 2 (subs.) an artificial [another. chaikink arigh-la'sh-máq (v. recip.) to cleanse together or one تاريغلامال arigh-la-maq (v. tr.) to cause to become clean, to cleanse.
©. ariq [prd. eriq] 1. (subs.) the whole ; 2. (adj.) clean.
(آريت ariq-1. (subs.) a water channel, small canal; 2. (adj.) thin. cilolalarial ariq-máq (v.) 1. [same as arigh-la-màq] ; 2. to become thin, out of condition.
اريتىليت ariq-liq (subs.) 1. cleanness; 2. thinness.
everrik (subs.) any thing sorted out or selected for its size.
s ${ }^{\text {ا }}$ ïrik-la--mak (v. tr.) to sort out or select for size.
اريلماتع ari'l-máq (v. pass.) to be cleansed.

Crim (subs.) inauguration, any solemnity or customary observance at the beginning of any work.

## 

$j_{j}^{j} \ddot{u} z$ or $i z$ (adj.) foot-mark, track.
j ${ }^{\text {l }}$ az (adj. and adv.) little, amall ; not much.
${ }^{\text {y }} \mathrm{J}$ آ $\mathrm{T}_{\text {azada (adj.) neatly clothed, natty, careful of one's ap- }}$ pearance, $P$.

©ilázáq (adj. used also subs.) low, a low place, lower.
cilaing az-aǐt-máq (v. caus.) to cause to diminish.
cientiz-máq (v. intr.) to diminish, to become less.

elofoljax-dur-mak (v. tr. caus.) to cause to break (tr.), to make some one break or tear.
ciol $a z-d u r-m a k$ (v. t. caus.) to cause to lose the way.
آز $a z$-rá $q$ (adj. and adv.) smaller, fewer ; less.

(آزغال az-ghal (subs.) an erratic water-cut, a deep channel cut by a torrent or inundation (when the water has left its usual bed).
(آزغأز az-ghan (subs.) a thorn-bush or tree.
diغj az-ghana (adj. and adv.) tiny, little.
©
市 $a z-g h u ' s h-m a q q$ (v. coll.) to lose the way in company.
az-ghun (subs.) some influence which causes men to lose their way (a local superstition in the Takla-makán desert).

Loj azma (subs.) [see âzghal].
( $a z-m a q$ (v.) to lose the way.
©

آزوغ azugh (subs.) ditto.
آزوت azuq (subs.) ditto.
azuq (subs.) daily food.

cilâe: ${ }^{\text {آ }}$ aziq-ish máq (v. coll.) to lose the way in company.
colo aziq-máq (v.) to lose the way.
آسانرات asann-ráq (adj.) easier, P. T.
آسانليت ádán-liq (subs.) easiness, ease, P. T.

Lin asta [for akista, A.] (adv.) slowly, quietly.

cilt asta-rdq (adv.) more slowly, P. T.
distarna (subs.) a grand tomb of some celebrated person, (lit. threshold, P.)

${ }^{80}$ آسثيكلastin-da (post-pos.) below, beneath.
iistin (adj.) high, superposed.
roustin-des (post-pos.) above, upon.

circa'l-máq (r. pass.) to be taken care of, attended to.
calo asra-máq (v. tr.) to take care of, attend to.
Ts-máq (v. tr.) to hang, to suspend.

- Shami its-mak (v. tr.) to strike with the horns, to butt.
: ís-iish-mak ( v . recip.) to butt at one another (as the Chinese lower orders are said to do in fighting), to strike one another with the horns (of animals).

$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { issigh } \\ i s s i q\end{array}\right\}$
(adj.) hot, warm.
$\hat{i}^{\top}$ ásh (subs.) food, [generally pilao]. Also the liquid in which skins are soaked. $\mathbf{P}$.
Lit dashá (adj.) more, exceeding.
©
citil ásha-ráq (adj.) [comparative of áshá] more.
ciol ${ }^{\text {T }}$ Tsha-máq ( v .) to eat, to take a meal, Kaz.
j ${ }^{j} \mathrm{I}$ I dsh-paz (subs.) a cook, P.
Lit iushta (adj) bleached, washed whito.
liشi í üshta-chi (subs.) a bleacher.
.
$\hat{u}^{i} \mid \hat{u}^{\top} T$ ásh-dásh (subs.) a meal-fellow, one who eats from the same

[dish.
位 íshqar (subs.) potash.

( ${ }^{\text {T }}$ dsh-la-t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to tan (leather), to have tanned.

cilolach-la-máq (v. tr.) to tan leather.
كlolas ish-la-mak (v. tr.) to work, labour, do.
信
© intr.) to remain over or exceed.

2. to cause to remain over or exceed.
[as آشوغرات asktgh-raq (adj.) more, more excessive.
آشَوت áshuq (subs.) sheep's knuckle bones (for playing with).
CT áshuq (adj.) much, excessive.
 to make haste.
áshuq-máq (v. intr.) to make haste, Kt. Khz.
آشيتى ashiq (adj.) much [same as ashrq.]
ciloúnhiq-máq [same as ashuq-maq.]
آت
آ agha (subs.) elder brother, az.
$\mathbb{C}^{\text {| }}$ ághách (subs.) wood, az.
C ${ }^{6}$ ¢ $\uparrow$ agha-cha (subs.) woman, wife.
cit ágh-dar-màq (v. caus.) to cause to fall, to upset, (spec.) to pull one off a horse.

ald-dar-ul-máq (v. caus. pass.) to be caused to fall, (or simply) to fall.
آرشثماق agh-dar-ish-máq (same as agh-dar-ush-máq).


ághri-t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to suffer grief or pain, to grieve (tr.)
over which the road has to rise in order to cross it.
آغور aghur (subs.) a stallion, an entire horse.
آغور ághur (adj.) heavy, large, valuable, important.
أغير ághir (adj.) [same as last.]
ad أغيل aghil (subs.) a cattle shed, enclosure for cattle.
agh-in-a't-maq (v. refl. caus.) to cause to roll.

a horse) [Qu. from ághmák with the sense of "to fall
آت ${ }^{\text {IT }} q$ (adj.) white.
[on oneself.']
解
آ آقارمات
áq-ar-máq (v. intr.) to be white, to become white.
aq-bash (adj.) white headed.
|ت̈ا aq qua (adj.) castrated.
áqtar-'t-màq (v. caus.) to cause to search.
aqtar-màq (v. tr.) to search.
A $A q$-tásh (Prop. name) White-stone.
搝 iq-tágh (comp. subs.) lit. white mountain, i. e. snowy-
range (as distinguished from mountain ridges on which
the snow is not perpetual and which are called Qára-
thigh). Locally this word is often used as a proper name
applied to the particular snow mountains of the neigh- bourhood; but its use in general geography should be supplemented, as in native use, by prefixing the name of the locality, as in English we say : the Brighton Downs, the Wiltshire Downs, \&c. The neglect of this causes much confusion, and false geography. There is also a place called $\Delta q$-tàgh from the colour of its rocks.
${ }^{7} \backslash 1$ aka (subs.) elder brother.
اكڭي • اكور agri, agri (adj.) crooked, evil-disposed.
Jal (adj.) pale red, pink.
yT ála (adj.) variegatod, spotted.

๔ ${ }^{y T}$ Alàch (Prop. name) a comprehensive name given to the tribes of Kazzaks and Kirghiz, from some eponymous ancestor.
L. $\mathrm{yT}^{\mathrm{L}} \mathrm{la}$-cha (gubs.) a kind of atriped cotton cloth.
elo, ${ }^{\text {Th }}$ alar-maq (v. tr.) to look with anger upon, to change countenance with anger.
जtälivi ala-shàq-shàq (subs.) magpie.
( آلاقان álaqan (subs.) the hollow of the hand.
(آ álamán (subs.) a robber, bandit.
( ${ }^{(1) \text { langgan (subs.) a word used with repetition alanggan }}$ shalanggan, to express a confused mass of things.
(اليع (Prop. name) a high plateau north of the Pamir ألبّى álbán (subs.) land-tax.
[steppes.
albasti (subs.) a night-mare, an incubus.
, altao (num. subs.) all six, the whole six.
Altai (Pr. n.) a mountain range south of Siberia; also the fox-skins brought thence.
新 altai-lan (num. subs.) the whole six.
(آلتميش alt-mish (num.) sixty.
diltun (subs.) gold.
altun-chi (subs.) gold-smith.
© Tlju-máq (v. intr.) to twaddle, gossip.
j الهيم alchîn (subs.) a measure of length of about 28 inches (Russian arschino).

آلىاشماتِ alda-'sh-màq (v. rec.) to deceive one another.
cold alda-maq (r. tr.) to deceive, play off.
cich alda-'n-màq (v. pass.) to be deceived, \&ce.
آلىى dld' (? àld) (subs.) front, presence.

cildera-'t-màq (v. caus.) to cause to do quickly, to hasten, to hurry (tr.)
Alderash (adj.) quick, hurried (applied to the pork not to the agent).
 in company.
(آلىبراشممق aldera-'sh-mdq (r. coll.) to make haste, or be busy in company.
áldera-maq (v. intr.) to make haste, be busy.
(e) alqa (subs.) ear-ring, ear-ornament, raz. from 1.
cill alqat (subs.) a small wild plum.
部 alqash. (subs.) the act of blessing, or praying for the welfare of another.
cellalqu-sh-màq (v. rec.) to invoke blessing on one another, to invoke blessings together.
cill álqa-màq (v. tr.) to bless, invoke blessings on.
(لُقيش álqish [same as álqask].
WT álma (subs.) apple.
Mlmati (Prop. name) a place north of Issiqkul, the site of the Russian cantonment of Vierny (called 4lmati from its groves of apple-treea).
almáq（v．tr．）to take；also to overcome in any contest． Much used in composition ：e．g．alip－kelmak＂to bring＂，àlip－kirmak＂to take into＂，àlip－bàrmàq＂to take away＂\＆c．
col Alma－liq（Prop．name）the name of several places in Cen－ trail Asia．
alwodn（subs．）＂Turkey－red，＂the cotton stuff dyed that colour and so called．（？from A．）
آلو álu－bálu（subs．）plum．
alu－bokhár（subs．）plum．
ألؤهع àlu－cha（subs．）a small plum．
ulúgh（adj．）great，large，grand，venerable（referring to moral qualities or position chiefly），also elder．
ulúgh－la－＇sh－máq（v．recip．）to exalt one another．
uligh－la－máq（v．tr．）to make great，to exalt．
ulúgh－liq（subs．）greatness，dignity．
（آليش álish（v．subs．）a taking；spec．the head of a canal or derivatory water－course，where the water is taken out of the main stream． al－ish－máq（v．recip．）to mix（with the hands），（lit．to take together）．
al－in－máq（v．pass．）to be taken．
al－in－il－máq（a redoubled passive）to be taken．
c盉 ámách（subs．）a plough．
آموت ámut（subs．）a large kind of pear，P．
أمولوت amurut（subs．）the same， $\mathbf{P}$ ．
li ana（interject．）here，this，look here ！
U a na（subs．）mother．
隹 ink（subs．）a milch－cow．
（ آنـnt ant（subs．）oath，engagement，vow ；ant ichmak $=$ to drink an oath，i．e．，to swear．

$a n j i$（subs．）a stack．
án－cha（pron．）that much［from an，oblique of $u l$ ，which see］．
＇cha（term．）－fold ；e．g．yüs－ancha＂a hundred－fold．＂
｜ $\mathrm{T}_{\mathrm{L}}^{\mathrm{L}} \mathrm{n}-\mathrm{da}$（adv．）lit．in that ；but specially ：in that place， there．
 an－dágh－ráq（pron．and adv．）more like that．

انذاتِ án－dáq［same as dan－dágh］．
an－dáq－cha（pron．and adv．）lit．to an amount similar to that，such like，so much．
آنداين án－dáin［same as ándàq］KH．
آندئ àn－din（adv．）lit．from that；but specially：from that place，thence．
［sition．
CiT dng（obsol．subs．）understanding［only used in compo－
Kit annga［prd．anga］（pron．）to him，her or it［an，the oblique form of $u l]$ ．

隹 àng－siz（adj．and adv．）without understanding；also sud－ denly，without premeditation．



آنطلانماق àng－la＇n－màq（v．pass．）to be understood or known，（refl．） to make itself known（of news \＆c．），to come to one＇s knowledge．
ग $u$［for $u t$ ］（pron．）that，he，she，it．
و du（subs．）sport，hunting，shooting，also game［ $P$ from
aroa（int．）yes，well，all right．［Persian ahu］．

，أواس ưroát（subs．）shame，modesty．
解
解 urod－i－máq（v．tr．）to quiet a child．
üuoáq（subs．）crumbs，débris，（from uroa－maq）．
 together，to combine［from áwa］．
 swallowe or rooks）．
Log uba (subs.) a pestilenoe, epidemic, from A. vabab.
(وبدا obdán (adj.) good.
اوبا upa (subs.) a white powder used by women to improve
their complexions.

اوحتورمlop-tur-mak (v.caus.) to canse to kiss [used of the person who sabmits to the operation].

(اورانمات oppra-t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to cramble to pieces, to break up, crumble (tr.).

اوحروت oppruq (adj.) crumbled, rainous (from preceding).
اويرولمات öpru-'Lnáq (v. pass.) to be crumbled [also öpra-'l-máq].
K öplea (subs.) lungs ; wrath, anger, offence.
اويطكا تاقماتٍ opka-qdqmáq (v. tr.) to beat one's shoulders and back with the fresh lungs of an animal. A Turki custom supposed to be a remedy in illness. [offend.
 Slaill opka-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to be offended with one another.


إيوته upup (subs.) a kind of bird with a crest, a hoopoo (?).


اوت üt (subs.) gall.
اوت - اوط ot (subs.) fire.
اوت (subs.) grass.
uwout (subs.) malt, sprouting grain used for making a sort of beer, raz.
[ $m a q$ ).

ota-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to pluck weeds in company.
اوتأ otagh (subs.) a temporary abode, a Kirghiz tent.
(اوتاغانس ( اوتاع (subs.) a plume, a crest of peacock's feather worn (اوتاغه by high dignitaries under the Chinese.

اوتات otáq (same as otagh).

اوتاكهِ itak-chi (subs.) a bootmaker.
اوتاماتّ ota-máq (v. tr.) to pluck up weeds or grass.
ita-mak (v. tr.) to read or say prayers, to recite.
اوتاو otáo (same as otágh) KH.
اونر| otra (subs. \& adj.) the midst ; middle, intermediate; [otra-si-da $=$ in the midst of it] ? for urta. [mediate.
اوترانهـيـي
اوزّرو (adr.) opposite, facing ( $?$ from üt-mak "to meet").
اوتروكس iutriik (subs.) he, untruth, Kız. ( $P$ for durogh, P.).
اوتروكه ütrïk-chi (subs.) liar, KAz.
ع اوتقا ot-qàch (subs.) dry shavings \&c. for lighting a fire. In the bazàrs of Yarkand and Kàshghar these are sold in the form of short logs of wood 3 or 4 inches thick, and so accurately sliced to the thickness of stout paper, that when all the slices are put together and tied in the form of the original $\log$, no separation can be detected at first sight. This is done with a special tool. The ends are dipped in sulphar before sale, so that they can be used for raising a flame from the embers of overnight.
ut-qàz-máq (v. caus.) [same as following].
ut-quz-máq (v. caus.) to cause to sit.
[recite.
الوتكا, iit-kar-mak (v. caus.) to cause to pass over or through, to

اوتكور ütkür (adj.) sharp, (viz. 'which passes through').
اوتكورماكש iut-kir-mak (v. tr. and caus.) to sharpen, [also same as ut-kar-mak].
اوتكوزماكــا itt-küz-mak (v. tr. and caus.) do. do.
(اوتلات ot-làq (subs.) a grassy place, a meadow, a pasture.

آرتماس arou-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to increase.
多 it-mak (v. tr.) to pass, to go over or through, to penetrate, to cross, to meet. Metaph. to go through or accomplish any work; to pass over or forgive a fault, \&c.
اوتنا
اونغي iutni (subs.) [the same].
ارتور utur (adj.) straight.
utur-la-máq (v. tr.) to make straight.
اوتورماتق utur-màq (v. intr.) to sit.
[(from üt-mak).
اوتون. otun (subs.) fuel, fire-wood. (From ot "fire").
( ${ }^{5}$

( Uch (subs.) a feud, a state of enmity.
( Uch (subs.) an end, a point.
ارها ucha (subs.) the posteriors, the back.
(اوجازتوثى öchár-qush (compound subs.) a flying bird [from öch-màq $=$ to fy, and $q u s h=a$ bird].
اورارليت ochàr-liq (subs. and adj.) a creature that flies; also flying, possessed of the power of flight.
îl uchash (adj.) at feud, inimical.
ucha'-sh-mak (v. recip.) to be at feud with one another [from an un-used verb ucha-mak].
اورجاغ uchagh (subs.) a fire-place, cooking-place.
اورهاتص uchaq (subs.) [the same].
اوهاكس iuchak (subs.) entrails, KH.
اوجار öch-ao (num. subs.) all three, the three.
اوهاولار öch-do-lan (num. subs.) all three.

اورهايلال C och-aï-lan (num. subs.) all the three.
اوجراتمات
اوجراشماتِ öchra-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to meet one another.
 erns $g a]$.

اوهقاتٌ öch-qáq (adj.) flying about much [from öch-máq].
اوجقون uch-qun (subs.) a spark.
.wch-kak (adj.) burning badly, becoming extinguished rapid-
ly (of fire-wood, or fire) [from uch-mak].
üchkü (subs.) a goat.
iñouch-la-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to take by handsful together [from next].

اوجما üjma (subs.) mulberry.
اوجمات ujmáq (subs.) Heaven, the abode of the blessed.
اروماتق öch-màq (v. intr.) to fly.
uch-mak (v. intr.) to become extinguished, to go out (as
[fire).

ush-ur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become extinguished, to extinguish, to put out.
اوعوشُماتى öch-ösh-máq (v. recip.) to fly together.
uchuq (adj.) open [same as àchiq].
اوهولاسية öch-o-la-si (num. subs.) all the three of them.

uchun (post-pos.) because of, for, on account of [governs the genitive].

(وخk (interj.) an exclamation of pain or fatigue, (Cf. German "ach").
$u k h-r a-' s h-m a ́ q$ (v. recip.) to snort together [of horses].
ukh-ra-máq (v. intr.) to snort.
okhsha-'t-máq (v. caus.) to make like, to equalize ; also, to اوخششاشُ okhshash (adj.) like, equal to.
[compare.
اوخششانداتى okhsha-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to be alike, to resemble one another,
اوخْشَامات okhsha-máq (v. intr.) to be like, to resemble ; to be probable, to be likely; to be fulfilled (a promise).
ukhshu-md́q (v. intr.) to retch, vomit.

ukh-la-'sh-máq ( $\nabla$. coll.) to go to sleep together.
$u k h-l a-m a ́ q$ ( v . intr.) to sleep, to go to sleep.
اوخور (akhör (subs.) a manager (for horses). From P.
(اوخورامات ökhör-a-máq (v. intr.) to sneeze (of a horse).
أ, ira (adj.) standing upright.
اورا wra (subs.) a hole in the ground for storing grain, a garner, a caché.
اوراטان öradan (subs.) a colouring matter, madder.
اوراغ äraigh (subs.) a covering, the cloth bound round a package.
اوراق öráq (subs.) a sickle, KH. Kaz.

اورالانش ira-lash (adv.) upwards, up-hill.
الورامات öra-máq (v. tr.) to wind, wrap.
اوراور örau (subs.) a cloth wound round anything (the same as öragh], KAz.
تrta (subs. and adj.) middle ; urta-da (adv.) in the middle.
اورتّات urtàq (subs.) partner ; also friend, intimate.
urtàq-la-máq (v. intr.) to be in partnership.
urta-mak ( $\mathrm{v} . \operatorname{tr}$ ) to set on fire, to burn (chiefly the dry grass of a hill-side). [enflamed.
urta-'n-mak (v. refl.) to burn itself, to burn (intr.), to be (اورتانكـ irtang (subs.) a staging post, a traveller's rest-house, a stage ( $P$ from urta, qu. half-way-house).
 post-master or post-rider. [audience.
اوردا irda (subs.) a Royal residence, a Court, a Royal place of اورناكــ ördak (subs.) a duck [wild or tame].
cile ir-dur-máq (v. caus.) to cause to strike.

urgha-chi (subs.) a female (of man or beast), KAz.
urgháq (subs.) a sickle.
اوركاكماكس örgà-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to learn, i. e. to teach.


اوركانشهـكـ örgà-'n-ish-mak (v. recip.) to learn together.
اوركانماكس orga-'n-mak (v. refl.) to instruct oneself, i. e. to learn.
اوركوت örgöt (subs.) winnowed grain prepared for the mill.
اورلآتهاكس or-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to climb.
الرولاماكس ör-la-mak (v. intr.) to climb ; to rise, to mount up.


اورمات ur-máq (v. tr.) to reap, to cut grass.

- U or-mak ( $\mathrm{\nabla} . \mathrm{tr}$. ) to braid the hair.

اورماكـ örmak (subs.) a rough loom without treadles for weaving coarse carpets, \&c.
 $=$ to turn the face, to face round.

اورمlالاهاكسma-la-mak (v. intr.) to crawl, to creep.
urna-'sh-tur-máq (v. recip. caus.) to appoint to each his place, to settle each in place.
urna-sh-máq (v. recip.) to be each in his own place, to be respectively settled.
ciloligna-máq (v. intr.) to be settled, fixed, (from urun).
chor-ush-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to fight.
wr-wsh-qáq (adj.) given to fighting, quarrelsome.
cr-usk-máq (v. recip.) lit. to strike or beat one-another, i. e. to fight.

الوروغ urugh (subs.) seed; also offspring, family, clan.
urugh tuqqàn (subs.) relations, family.
urugh-la-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to get thin, \&c. (see urugh-la-màq).
urugh-la-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to make one-another thin, to get thin together [see next word].
crugh-la-máq (v.) 1. to get thin; 2. to sow seed; 3. to muster strong in family, to swarm.
اوروت see urugh; üruq (adj.) thin, in bad condition.
urun (subs.) place, station.
اورنمات ur-un-maq (v. refl) to strike one's self against (in pass-ur-un-ush-máq (v. refl. recip.) to strike against one another

اوز $z$ (pron.) self. [in passing.
او $u z$ (adj.) handsome, pretty, beautiful.
اوزا $u z a$ (subs.) surface, top ; uza-si-da $=$ on the top of it.
uza-'t-máq (v. caus.) lit. to cause to go far (éloigner); to reach out a thing; to go out to meet, or to escort, a guest.
uza-máq (v. intr.) to go far.
cill uzáq (adv.) far, (éloigné).
ers-la-mak (v. tr.) to top, or take the top off any thing, to skim [from uza].
اوزانكو uxangu (subs.) a stirrup.
${ }^{1}{ }^{\text {l }} \ddot{O}_{z-b a k}$ (Pro. name) a certain tribe of Turki race, the ruling tribe in Bokhára and Khiva.
[run.

iux-dür-mak (v. caus.) to cause to break by pulling, to cause to pull in pieces.
X; او $\quad$ oz-ga (adj.) lit. to itself ; i. e. separate, different.
 changed (in a bad sense) [ $\mathrm{e} . \mathrm{g}$. ish özgacha boldi "affairs have gone to grief"].
 öz-ga-r-mak].
اوزكارشماع özga-r-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to change colour together.
. اوزكا özga-r-mak (v. intr.) to become different (of colour); to change colour, to become discoloured. [consciousness.
(äl (adv.) by one's self or selves ; (subst.) self-ness i. e.

اوزليكــ
vioco $\begin{gathered}\text { او } z-m a q ~(v . ~ i n t r .) ~ t o ~ o u t-r u n, ~ t o ~ g e t ~ f o r e m o s t ~ i n ~ a ~ r a c e . ~\end{gathered}$
elo iuz-mak (v. tr.) to break off by pulling, to pull in pieces, to اوزوت uzuq (subs.) food, provisions.
[tear away.
اوزودت özök (subs.) a finger-ring.
اوزوكس uz-uk (subs.) a piece broken off, a fragment [from $z z-$ mak] ; (adj.) fragile, slender.
el اوزرلمارz-iul-mak (v. pass.) to be broken by pulling, to be torn away (اوزر (subs.) a grape.
[from üz-mak].
föz-öm (pron.) I myself; öz-ömiz = we ourselves.
ازورU (azun (adj) long, tall.

اوزية $\begin{aligned} & \text { او } \\ & \text { (pron.) he himself, \&c. }\end{aligned}$
dize-i-cha (adv.) of one's self, by one's self.
ussdq (adj.) thirsty.
لوسال usal (adj.) bad, evil, KH. Kaz.
( اوسال لامات $u s a l-l a-m a q$ ( $v$. intr.) to become bad, to go to the bad.
اوسامات ussa-máq (v. intr.) to be thirsty, to thirst.
(اوستا $u$ (subs.) a teacher ; an artisan, from $P$.
اوستار ustara (subs.) a razor, $P$.
ustang (subs.) a canalized stream, a trunk canal.
el increase, to increase (tr.).
淮tïn (subs.) pillar, column [for P. "situn"].
اوستون sessed form of following word : for üst-in ="the top of it").
. اوستّي
اوسح usma (subs.) a black dye for the hair, $P$.
 or scoop anything into a bag.
elims-mak (v. tr.) to butt, to strike with the horns.


اونl-sha (pron.) that [contr. from $u-s h a l]$.
© اوشماتماو usha-'t-máq (v. tr.) to break in pieces, to break up. (اوثات ushàq (adj.) little; (subs.) bits, débris, powder; also a menial servant.
اوشل $u$ اوshal (pron.) that [from $u l$ and $s h u l$ ].
اوشالمات wsha-'l-máq (v. pass.) to be broken up.
 shan in the oblique cases].
|ciligheshan-da (adv.) lit. in that very [place]; there. (اوشانداق $u$-shan-daq (pron. and adv.) like that, so.

اوشبو $u s h-b u$ (pron.) this, this very [from shu and $b u$ ].

اوششني öshni (subs.) shoulder.
 crease, (see àshur-màq).
(اوشوى ushuq (subs.) sheep's knuckle-bones used for playing.
اوثئوت ushuq (adj.) much, very much.
 màq).

ughrà-màq (v. tr.) to encounter.

ughar-la-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to rob one another.
ughar-la-máq (v. tr.) to thieve, to rob.
اوغيج ughri (subs.) thief.
اوغول see اوغل"
ارغلات ughláq (subs.) a kid, also a game on horse-back played with the body of a kid.
(اوغلا ughlan (subs.) a male child, a boy.

اوغوت ughut (subs.) malt.
اوغور ughur (subs.) a mortar in which grain is pounded.
اوغوز ughuz (subs.) milk of the cow during a day or two after the birth of the calf, (not drinkable).

اوغول ughul (subs.) a male child, son, boy.
[màq]. ufra-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to crumble [ same as öpra-'t-lifra-máq (v. intr.) to crumble, [same as öpra-màq].
ارفورت ufruk (adj.) crumbled, ruinous [öpruq].
اوفK ufka (subs.) lungs; anger [see öpka]. .
elloykfinfacla-mak (v. intr.) to take offence [see öpka-la-mak].
© اوفماع uf-mak (v. tr.) to kiss [see öpmak].
oq (subs.) a projectile ; an arrow, a bullet ; also the pole of a cart or plough ; the beam of an oil press.
اوقا oqa (subs.) gold lace (real or imitation).
auqàt (subs.) subsistence, sustenance, maintenance [A. with a special meaning acquired]. oqshu-máq (v. intr.) to retch, vomit.
$u q-m a ́ q$ (v. tr.) to understand, to comprehend, to take in. اوتوتَهاقت oqu-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to read, to instruct, to teach. |وقوشمات oqu-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to read in company.
اوقولمات oqu-'l-máq (v. pass.) to be read.
اوقو oqu-máq (v. tr.) to read, to recite.
اور $u k a$ (subs.) a younger brother.
uggaï (adj.) step- : e. g. ugaï-bala, a step-son or daughter.
اوكتا uqta (subs.) defalcations in the matter of public revenue, by which either the prince or the private payers of revenue are cheated.
مركتا uktam (adj.) same, KAz.
الوكم $u k c h a$ (subs.) the kernel (in any stone-fruit).
$\alpha \approx \frac{1}{*} u k c h a$ (subs.) heel.
[sit.
اوكزا ugza (subs.) a roof, generally a flat roof on which one can

اوكسوo uksu-mak (v. intr.) to sit aside in grief, to fret, also to dimi-
[nish, Kaz.
اوكوت ogöt (subs.) winnowed grain prepared for the mill [the same as örgöt].
4

اوكوتمیת ukur-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to bellow.
اوكوتماكس ugur-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to turn (tr.), to make someone turn something.
اوكورما whur-mak (v. intr.) to bellow.
Slogur-mak (v. tr.) to turn over, to turn round, to turn aside.
ukur-uah-mak (v. recip.) to bellow at one another, to bellow in company.

اوكز ukuz (subs.) an ox, KH.
اوڭو uguz [the same,] Kaz.
ug-ul-mak (v. pass.) to be crumbled.
, wkun-mak (v. intr.) to regret, to be sorry.
اوكونونی ukunuch (subs.) regret, sorrow.
اركي uki (subs.) owl.
[mn).
(ول (pron.) that, he, she, it (oblique, generally an sometimes
(glat (subs.) pestilence (on man or beast) [see iul-mak].
$y$ liular (subs.) a snow pheasant (Tetraogallus tibetanus).

 distribute.
 catch up a party,
Tu-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to hunt together [see du].

اولغ ulágh (subs.) a beast of burthen, a baggage animal.
ulágh-liq (subs.) an owner of baggage-animals, (adj.) appertaining to baggage-animals.
اولات uláq [the same as ulagh].
آرلآ àuláq (subs. and adj.) privacy, seclusion; private, secluded.
ulaq-tur-máq (v. caus.) to cause to stray, to drive away from a herd or flock, KAz.
ن̈laly auláq-la-máq (v. intr.) to make private, [used of a place, not of a person].

© آلyk-la-máq (v. tr.) to hunt, to shoot, to kill in hunting.
ving wla-máq (v. tr.) to join, unite.
اولانer ulang (subs.) a horse's girth.
التّا ulta (adj.) incorrect, mistaken, wrong.
ultan (subs.) the sole of a boot, Kaz.

اولتوركوز_ul-tur-ghïz-măk (v. redupl. caus.) to cause to kill, lit. to cause to cause to die (see ül-mak).
ultur-maq (v. intr.) to sit, to be seated.
اولتورما uil-tür-mak (v. caus.) to kill, lit. to cause to die.
الولجـا ulja (subs.) booty, plunder, loot.



liulcha'k (subs.) a balance, scales, any weighing instrument.

 cause to increase.
[ulugh.
 اولّغ aroroal-ghi (adj.) the first, the foremost, A. T.
اولڤً arowal-qi (the same).
اولـــا illka (subs.) territory, region, district.
اولمان iulkan (adj.) great, large, Kaz.
اولُورlilgür-mak (v. intr.) to come or go forward, to advance ( $P$ for ilgar'-mak).
الوّلحي avowal-gi (adj.) the first.
بولهاى (rare, probably borrowed from the West) for اولمأتى
اولماكــ al-mak (v. intr.) to die.
ulus (subs.) a tribe, a division of a tribe (chiefly of nomads). Almost obsolete.


اولؤزilush (subs.) a portion, a share.
© اولوششا uluish-màq (v. tr.) to separate into parties.
اولوغ ulugh (adj.) great, large, grand; also eldest, elder.
اولوغرات ulugh-ráq (adj.) greater.
ulugh-la-máq (v. tr.) to enlarge, to confer grandeur.
اولوكـ uil-uik (subs.) a dead man or beast, a corpse, a carcass.
iul-üm (subs.) death; (adj.) past, expired.
$\boldsymbol{c}^{\text {log }}$ umach (subs.) a kind of semolina made of flour and eaten with soup.
اومروثقغه $u$ mrutqa (subs.) the back-bone, KAz.
اور (num.) ten. Also for und, which see.
اور (subs.) a voice, a sound.
una-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to agree.
اوناشُماتٌ una-'sh-maq ( $\nabla$. recip.) to agree together (in any matter).

lignd (subs.) flour.
| l | $n$-da (pron. and adv.) lit. in that (place or time), i. e., there, then.
Shedinda-mak (v. tr.) to summon with the voice (without out-
Slon-dur-mak ( v . caus.) to cause to sprout.
اونـN ung (adj.) right (hand) ; also right, proper.
ungal-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to improve, to cause to become better (any work, \&c.).
اونُالماون ungal-máq (v. intr.) to improve, to become better.
اونظاحي ungai (adj.) easy.
. اونماكسn-mak (v. intr.) to sprout, to shoot out from the ground.
unut-qáq (adj.) one who makes frequent mistakes, or omissions.
unut-máq (v. tr.) to make a mistake, to forget.
اوحي (subs.) house, chamber.
[and met).
(أوىي ùi l. (subs.) idea, thought; 2. (adj.) deep, profound (lit.
uwoi (subs.) a bullock, an ox.
rya (subs.) a nest, or sleeping place of an animal.

اويایت wyat (subs.) shame, modesty.
اوراتسيز vyat-siz (adj.) shameless.
اوياتمأت wyat-maq (v. intr.) to feel shame.
اوياكهات wya'l-máq (v. pass.) to be put to shame, to be ashamed.
الويانمات ruya-'n-máq (v. intr.) to awake.
اويرو لماكس vyer-ul-mak (v. pass.) to be turned, Kaz.

righa-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to awake, to awaken.
اويغان uigháq (adj.) awake ; also wide-awake, sharp, acute.
uigha-'n-máq ( $\mathrm{\nabla}$. intr. or refl.) to be awake. [ ? from ui
"thought" : thus-ui-gha-máq (if there were such a verb) would be "to be conscious," and the Reflective uigha-'nmáq would be, literally, "to be conscious of one's self, i. $e$. to be awake."]
wiqu (subs.) sleep.
uiqu-la-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to sleep, to put to sleep.
wiqu-la-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to sleep in company.
uiqu-la-máq (v. intr.) to sleep.
اوقعولوت uiqu-luq (adj.) drowsy after sleep.
愔
او اولالint wi-la-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to think together.
اوثلامات wi-la-máq (v. tr.) to think, to reflect.
 life (said of the father or guardian) [lit. to make a householder of. From $u i=$ house.]
ini-la-'n-mak (v. pass. or refl.) to be married, or started in life.
اويها oima (subs.) an ornamental work done by cutting out a pattern and fixing it on another ground.
إويماتٌ ömáq (subs.) a thimble.

الريناتهات öina-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to play.
今iliginash (subs.) a lover, Kaz.
ت̈ina-'sk-máq (r. recip.) to play with one-another.

जitiouina-máq (v. intr.) to play. (Probably for öymn-a-máq). الويوتماتٌ wyu-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to curdle.
vyu-máq ( $\mathrm{\nabla}$. intr.) to cardle, become curdled.
اوتوبة oywn (subs.) play.
病
ئ é (interj. used in addressing a person).
(Ti (subs.) moon, month.


غإِ áyd́gh (subs.) leg, foot.
 (like herrings in a barrel) ; to lie with all the feet inwards to the fire.
dyagh-la-mdq (v. tr.) to wade (on foot) across a river.
آيات áyáq (subs.) a bowl (of wood or earthen ware, \&c).
أباغ for آياتي.

"̈lot aya-máq (v. tr.) to withhold, to withdraw (anything), to grudge (anyone anything).
 to shirk, to shrink from.
linak (subs.) chin, Kaz.
إيبارتماكــ ibarr-'t-mak (v. cause.) to cause to send.
ايبارتتور0اكس ibàr-'t-tur-mak (v. cause. redupl.) to cause to have (something) sent, to cause to cause to send.
e إبارمان ibàr-mak (v. tr.) to send.
ايبورقت ibriq (subs.) an earthenware water-jug.

 proper places, to put into the proper order among themselves, or mutually.
 arrange one's selves or themselves.
ابِباماكـــ ipla-mak (v. tr.) to arrange in proper order or sequence.
إـn it (subs.) a dog.
stake（subs．）a skirt，lower edge．
［dersoni（？）
اتالكو italgiu（subs．）the female of the Shungkár or Falco Hen－ it－tish（subs．）lit．dog－tooth ；a kind of stitch in which the needle is passed through alternately from opposite sides ［？herring bone］．
s it－mak（v．tr．）1．to make，to build ；2．to shut，fasten．

Elont－il－mak（v．pass．）1．to be made ；2．to be fastened， Sait－il－mak（v．pass．）to be said．

和 ch（subs．）inside，interior ；ich－i－da＝within．



ich－qur（subs．）a waist band．


品 ichkii（subs．）goat．
S ich－mak（v．tr．）to drink．
［saddle．


aida－＇t－mak（v．caus．）to cause to drive away．

erolaciala－mak（v．tr．）to drive away［the same as haida－mak］．
ايلى 1．midi，corr．from aït－ti＂he said＂；2．idi，contr．from irdi ＂he was．＂
（subs．）a male，a man，a husband ；also，a hero，a brave man．
ايرات iraq（adj．）far，distant．
آيران iran（subs．）butter－milk．
，إيراذلأ anear（subs．）heroes，men of worth［from or and（？） double Plural，P．and T．，as a mark of respect］．
إيرتماتر ort－màq（ $\mathrm{v} . \mathrm{tr}$ ．）to get the better of，to deceive（ $P$ for àrtmàq， qu．＂to come over＂vulg．）
desist（subs．）morning ；（adv hor row．

إبرتَكي erta-gi 1. (subs.) a tale, a history ; 2. (adj.) belonging to the morning.
إيرجايتهانو irjai-t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to grin.
الموجايملى irjaï-màq (v. intr.) to laugh foolishly, to simper, to grin.
اليردي irdi (part of def. verb subs.) usually contracted to $i d i$ [which see] "he was."
إيرسة irsa (Pot. Part. of def. verb subs., prd. also isa) " may be."

Sirsh-mak (v. intr.) to arrive up, to arrive after.
(إرغاتمات irgha-t-máq (v. caus.) lit. to cause to swing; [usually] to shove, push or shake.
إرغانماتى irgha-'n-máq (v. refl.) to swing or move one's self.
irghu-t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to leap over.
[lation.
إيرغوشماترغون irghu-'sh-máq (v. coll.) to leap together, to leap in emu-irghv-máq (v. tr.) to leap over, to jump.

إيرعا irka (adj.) pet, favourite.


 or attach one's self to.
ايركاكـع erkak (adj.) male.
irka-la-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to favour.
sirka-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to favour one another.

(إيركلانمالـ irka-la-'n-mak (v. pass.) to be petted, or favoured.
liklan (Indef. Part. of defect. verb subs. irmak) lit. "being", "having been". Commonly used for the copula "is". Gives a dubitative sense when joined to other verbs. See Grammar.
ايركته erakta (subs.) husband.
ايركيتب erkit (subs.) sour butter-milk.
S irk-il-mak (v. pass.) to be strained [as any watery stuff through a cloth].

إيكي irkin same as irkcan.
ايركير) irkin (adj.) wide, broad, extended.
irkin-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to be reciprocally at ease ; to have room between one another.
© space ; to have room.
Mr-mas (Neg. form of irur, the Continuative Part. of dofective verb subs.) pronounced usually imas, " not being," " is not."
© آيرمات air-máq (v. tr.) to divide, to separate.
( irmak (Infinitive of the defective verb substantive, not common in this form,) to be.
Ermak (sube.) any trifing occupation.
( ايرماكلاشملع irmak-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to triffe with one another.
إيرماكلاماكس irmak-la-mak (v. intr.) to trifle.
إيرور ir-ur (Continuative Part. of ir-mak, not common) being ; also is.
إيروس irün (subs.) lip.
 to procrastinate.
Sirün-ksh-kak (adj.) procrastinating habitually.

airi (subs.) a pitch-fork.
 in a melted state" from iri-mak]. [mak].
إيريشتورماك irish-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to arrive up [from irish-
ايورِششاكک irish-mak (v. intr.) 1. to arrive up, [same as irsh-mak];
2. to melt together [recip. form of iri-mak].

ابريبلایlirik-la-mak (v. tr.) to sort out or select the largest.[nuyer."
 آبرئلمات air-il-máq (v. pass.) to be divided [from air-màq].
Mirr-il-ish (vl. subs.) divarication, place where waters \&c. separate into several channels or cournes. [another.
 5


(20) irin (subs.) lip.
[mak).
Shirginn-mak (v. intr.) to be lazy, to procrastinate (see irün-
أيز iz (subs.) track, trace, foot-track.

إزكو izgu (adj.) good.
ايزكوليكـ izgu-lik (subs.) goodness.

Lojeme (adj.) talkative, KH.
dizmak (subs.) braid, edging (of robes).
إيزماكــ iz-mak (v. tr.) to rub up in water, to dissolve (tr.).

Cizla-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to search.


ايزيلماكـ ix-il-mak 1. (v. pass.) to be dissolved as in water; 2. ( v . intr.) to gossip, to chatter (see izma).
إس (subs.) smell, aroms ; also the sickness \&e., caused by rarity of the air at high elevations; memory, recollection, understanding. [smoke. (üs) is (subs.) grime, the dirt formed on walls, \&c., by ulan isan (adj.) safe, well, Kaz. KH.
(v. recip.) to ask mutually after one another's welfare.
elvilugl isan-lik (subs.) safety, welfare.

s إيستالista-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to search together.
s)

ellankinkiskan-sh-mak (v. recip.) to smell (tr.) together.
SKun iskak (subs.) a pair of tweezers.
slelerkerka-mak (v. tr.) to smell, to snuff.
ज̈lolo (ius) is-la-máq (v. tr.) to make grimy with smoke.
Elalon is-la-mak (v. intr.) to suffer from the rarity of the air.
Ulon-makik ( V . refl.) to smell (intr.), to give out an odour.
cibling (ius) is-la-'n-máq (v. pass.) to be made grimy with smoke; to become grimy.
ايصرئها isit-ma (subs.) fever, feverishness.
(ايسيتاتخ isi-t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to be hot, to heat. (From primitive isi-málc of issi/c " hot.")
isergha (subs.) ear-ring.
eskernak (v. intr.) to become drunk, tipsy.

iski (adj.) old, worn out, Kh., Kaz. ; and thence, "bad" (in which meaning chiefly it is used in Eastern Turkistán).
ايسليلد is-lik (adj.) intelligent, sharp [from is].
ايش ish (subs.) work, labour, deed, business.
(subs.) a companion, comrade. (Possibly the origin of the verbal affix of reciprocity "ish.")
eshak (subs.) donkey, ass.
 beads," i. e. second-rate ones. Conf. "donkey-engine"].
eshán (subs.) a title applied in Turkistán to religious teachers [ $P$ the P. eshán $=$ " they ;" the Pl. being used as a mark of respect; or else from following series].
إشمانهِي ishan-ji (subs.) a confidential person, one in whom confidence is felt.
 cause to believe.


إيشتَورمLا ishit-tur-mak (v caus.) to cause to hear, to relate.
SUKhkak (subs.) a paddle [from ishmak].
el ishik (subs.) a door, a gate.

ellolishish-la-mak (r. tr.) to work [from ish]. jlangl ish-qár (subs.) potash.



elanaink-mak (v. tr.) 1. to twist or plait ; 2. to paddle.
كhishishit-mak (v. tr.) to hear.
 be twisted, or to be plaited.
آيغور aighur (subs.) an entire horse, a stallion.
el ikak (subs.) a file (instrument for filing).
(12kan (Indefinite Part. of defective verb (i(r)mak) "being or having been", wsod as copula "is."
إيKا ikao (num. subs.) both.
(l) إيكا, ikaolan (num. subs.) both.

ايكايلثا ikailan (num. subs.) both.
ايكي ike (num.) two.
(1ké-din (adv.: expr.) by twos [bir-din iké-din $=$ by ones and twos].

1. iki-'nchi (num. adj.) second ; 2. ikin-chi (subs.) a cultivator [see ikin].
(يكمي ikin 1. (part.) see ikan ; 2. (subs.) a young crop.

KIl iga (subs.) master, owner, also husband.
إرا iga-chi (subs.) elder sister.
إيك igar (subs.) saddle.
el igak (subs.) a file.
[own.

 (spec.) to frequent, to haunt.
ائاو igao (subs.) a file.
elle ig-mak (v. tr.) to bend.
aile igma (subs.) a needle.

إيكيرماف igir-mak (v. tr.) to spin.
الـيزي igiz (adj.) high, tall ; also deep.
igin (subs.) a young crop [see ikin].
igin (subs.) clothes, clothing.
igin-chi (subs.) a cultivator [see 1st igin].
$i g-i l-m a k$ ( $v$. pass.) to be bent.
ایل il, 1. (subs.) a country (vide Roum-elia=The country of Roum) ; 2. (adj.) allied, in alliance.
آيل ant (subs.) a girth.

ايلاصس ilat (subs.) any nomad tribe.

 Yarkand for irgash-mak].
eloth ila-mak (v. tr.) 1. to sift, to pass through a sieve ; 2. to mix dough; 8. to $\tan$ (leather).

إيلآ ilán (subs.) a serpent, a snake.
Slotiglikentan-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to turn.
selintanlan-mak (v. intr.) to turn (of itself), to be turned.

shemak ( r . tr.) to take away (chiefly used in comp. as iltip birmak " to take away and give)."
elalt-mak (v. intr.) to become dizzy through smoking, \&c.
il-chi (subs.) an Ambassador, a negotintor [from il "allied"]; also (prop. name) the capital of Khotan.
إلم| ildam (adv.) quickly.
إِلغاتماتٍ ilgha-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to sort.
إلغار il-ghàr (subs.) a frontier station of troops, an advanced guard, a raid.
ilgha-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to sort together.
ألغاهن il.gha-máq (v. tr.) to sort by hand, to pick out, to search, to inveatigate ; (intr.) to advance, to attack, to make a raid.

اليلغانماتc ilgha-'n-máq (v. refl.) to sort themselves.
ilqi (subs.) a troop of horses, a stud.
ilq-chi (subs.) a guardian of a troop of horses.
il-la-'sh-tur-mak (v.recip. caus.) to cause alliance between, to mediate.
shallill il-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to enter into alliance together [from il " allied"].
إلتا iliq (adj.) warm.
(الملرع il-gari (adv. and p. p.) in front, formerly; also, before (governs negative).
shly il-mak ( v . tr.) to hang up (as on a peg), to hitch into.
indina (subs.) a particular stitch, "chsin-stitch."
ايليك ilik (subs.) 1. a hand [unusual in Yarkand]; 2. marrow.
ايليلعبولماتي ilik bol-máq (comp. verb) to go security.
ايلليلـف illik (num.) fifty [ P conn. with ilik "hand"].

ايماس imas (part of defective verb subs.) "is not" [for ir-mas].
cion aimdq (subs.) a tribe, the descendants of a particular person; also (prop. n.) a tribe near Herát.
ellonimán-mak (v. intr.) to be respectful, to show respect.

Ai|linchak-dash (subs.) a foster brother or sister [lit. breast companion].

إمليما im-di (conj.) now.
: im-gak (verb. subs.) excessive labour and weariness consequent thereon, trouble, difficulty [from obs. prim. im-ga-mak].
 of any kind.
erojistim-la-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to treat empirically. s/im-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to make signals to one-another by nodding or winking.
[doctor.
esholon-la-mak (v. tr.) to treat empirically, to act as a quack
sholan-la-mak (v. tr.) to make signs by nodding or winking to any-one.
ell im-mak ( V . tr.) to suck [the breast, as an infant].
im-uk-dask (subs.) a foster brother or sister.
 the breast.
[infant.
 ايميرش amish [part of defective verb subs.] " it is understood to be."
إيمim-ish-mak (v. recip.) to suck together from the same breast [of foster brothers, \&c.].
(in (subs.) width, breadth.
ائنا ina (subs.) mother, K $\mathrm{K}_{\mathrm{Lz}}$.
lina (subs.) needle, Gaz.
اينات ináq (subs.) a confidential servant.
arak (subs.) a cow.
ه́stinaga (subs.) a nurse (of children).
النانهات inan-máq (v. intr.) to believe, to trust [governs ghat].
إينجّ inji (subs.) a pearl.

Shailail inda-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to beckon to one another.
Sا إنذا inda-mak (v. tr.) to beckon, to summon.
آينك ainak (subs.) eye-glass, spectacles, $\mathbf{P}$.
إينا ing ak (subs.) chin.
إينكا ingan (subs.) a female camel.
(1) đinn-t-máq (v. caus.) 1. to cause to fade, \&c. ; 2. to cause to become sober.
 become sober together.
ciloginginv-mdq (v. intr.) to fade, to lose colour or flavour.
cincornáq (v. intr.) to become sober.
الئي int (subs.) a younger brother, KH.
airodn (subs.) a veranda, a colonnade, $\mathbf{P}$.
ألمو áyu (subs.) a bear, Khz.
 wrath, or the udders of a cow when the calf is put to her previous to milking) Kaz.

## $\div$

(subs.) father, or grandfather (used in the former sense chiefly by children, like our " papa").
[trate. © $b d t-m a ́ q$ ( v . intr.) to sink (as the feet in mud) ; also to pene(bdtur (subs. and adj.) a brave man ; brave [corr. of " bahádur," P.].
(saturs. and adj.) ground where the feet sink, a quagmire (applied also to deep sand).
با baja (subs.) the husband of one's wife's sister.
 cich bakhsh-la-máq (v. tr.) to give, to grant, to forgive, P. T.
bakhshi (subs.) a strolling minstrel, an inspired bard (pretending to receive inspiration from supernatural beings) ; also a hunter.
بار bàr prd. generally bà (subs.) existence, being, presence, (cf. Germ. dasein) ; also that which exists; (adj.) existent, being, present. When apparently used as a verb it may be translated " there is" (Germ. es gibt). Thus hàkim bàr = 'there is a Governor' (a Governor exists), whereas hàkim dur or kàkim ikan would be " (he) is Governor." Bàr is an attribute in itself ; dur or ikan

[^146]is the mere means of connecting a subject with an attribute. [Bàr is never really a verb, although it might appear so from certain uses of it. E. g. àt bàr would be translated "there is a horse;" but in reality this is a phrase in the common Turki form, like àt chung "the horse (is) big"-where the copula is wanting. Thus ùt bàr is literally "the horse (is) existent." Bàr is never a copula, being itself an attribute. And it does not contain the copula, any more than any other adjective used in a similar way. The copula is sousentendu. The use of bàr for our verb "to have" is another case of the above; e. g. maning àt-im bàr $=$ "my horse (is) existent," i. e. I have a horse. Here " my horse" is the subject and "existence" is the attribute ; and there is no verb expressed. The subject and attribute are merely connected by collocation as in other cases. Even with pronouns and seeming auxiliary verbs, bàr is merely an adjective: e. g. bàr-man "I (am) existent" is like kichik man "I (am) small"; shèkh bàr idi "a shèkh was existent" is like shèkh pir idi " the shèkh was old" (in the Past tense the copula of that tense is introduced, in both cases). Thus it is merely as a memoria technica that bàr can be said to correspond with the English "thero is." It really corresponds better with the " there" of that expression. Its use as an unmistakable substantive or adjective requires no explanation: e.g. barr-i-ni tutti "what-there-was of-his he took;" ahl-im bàr üi "the house where my wife is present" (an elliptical expression).
These remarks may be generalised. What bàr still is, all Turki verbs seem formerly to have been, and even now are in their essence. Unlike bàr they are affected by certain agglutinated syllables which make of them separate substantives or adjectives connected with different tenses or modes of action \&c. But like bàr
they all require a copula to be understood. It might almost be said, paradox as it seems, that there are no verbs in Turki, only substantives and adjectives. At any rate in external form there is no difference between the application of a noun of action (or suffering, or condition) and any other attribute. Take as an example any verb-tense (so-called) : e. g. qelwr-man. This, as it stands, is "continuously-doing I," where a copula, mentally supplied, is necessary to make this signify " I (am) continuously doing." So with other tenses. But it may be thought that the aaxiliaries which are sometimes used as copulæ, must be true verbs. On the contrary dur is an adjective meaning " continuously standing"; ikan is an adjective, "indefinitely being"; irur is a substantive or adjective "continuously doing"; irdi is a substantive in the possessed form of the 8d. pers. sing. (ird-im, ird-ing, ird-i are as regular substantive formations as $\grave{a} t-i m$, $\grave{a} t-i n g, ~ a ̀ t-i ~ " ~ m y ~ h o r s e, " ~$ "thy horse", "his horse", and mean literally "my past-being", "thy past-being", " his past-being"). In no part of the so-called verb do we find an expression which is itself a statement without requiring a copula to be mentally supplied; and no where do we find such a copula to supply in the last instance. It does not exist. Collocation is the only true copula in Turki. A socalled verb is only an attribute attached to a subject under the rules applicable to substantives and adjectives. The fact of its being an attribute of action, or suffering, or condition, makes its form of application differ in no way from that of any other substantive or adjective. Urup-man " I (have) struck (having-completed-striking I)" does not differ in form from kichik man "I (am) small", nor qelghu'm-bàr "I have to do (future-doing of-mine existent)" from àt-im bàr "I have a horse (horse of-mine existent)."]
afalichechah (adv. and pron.) wholly, also all, the whole. (Lit. ' to the amount of what there is': from bàr wh. s., and chah "extent").
بارس bárs (subs.) an ounce, " white leopard" (so called).
ciels bargháq (subs.) a receipt or discharge in full given by the officials for Government demands which have been paid (in kind).
bar-liq (subs.) existence, being ; (also adj.) possessing property, [from bár, see above].
© بارماق bár-máq (v. inir.) to go.
cilo $b$ b $\mathrm{c} \mathrm{rm} d q$ (subs.) a finger.
 maldaq) ; eshak-qol, lit. ' donkey hand,' the 1st finger ; otra-qol, lit., middle hand, 'the middle finger ;' yán qol, lit. side hand, 'the ring finger ;' chimchilak' the little finger.'
Costurma (subs.) a shed.
باستْورمlosas-tur-máq (v. tr.) to cause to tread [see bas-máq].
باستوروت bastur-uq (verb. subs.) a pole tied across a loose load to keep it together by pressure [from bas-tur-máq].
[press'). باسقوس basqun (subs.) a night-mare, (connected with basmáq "to
Cuasma (adj.) impressed, stamped, printed; (subs.) printed calico, print.
باسمات bas-máq (v. tr.) to press, impress, print, stamp; also to tread, to tread out (as corn).
باسوروت basurvq (subs.) an instrument for using pressure [see basturuq], a press.
باسوت bas-uq (verb. adj.) oppressed, humble, meek, quiet.
باسيتى basiq-the same.
باشُ básh (subs.) head, also chief, also the first.
بابً básha (subs.) a sparrow-hawk.
clut básháq (subs.) the iron point of an arrow.
citach básh-bd́q (subs.) the halter for tying up a cow \&c., [from básh and bagh-la-máq.]
[break.
 باشهح básh-chi (subs.) a leader or guide.
(eil báshqa (adj.) separate, other.
بانشاتلمات básh-la't-máq (v. caus.) to eause to precede, guide.


Cùshlighin (adv.) leading, first.

بأشوت báshuqq same as básháq.
بأثى bashi [used in comp. to mean "a chief;" originally the possessed form 3rd person, from básh, e. g. yüz-báshi for yiuz-ning bash-i, lit. the head of a hundred].
 in company.
bagh-la-'gh-liq (verb. adj.) bound, in a bound condition.

bágh-liq (subs.) wisp or rope with which a bundle or sheaf is bound.
باغير bághir (subs.) liver (of an animal).
باغيش bághish (subs.) a joint or articulation.
( baghish-la-máq (v. tr.) to give, to grant, to forgive [corr. from bakhsh, P.].
بات báq the same as bagh.
با báqá (subs.) a frog.
 from chanáq $=$ a hole].
بِآّل baqqál (subs.) a grocer, green-grocer, seller of uncooked provisions. A.

باتألهجات baqálcháq (subs.) the pastern bones of a cow or sheep.
باقتورماتّ baq-tur-máq (v. caus.) to cause to look, to show.
bdacha (subs.) the same as bdgh-cha.
( $b a d q-m a ́ q$ ( $\mathrm{v} . \operatorname{tr}$.) to look, to inspect, to look after or take care of ; to perceive with any of the senses.
báq-ish-máq (v. recip.) to look at one another, to look at or after (in company).
 looked after"] used of a sheep, \&c.; also dependent (of aman).
بطاول bakául (subs.) a cook.

bala-barqa (subs.) children, family (including the women of a household). Cf. Hind. bal-bacha.
baldq (subs.) the lower part (below the knee) of trousers.
بالالامات bala-la-máq (v. tr.) to bring forth young.
بالج bálchiq (subs.) mud.
بالىlonáldáq (subs.) a mace or truncheon with a wrist-strap.
bat bálqa (subs.) a hammer.
بالىـو baddir (adv.) before, first, formerly.
باي bai (subs. and adj.) a rich man, a merchant; also rich, wealthy.
بايا báya (adv.) just now, lately.

 independent means, T. P.
(bai-bichah (subs.) the chief wife, the first wife, Kaz.
بايتأل baittal (subs.) a mare over four years of age which has not had a foal.
بإرتِ bairak (subs.) the standard of a yüzbáshi or centurion.
بإرئ bairi (subs.) a square of any stuff ; (piece-goods were formerly sold by the squares of their width).
بايري bairi (adj.) old, of long service (said of domesticated animals).
(sai-qush (subs.) an owl [as if "the rich or respectable bird" ( $q$ ush $=$ bird)], Kas.
بابقيز bai-qiz (subs.) the same as last.
Cai-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) the same as baghlashmak, Kas.
بايلاماكس bai-la-mak (v. tr.) same as baghlamak, Kız.
بايلوت bái-luq (subs.) rich-ness ; also Kaz.for bagh-liq.
بايوتمات bait-ut-máq (v. caus.) to enrich, Kaz.
قايومان bai-u-mdq (v. intr.) to become rich, Kaz.
bahil-la't-mak (v. caus.) to cause to remit or forgive, A. T.


bahil-liq (subs.) forgiveness.
بر bir (num.) one.
برار birar (adv.) singly, one by one.
, birao (subs.) a single one (as 'a pair' is said of two).
براو burrao (subs.) a gimlet, Kaz.
( بوارال biraolan (subs.) a single one, Kaz.
برايلان birailan (subs.) a single one.
cy bir-bolmáq (v. intr.) to become of one accord, lit. to become one.
[place].
bir-gd (adv.) together [probably from P. gah = time or
y birla (post-pos.) with (see birlan).
bir-la-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become one, to unite.
برأ birlan (post-pos.) with ; also by, through (a line or locality) e. g. Kàshqar yoli birlan $=$ by the Kàshghar road, ichi birlan iutiup = having passed through the interior of it. Also used as a conjunction for and: e. g., at birlan átlik $=$ horse and rider; shahr birlan tàgh-ning ara-si-da $=$ between the town and the hill, lit. in the middle (or interval) of the town and (with) the hill. (Probably contr. from bir-ailan $=$ a single one, and so 'in one,' 'together.' See Gram. p. 70, N.B.).

برلالشها كـ bir-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to become of one accord, together.
( $b i r-i n-j i$ (num. adj.) first, foremost.
بواو for بور


بريكها bir-ik-mak (v. intr.) to become joined, to unite.

(برجّ ايكئ bir-in iki'n (adv.) by ones and twos.
; biz (pron.) we.
( A.) usod to mean a heavenly revelation or command conveyed in a vision.
celolo bagh-la-mdq (v. tr.) to bind.
بوغرا for بغرا
بلا builla or billa (adv.) together, in one.
 öxök = ring or hoop]. ${ }^{\circ}$
باكـــ builak (subs.) fore-arm.
bulán or bilán, see birlan.
balchiq, see باليّجي
بيلهاى bulmak, see بلals
rthic ba-nàgàh (adv. and conj.) suddenly, unawares, P. but used for if perchance.
or (pron.) this (short form of bul).
بوا bria (subs.) an old man.
بوبا búba (subs.) the same.
Mubak (subs.) father, grandfather.
بوبيـ bubi (subs.) a lady [for bibi].
بوبيّ* bubicha (subs.) the same [antiquated].
بوتا bota (subs.) a young camel.
(itata (subs.) a small plant.
بودنه bridana (subs.) a quail.
© budushqáq (subs.) a burr (which sticks in sheep's fleeces or woollen clothes).
بو bur (subs.) plaster, Kaz.
lora (subs.) matting made of plaited reeds; also woollon sacking, from $\mathbf{P}$.



بوراغ burágh (subs.) scent, odour, (from bura-màq).
بورات bura'k, the same.
بورا burak (subs.) kidney.
ciclorgra-máq (v. tr.) to smell (used of the person who perceives the odour).
ciolo bura máq (v. tr.) to wring.
ciol bora-máq (v. intr.) to blow or rage (as a storm).
بوران borán (subs.) a storm.
بورقاگـ burdáqi (adj.) fattened, fed up.
burk (subs.) a small cap.
 بورگا burka-mak (v. tr.) to veil, to muffle, to cover with a cloth, Kaz.
Shiowka-'n-mak (v. refl.) to veil one's self.
「 burga (subs.) a flea.
[poses].
. ${ }^{\text {بورگوى burgut (subs.) the golden eagle [used for sporting pur- }}$
Litarna (adv.) anciently.

\left.| burnaghi |
| :---: |
| بوزناغrnaqi |$\right\}$ (adj.) old, ancient.


burush-mak (v. recip.) to pucker, to gather (together) [intr.). From an imaginary or obsolete primitive burmak or burev-mak.
[KAz.]
(3) buruq (subs.) the root of a kind of reed sometimes eaten criruq (subs.) command, order (corr. from buyurwq).

. ${ }^{\text {a }}$ buruk-mak ( $\mathrm{v} . \mathrm{tr}$.) to blow water out of the mouth.
(burun (subs.) nose.
(post.-pos.) before, previous to. (See the next.
birun (subs.) a surety, bail.
بوري bori (subs.) a wolf.
بوريا boriá (subs.) reed-matting, $P$.
;بوoz (subs.) white cotton cloth.
بوز (adj.) grey (used of animals, also of distance or dawn). بوزا boza (subs.) a weak intoxicating liquor made from various grains, KH.
'بوزأ buzàqh
buzà
(subs.) a calf (? conn. with buz-la-máq).
بوزاكــ buzak
brzao
(boz-bugha (subs.) ginger, Kız.
boz-buqa, the same, Kız.

buzghunj (subs.) a gall-nut found on the pistachio tree, used in dyeing, as a mordant.
[camels \&c.).
 ©
بوزمات buz-máq (v. tr.) to ruin, to destroy, to lay waste, to spoil.
( $b u z-u q$ ( v . adj.) deserted, ruinous; also abandoned or wicked.
buz-uq-luq (subs.) ruinousness, abandonment ; also a desert place.
curact-máq (r. pass.) to be ruined, to be laid waste, to come to grief.
بوس bus (subs.) steam, also fog or mist.
dosaghah (subs.) a threshold (for bosa-gah "the place of kissing" P.).
كـوسما bös-mak (v. tr.) 1. to burst ; 2. to shovel along earth, \&c. with the hands.
bos-ur-máq (v. tr.) to weight, to put a weight on anything to keep it down.
bos-ur-uq (subs.) anything used for weighting down.

雃h (adj.) empty ; also useless, vain (our " bosh").

 charge' a laborious task.
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بوشامات bסsk-a-máq (r. intr.) to be empty, to have discharged a task or duty, to be tired.
 from a task, to acquit oneself, to discharge a duty.
boshuik (subs.) a cradle (either rocking or swinging from the ceiling).
غوغ bügh (subs.) an earthenware trumpet used for giving notice that a mill is at leisure, or public baths are ready, $\mathbf{P}$.
بوغ bugh (subs.) steam.
بوثاز bughaz (subs.) corn (considered as food for animals).
بوغاز bughaz (subs.) a throat, also the axis of an upper millstone where the orifice is.
رغوغر bughaz (adj.) pregnant.
bughaz-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to cut the throat.
bughaz-la-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to cut throats mutually, or in company.
بوغارغاهاتا bughaz-la-máq (v. tr.) to cut the throat, "égorger."
búgh-chi (subs.) a man who blows the búgh.
بوغدالي bughdai (subs.) wheat.
bugh-dur-máq (v. caus.) to cause to seize by the throat.
بوغرا bughra (subs.) a male camel.
bugh-máq (v. tr.) to throttle, to strangle, to constrict the throat of a bag, \&ce.
بوغو bughü (subs.) a stag (Cerous Maral).
بوغوز bughuz, the same as bughaz.
bughuz-la-máq, see bughaz-la-máq.
bugh-ush-máq (v. recip.) to throttle one another.
. $\mathrm{b} w \mathrm{gh}$-ul-maq (v. pass.) to be throttled or strangled; to have the throat constricted by anger (so as not to be able to speak).
$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { بوغور bughum (subs.) } \\ \text { بوغور bughun (subs.) }\end{array}\right\}$ a joint or articulation.
boq (subs.) excrement.
بوقا buqda (subs.) a bull.
buqcha (subs.) a bundle, any cloth used for wrapping up a bundle.
buq-máq (v. intr.) to be concealed behind anything, to lie in ambush.
buqu (subs.) the wooden framework of a plough.
culathorghersh-máq ( $\nabla$. recip.) to conceal oneself one from another.
بوقونهاتص buq-un-máq (v. refl.) to conceal oneself.
فوك buk (subs.) a cap [contr. from burk].
e bukuraiz-mak (v. intr.) to stoop, to bend.
glogs búkur-mak (v. intr.) to moo as a cow.

بوكـاكـ $b u k-m a k$ ( v . tr.) to hem, to sew the edge.
(adv.) to-day [from bú "this" and kön "day]."
بول bul (pron.) this. [reconcile.
© bol-ash-tur-máq (v. recip. caus.) to make peace between, to
cillat-ash-máq (v. recip.) to be reconciled to one another ( $?$ reciprocal form of bol-máq, see bolushmàq).
(búl-ak (adj.) separate, other ; (subs.) a division, a detachment [from bul-mak].

 from one another.
 parcel out.
© ${ }^{\text {Y }}$ بو buláq (subs.) a spring of water.
culalámáq (v. tr.) to stir up, to mix ; also to rob.
بولماكس see
[about."
(bulámiq (subs.) gruel, thick soup made with flour, " stir-
بولأ bulá'n (v. subs.) robbery, pillage.
bula-'n-chi (subs.) a robber.
Filile bulán-mak (v. refl.) to separate oneself ; also to support oneself, to rest upon (iki ulugh tágh-gha bulanip dur-miz $=$ " We rest upon two mighty mountains").
bülaï (subs.) a whet-stone and touch-stone for gold, \&c.
bultur (adv.) last year, during last year.
بولتو bultur-ghi (adj.) belonging to last year.
(ملجها buljáq (subs.) a rendezvous, a station for troops (see)
 a horse to bad condition.
© ${ }^{\text {cherlgha-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to stir. }}$
مولغانشاق bulgha-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to stir one another.
bulgha-máq ( $\mathrm{\nabla}$. tr.) to stir round (as with a spoon) ; to spoil (an affair).
بولثا bolqá (subs.) a small hammer.
bol-máq (v. intr.) to become, to be, also to be done or completed; or conv. to have effected one's purpose; (of a horse) to be done up ; [in the future tenses] to suffice, to subserve, to do, to be good, e. g. bola-dur, " it will do."
: buil-mak (v. tr.) to divide, to partition, to parcel out.
بـولوت bülüt (subs.) a cloud.
bol-ush-tur-máq (v. recip. caus.) to cause to be reconciled to one another.
bol-ush-máq (v. recip.) to be reconciled to one another, lit. to become (one) with one another.
búl-ush-mak (v. recip.) to divide amongst one-another.
بولوم bulum (subs.) strength, firmness; (adj.) strong, firm.
( ${ }^{\text {atulung (subs.) a corner of any enclosed space. }}$
(bolun-máq (pass. form of bol-máq). To understand such an impossible word as bolun-màq "to be become'd" it must be taken merely as the impersonal form (see Gram. p. 80, Syntax, § 14), like the French " on est devena." Thus kitáb-ni oqu'r bolundi would be "one became (on est devenu) about to read the book (the book was about to be read)."
列 (subs.) height, stature, tallness, figure; also length (as of a river) ; also edge, margin; (sometimes used for the river or water-course itself).
بورِاتهاتَ boya-t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to dye.
boya-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to dye one another.
boyá'gh (subs. and adj.) dye; also dyed [from boya-máq].
بو يآئ $\quad$ بو
boyá'q-chi (subs.) a dyer.
بو ياعاق boya-maq (v. tr.) to dye.
boidák (subs. and adj.) bachelor, unmarried, childless; also (of a mare) not having foaled.
boira (subs.) a reed matting, $\mathbf{P}$.
بويراكس büirak (subs.) kidneys, KH.
bóz-la-máq (v. tr.) to measure height, to go over head and ears into; also to move along the length of any thing, " longer" Fr. (from bobi).
boi-luk (adj.) tall, long.
بوئن bùyan (subs.) neck.
bryur-máq (v. tr.) to command, to order; also used respectfully instead of qelmáq" to do" in compounds. Also (the optative bryur-sun-lar) in inviting any one to sit down, or to begin anything, like the Italian "favorisca."
( ${ }^{\text {ب }}$ buyur-uq (subs.) a command, a " firmán."
بو
búyun-tur-uq (subs.) a yoke, a horse-collar, [from búyun, and verbal subs. (form $f$, see Gram. page 53) of verb tür-máq].
bóyi (the definite or possessed form of bồi, which see).
بح (subs.) a head-man among the Kirghiz.

بيدا bédá (subs.) lucerne grass (having purple flowers).
و bédao (adj.) barren (used of women and mares); also of mixed breed.
بيو bir (num.) one.
بيرار birar (adv.) singly, in one.
ernar-ash-mak for bir-ish-mak (v. recip.) to unite in giving.
بيراتٍ beráq (subs.) a small flag or standard.

بيراو birao (subs.) a single one.
بير birla (p. p.) with.
بيرلاتهاكس bir-la-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become of one accord, to reconcile, or bring together.
(vir-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to agree together in one accord.
4
بيركــ birk (adj.) firm, strong, fast.
بيركينماكـــ birk-it-mak (v. comp. tr.) to fasten, to make fast.

 (birk-ish-mak) to confirm one another.

بيركينیاكـ birki'n-mak (v. refl.) to conceal one's self.
 composition with other verbs, as: Koyup-birmak 'to give over' to burning, i. e. to burn, Cf. Hind. jalé déna. With the Present Participle of another verb it implies beginning, e. g. junaï birdi " ho began to go."
biri (adv.) on this side, on the hither side.
C
بيز biz (pron.) we.
بيز bîz (subs.) a gland (especially as found in meat).
بيزاء bézak (subs.) adornment, finery.
بيزاكلانماكس bézak-la-'n-mak ( r . refl.) to adorn oneself.
U bézak-la-mak (v. tr.) to adorn, to beautify.

بيز beagak (subs.) fever and ague.
بيزكالدالbex-galdak (subs.) a small black water-fowl, moor-hen.
بيزلار biz-lar (pron.) we [put into the plural form when several people are spoken of, to distinguish it from the (self-) respectful plural pronoun, biz, (we), used of a single person].
S بيزمكا bez-mak (v. intr.) to become wild, to cease frequenting (a بيشش bésh (num.) five.

بيشار bésk-ar (adv.) by fives.
بيشلمهي bésh-inji (adj.) fifth.
, bésh-ao (subs.) a group of five, a five.
بيشاولأ béshaolan (subs.) a five, all the five, KH. Gaz.
بيشايلاّن
بيشيلـر béshik (subs.) a cradle.
بيقسم béqasam (subs.) a sort of striped silk stuff made in Bokhára, Khojand, Margilan, \&c.

بيكـ Bég (subs.) a chief, a governor.
éég-chi-lik (subs.) rule, chieftainship.
béglit (adj) belonging to the chief.

بيلم bêgim (subs.) the wife of a Beg [also beg-im "my Beg"].
بيكه békah (subs.) the same as bêkach, Khz.

بيكيز bigiz (subs.) an awl.

e bik-in-mak (v. refl.) for birkinmak.
بيل il (subs.) a man's waist.
بيل bel (subs.) a shovel, P.
بيلازورك bilàzuk (subs.) the wrist; also a wristlet, a bracelet, a handcuff, [see بلازوكى].
بيلاذ biak (subs.) a man's forearm.
bila-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to sharpen.
s) bila-'sh-mak ( v . recipe.) to sharpen in company.

Gilalak (v. tr.) to sharpen, to whet.
بيلان bilàn (post-pos.) with [same as bir-lan].
bilaor (subs.) crystal, P.
bilao


e bil-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to know, to explain.

bilqilda-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to quake together.
بيلڤیلض|مان bilqildá-máq (v. intr.) to quake [as a bog or a moss]. بيلقيللاق bilqildàq (subs.) a quaking bog; also a kind of red composition used for rings, buttons, \&c., which gives to th touch.
بيلكو bil-gü (vil. subs.) a mark, an indication, a badge [the future participle of bil-mak].
S bil-mak (v. tr.) to know, to understand ; also to think.
$\ddot{z}$
بيله bilah (post-pos.) with.
بيليكك bil-ik (vil. subs.) knowledge ; also wisdom, [from bil-mak]. بيليكـليكـ bil-ik-lik (vil. adj.) knowing, acquainted with [from billmak].
بييولBiyuk (adj.) high, elevated, KH. GAz.
a بيئ bimah (subs.) a mare which has a foal.

## $\longrightarrow$

pإيّي pàpi (subs.) a deformed dwarf whose head and trunk are of natural size.
vt pat (adv.) quickly [also fat].

باتراتَ pàt-ráq (adv.) more quickly.

, pat man (subs.) a weight of 64 cháraks.
, patingan (subs.) a vegetable, the " brinjal."
پاتوت pàtuk $\}$
pàtic (subs. and adj.) a quagmire ; miry.
${ }^{1}$ Tácha (subs.) the leg below the knee.
gL $\mathrm{\forall}$ pàcháq (subs.) the leg. of an animal.
بإهات pacháq" (subs. and adj.) a dent in a metal kettle or saucepan; also dented.
pà̀chta (subs.) cotton-wool (cleaned of seeds).

باختک pakhtak (subs.) a dove, from $P$.
إ pára (subs.) a bribe, $\mathbf{P}$.
دإِابيرما pára-birmals (v. comp.) to bribe.
טی pára-yémak (v. comp.) to be bribed, lit. to eat bribes.
ג
parcha-la-t-máq (v. tr.) to cause to put in pieces.

जالرما
Tا pàqà (subs.) a frog (see baka).
pàqà-chanáq (subs.) a tortoise (see baqa-chanáq).
باتقاكهات paqàlcháq, the same as baqalchaq.
اقتا paqta, the same as pakhta.
پا pàk (adj.) clean, $\mathbf{P}$.
strollut pak-la-n-mak (v. refl.) to clean one's self, P. T.
ellolt pak-la-mak (v. tr.) to clean, P. T.
پا paki (subs.) a razor.

یالاس pdlàs (subs.) woollen matting.
( palan (subs.) a pack-saddle, $P$.
, palao (subs.) a dish of rice and meat, "pilaw," P.

palluodn (subs.) a strong man, an athlete, a wrestler; also a good sportsman; [from pahlwân, P.]
(\%ai-la-t-máq (v. cans.) to cause to keep watch, to cause to mount guard.

بإِلامات pai-la-máq (v. tr.) to mount guard.
, pailai (subs.) a leather gauntlet for carrying hawks, tc.
рй pakhta, see pakhta.
pukhta (adj.) experienced, careful, P.
partál (subs.) a horse laden with personal necessaries, (? P.), 8

دص pas (adv.) behind; also (adj.) for past, low, inferior, mean, base, $\mathbf{P}$.
صעته pista (subs.) a pistachio nut.
(sis pista (subs.) a terrier, a small Chinese pug, any small dog.
Lick pas-kanah (adj.) little and mean, base, dirty [past, with diminutive affix kana or ghina], P. T.
pas-Kunah, the same as pas-kanah.
Pا
پو pupuk (subs.) a tassel.
هو
put (subs.) leg, foot [also fut].
putáq (subs.) a branch, a twig.
[write.
Plo pit-tar-mak (v. caus.) to cause to trust; 2 , to cause to (piit-mak (v. tr.) to trust, to believe ; 2. to finish, to accomplish ; 3. also for pit-mak (which see).
. proit-üsh-mak (v. recip.) to trust one-another ; 2. to write to one another.
عـوتوما puitui-mak (v. tr.) to write [for pit-mak].
קوتوى puitiln (adj.) complete, entire.
קوج püch (adj.) empty, without kernel ; stupid, empty-headed.
pucháq (subs.) the rind (of a fruit).
كـو
puchqáq (subs.) the leg-skin of a fox, wolf, \&c., of which fur-robes are made.
puchuq (subs. and adj.) a noseless man ; noseless, snubnosed.
پ. $p u<k h r a-t-m a ́ q$ (v. caus.) to cause to sneeze [used of flies teasing a horse's nose].
(v. recip.) to sneeze together, [when the horses of a Kazzak expedition do this it is considered a bad omen].
vich $p$ vikra-máq (v. intr.) to sneeze (used of a horse or camel). pur (adj.) rotten, unsound. پwrdáq (subs.) fat, Y.

purkhura-t-máq, see pulkhrat-máq.
purkhura-'sh-máq, see pukhrash-máq.
purkhura-máq, see pukhra-máq.
(postak (subs.) a fur mat, P. T.
postin (subs.) a fur robe, P.
留 pos-dumba (subs.) the fat of the "dumba" sheep's tail together with its skin (which is all eaten) [corr. from post-i-dumba, P.]
(posh-posh (interj.) used in clearing the road for a great $\operatorname{man}[P$ from poshidan, " to hide,"] P.
, وشانكـ pushang (subs.) a lever [especially one used for raising a mill-stone].
, push-maq ( $\mathrm{\nabla}$. intr.) to be melancholy or disturbed in mind.
pish-mak ( v . intr.) to become cooked ; to ripen.
push-ur-máq (v. caus.) to cause to become melancholy, to vex.
push-ür-make (v. caus.) to cause to become cooked, to cook (tr.) ; to cause to ripen.
(vish refl) to vex one's self.
, puk (subs.) excrement, dung.
ورقات puqáq (subs.) a goitre.
puk (adj.) hollow, empty (used of fruit, \&cc.).
pukilda-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to sound hollow (by tapping or stamping, \&c.)
, pukilda-make (v. intr.) to sound hollow, to give a hollow sound.
p pul (subs.) a copper coin [the fiftieth part of a tanga which $=5$ pence, about] ; also money in general, $P$.
pul-luq (adj.) costing money, dear, expensive ; possessed of money, rich, P. T.
all piàlak (subs.) a cup, also oulg. weed for glass, as pialah. aina, " looking-glass," P.
بيت pit (subs.) a louse. labour of writing).
Shiير pit-mak (v. tr.) to write.

entitik (v. subs.) a writing.
" pichàq (subs.) a knife (vl. subs from pich-mak).
pichak (subs.) a creeper, a plant which runs up trees and dies down in winter.
بيلخ pichan (subs.) hay, any dried fodder.
pich-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to cut out.

STMich-mak (v. tr.) to cut out any stuff to make a garment, \&c. ; to carve.
vis (subs. and adj.) spotted with leprosy ; also of animals with a similar appearance, KH .
dan pisah (subs. and adj.) The same.
d pega or peiga (subs.) a horse-race (generally over many miles of distance).
piltah (subs.) the match of a match-lock gun, the cotton wick of a candle or lamp, $\mathbf{P}$.
pilla (subs.) a cocoon (of the silk-worm).
pilic (subs.) a candle-wick.
ש païmàn (subs.) a bushel, a measured (not weighed) quantity of grain, \&c. [see next].
diving païmànah (subs.) a bushel, a measure of capacity (varying in size), $\mathbf{P}$.
( ${ }^{\infty}$
تابا taba (subs.) a flat iron pan for cooking, $P$.
تالمات tabdq (subs.) a dish, A.
تانی tapan (subs.) the sole of the foot.
تإتورمات tàp-tur-mdq (v. caus.) to cause to find, to cause to produce.
 marry one-another without the intervention of friends or agents.
 to put under any-one's charge.
تإيقوهي tap-qu-chi (subs.) a finder.
(tab-la-'t-màq (v. tr.) to cause to twist (cloth or rope), to cause to wring.
cilalily tab-la-'sh-màq (v. recip.) to twist ropes in company [takes four men, three at one end to twist the strands, and one man at the other end to twist the united rope].
cichlolitab-la-màq (v. tr.) to twist, to twine, to wring.
تآثات tàp-màq (v. intr.) to find, to meet with; to receive, to obtain.
Hiol' tapp-ush (v. subs.) findings, earnings, gain [from tàp-màq].
تآيوت tàp- $\imath q$ ( v . subs.) winnings (at play) [from tap-maq).
نإِونماتّ tàpu'n-màq (v. refl.) to worship [ $P$ from obsolete tàpu-màq " to serve"] quasi to serve by one's own life.
تاتالامات tata-la-màq (v. tr.) to scatch or tear with the nails or claws.

cilat-màq (v. tr.) for tàrt-màq (which see).
تآتيتَهت tat-i't-màq (v. caus.) to cause to taste.
تاتيشَمات tàt-i-'sh-màq (v. caus.) to taste together.
tat-i-màq (v. tr.) to taste.
(تأهي خوراز tàj-i-khurdàz (subs.) lit. a cock's comb: the name of a plant, ( $P$ " Prince's feather"), corr. P.
Tajik (pr. name) the existing original Arian (Iranian) population of Western Central Asia, and their language; (opposed to Turk as ' $A r a b$ is to ' $A j a m$ ).
تانتا takhta (subs.) a plank, a board, a shelf, P.
tir (adj.) tight, close, confined, narrow.
تاراتمات tara-t-màq (v. tr.) 1. For tarqa-'-t-màq (which see).
2. To cause to comb [from tara-màq], Kız.
cilaill tara-'sh-màq (v. recip.) 1. Ffor tarqa-'sh-màq, Kaz.
2. To comb one's hair together, or for one-another.
ailfï tardshah (subs.) a chip, a shaving; also a broad piece of wood used for punishing people by the Chinese, $\mathbf{P}$.
تارات tardq (subs.) a comb.

( ${ }^{\text {( }}$ taram (subs.) a divarication, or branching off of one stream into many (as in a broad flat bed or in a delta). [? The name Tarim-gol for the River of Eastern Turkistán may be derived from this word, as it would express the characteristic of that River better than the word tarim $=$ cultivated].
ت゙lol, ('̆ tarc-màq (v. tr.). 1. Ffor tarqa-màq, Kaz. 2. To comb.
(5aran (subs.) a root used in tanning.
 applied to the Turki colonists in the country of Ila (Kulja), [from tari-màq].
tarbuz (subs.) a water-melon, $\mathbf{P}$.
تاربوغوز tar-bughuz (subs.) a gorge, the entrance to a ravine; lit. " narrow-throat" (see the words).
"إريّ tarpi (subs.) carrion.
tart-ish-màq (v. recip.) to pull against one-another (to "play French and English').
tart-màq (v. tr.) to draw, to pull ; also to draw lines or figures; to draw out ; to lead out (an army); to weigh.
تارتوت tartuq (subs.) tribute ; the yearly offerings made by a local governor, \&c. to his superior chief (so called because drawn out, as it were, from the country).
تارارات tàr-ràq (adj. comp.) narrower, more tight.
تارقاتهات tarqa-'t-màq (v. caus.) to cause to disperse.
 depart from one another.
تارتالهات tarqa-'l-màq (v. pass.) to be scattered.
تارقامات tarqa-màq (v. intr.) to disperse, to scatter.
تارليت tàr-liq (subs.) narrowness, tightness.


تاربلكو tari－l－gu（v．adj．）cultivable．
تاريم tarim（adj．）cultivated，that has been cultivated．
تآرّات tari－màq（v．tr．）to cultivate．
＂ F taz（subs．）scald－head，＇Impetigo capitis．＇
Ij ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ tazza（adj．）fresh，new，in good condition，strong，$P$ ．
تازلاتمات taza－la－＇t－màq（v．caus．）to cause to renew，\＆c．
 company．
जoyljl＂tàza－la－màq（v．tr．）to renew，to mend，to strengthen．
（ ${ }^{\text {تازغوu tazzghun（subs．）a stream，a flood．［Specially applied as }}$ the proper name of a River and district 14 miles south of Kàshghar．］
＇تأزي tàzi（subs．）a greyhound，P．
jilj tash（subs．）a stone，（also a stone used for weighing），a mile－ stone［the distance indicated is also called sang（ $=$ stone， P．）or farsakh，A．and is nominally 12,000 paces or about 5 miles．］
$\mathcal{S}^{\prime \prime}$ task（subs．and adj．）the outside，outside．
 country．
تانشاريـ tash－q＇－ari（adv．）outside．［See Gram．p． 65 and ff．］
تأشقوس tàsh－qun（subs．）a flood in a stream．

 throw together，to stone．
ciolali tash－la－màq（v．tr．）1．to throw，to throw away，met．to abandon，to reject（qu．from tàsh，a stone as a missile） 2．to put outside，viz．，to line，to cover．
تأ⿰亻⿱丶⿻工二灬 tish－liq（adj．）stony．
 robe，or of a mattrass，\＆c．

تاشُمات tàsh-màq (v. intr.) to overflow the brim, to boil over, to surge over.
تانُ يانج tàsh-yàni [short for tàsh-ning yàn-i] (subs.) the outside.
تاشيق tàsh-iq (vl. subs.) an overflow, a boiling over, a flood.
تأشيمات tashi-màq (v. tr.) to transport by repeated efforts, (as ants carrying away grain).

تاغا tagha (subs.) a relation by the mother's side.
تاغار taghar (subs.) a bag, a sack.
تان tàq (subs.) a single one, an odd number (opposed to juft, P. "pair" or " even").
$\mathrm{GF}^{\mathrm{F}} \mathrm{taqa}$ (subs.) a horse-shoe ; an odd article (out of pair).
تاقالشمات taqa-'sh-mdq (r. recip.) to strike or press against oneanother (qu. for toqush-màq which see); to oppress any one with much talking, to bore.
taqta (subs.) For takhta.
تاتقورمات tàq-tur-màq (v. caus.) to cause to hang anything on to a person or animal.
taq-cha (subs.) a shelf formed by a recess in a wall.
تاقمان tàq-màq ( ( F . tr.) to hang anything on to a person or animal, (as a charm or a locket).
تاقور taqur (subs.) a desert whose soil is hard and smooth. Kas. تاقوشْعاق taq-'ush-màq (v. recip.) to hang things on to one another's person.
نا tak (subs.) a vine, KH.
KLi taka (subs.) a buck goat, a buck antelope.
 a single one of any long objects, e. g. بر تال موي "a single hair," برگال اوق "a single arrow."
تالادا talada (adr.) out of doors.
( ${ }^{\text {U }}$ tal-tal (adj.) bushy, full (used of a woman's hair, or a horse's tail, or of fringe).
tala-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to pillage.
to tala-'sh-tur-maq (v. recipe. caus.) to set a fighting (of dogs). تالا intala'sh-maq (v. recip.) lit. to rob one-another, to fight together (of dogs, \&c.).
tala-maq ( $\mathrm{\nabla}$. tr.) to pillage, to rob ; to fight (of animals).
"الأ alan (subs.) pillage, a pillaging.
تالزانماتى tala-'n-maq (v. pass.) to be pillaged.
Tala (subs.) a fatal illness of horses, Kay.
تالثونهات talpuln-mdq (v. intr.) to flutter, to struggle.
تالعّان talqan (subs.) parched grain ground into flour. Hindi, ' sattu.'
$p^{(G \text { tam (subs ) a wall. }}$
chilli tamaq (subs.) the throat; also food (ready for eating).
UR tambala
تانسبأ tamban $\}$ (subs.) trousers, drawers, P.
تأتهـي tam-chi (subs.) drippings, water oozing through the roof and falling by drops.
"أمهي tàm-chi (subs.) a wall-builder, a mason, [from tam-maq].
تات tam-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to drip, to pour out by drops.
تامغاس tamghan (subs.) a branding iron.
تامصاتّ tam-màq (v. intr.) to drip, to fall by drops.

$\left.\begin{array}{c}\text { تاموت tamug } \\ \text { تاموت tam }\end{array}\right\}$ (subs.) hell.
tam-it-maq (v. caus.) to cause to drip. The same as tam-dur-mak.
"تانا $\operatorname{tana}$ (subs.) a heifer or young bull, (a calf in the second year).
تاندوروات tan-dwr-maq (v. caus.) to cause to deny.
تا"تس tanswq (subs.) a longing, a desire.
تانسوقلامثى tansuq-la-maq (v. tr.) to long for.
تانگ tang (subs.) dawn, daybreak.
9

تازی tang (interj.) an exclamation implying astonishment ; "you don't say so !" or " indeed."
تانكcing-at-maq (v. comp. intr.) to dawn, to break (said of the day) [from tang "dawn," and at-maq" to shoot;" with reference to the rays of light].
tang-dur-maq (v. caus) to cause to bind.
tangsuq (subs.). The same as tansuq.
نانُغه قالماق. ment, to be amazed.
"انظl tangla (subs.) to-morrow, the morrow; 2. a large wooden vessel for washing clothes, and mixing dough in.
tang-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to select, to offer to the choice.
tang-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) 1. to select in company; 2. to be astonished.
.
تانكهات tang-maq (v. tr.) to bind a bundle, or any inanimate things, also a broken limb. [thing denied].
تانماتٌ tan-maq (v. intr.) to give denial to [takes ga after the تانرت tanük (v. subs.) recognition.
تانوقلوت tanüq-luq (v. adj.) recognised (from following).
تانوماتخ tani-maq (v. tr.) to recognise.
تانوشّماق tanü-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to recognise one another.
تانيشمهات tan-ish-maq (v. recip.) to deny one another, or to one another.
تالنيغليت tan-igh-liq (v. adj.) denied.
تازيمهات tani-maq (v. tr.). The same as taniu-maq.
تأر tao (subs.). The same as tagh, Kaz.
ilawa (subs.) a shallow pan for cooking in.
تاوالازنمات tawa-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to cry out.
تاوالالشمات tawa-lan'sh-maq (v. recip.) to clamour or scold at one another.
تاوالاهات tawa-la-maq (v. intr.) to clamour, to cry out.

تاوشقان taushqan (subs.) a hare.
تاوت tauq (subs.) a fowl.
تارلاتمات tav-la-'t-maq (v. caus.): The same as tab-la-'t-maq.
(v. rec.). Same as tab-la-'sh-maq.

隹 tai (subs.) a young horse in the second year.
"taya-taya (pres, part.) slipping and sliding [pron. taï-maq].
تايات tay- $A q$ (subs.) a walking-stick.
tai-khar (subs.) a young donkey, T. P.
"الغات taï-ghak (adj.) slippery ; also given to slipping.
تايغان taï-ghan (subs.) a greyhound.
تايثّق tai-laq (subs.) a young camel (in the 2nd year):
تايمات tai-maq (v. intr.) to slip, to slide.
تاينهـا taiz-ncha (subs.) a heifer in the 2nd year, Kaz.
tay-üsh-maq (v. recip.) to slide together, to amuse oneself by sliding on ice, or by sliding down a kind of " Montagne Russe."
tibra-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to shake, to cause to remove itself.
تكبراشهالs tibra-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to shake together.
تنبرامال" tibra-mak (v. intr.) to shake, to move.

تبيست tiibit [pron. tibit] (subs.) the down of the shawl-goat, [of which the finest in the world comes from Turfan].
تُراتماكـ titra-'t-mak (v. eaus.) to tremble.
titra-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to tremble together.
Elolitra-mak (v. intr.) to tremble, to quake, to shiver.
takhi (conj.) moreover, further, again.
تراكت tiorak [pron. trek] (subs.) a prop, a support.
ESTiursak [pron. tirsak] (subs.) the elbow.

تُردِكـى ليكـ türik-lik (subs.) life.

تز tüz [pron. tix] (subs.) knee.


تزالاشمالت taza-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to kneel opposite one another.
St
Saca-la-n-mak (v. refl.) to seat one's self in a kneeling position (sitting back on one's heels, the usual Turki sitting posture).

mj tas or tis (adv.) with difficulty, hardly.
تش tüsh [pron. tish] (subs.) tooth.
ת tüsh-a.'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to renew the teeth, spocially to file the teeth of a saw.
ת set of toeth (both of men and animals).

تقصير tagsir (interj.) lit. fault "culpa mea," A.; but used as a term of respect to a great man, equivalent to "Your Excellency," "Your Highness" (as if to excuse one's self beforehand for addressing a person of such dignity).
Etaqi (adr.) moreover. The same as takhi.
تك tuikan [tikan] (subs.) a thorn.
تگتورماكس tük-tur-mak [tik-twr-mak] (v. caus.) to cause to sew, \&c.
تلاتماكس tiuk-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to set upright.
تאلاشماكس tuik-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to join together in setting upright.
$\int$ Sblulk tula-mak (v. tr.) to raise any long object into a vertical position, to set upright [see tiklamak].
 at [governs gha].
تكاك tük-mak [tik-mak] (v. tr.) to sew, to fasten, to fix, to plant ; to stake (at play).
تאيشماكــ tük-ish-mak [tik-ish-mak] (v. recip.) to sew together, \&c.

كيلماكـ tük-il-mak [tik-il-mak] (v. pass.) to be sewn, \&c., also to have one's eyes fixed on any thing, to stare [cf. "fixer," Fr.]
Fag (subs.) bottom [tag-ida " beneath"].
تل tïl [til] (subs.) tongue ; also language.
تالاتهـكـ till [til]-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to vituperate.
تلlill till]-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to scold or abuse one another.
Sy tuilak [tilak] (v. subs) an earnest desire, a prayer, [from tilamak].
cila talaq (subs.) the supra-renal capsule [a gland situated above the kidneys].
تlill [til]-la-mak (v. tr.) to scold or abuse, to "give the rough side of one's tongue" [from tül].
[laila-mak [tila-mak] (v. tr.) to desire, to wish for ; also to request, to ask for.
تلمُك tilpak (subs.) a fur cap, with a covering of cloth or silk, and fur edging round the head.
تلفُك tilfak (subs.). The same as tilpak.
تمات tümak (subs.) a fur cap extending down over the ears.
U tuman (num.) ten thousand.
تمغانّ tamghdq (subs.) the fur of the throat of a lynx, fox, \&e.
[being fine, robes are made of a collection of such furs].
تمغi tamgha (subs.) a branding iron.
tünj [tinj] (adj.) happy, at ease.
tünji-liq [tinj-liq] happiness.
${ }^{8}$ تُندي tandak (subs.) a long thread prepared for the warp of a stuff to be woven, $\mathbf{P}$.
تنلنور tandur (subs.) an oven, $\mathbf{P}$.
تik tana-kar (subs.) borax, P.
Hiت tang (subs.) a girth, $\mathbf{P}$.
تنكوي tangri (subs.) God. [Little used in Yarkand, \&c.]
تلُلاماكس tang-la-mak (v. tr.) to present, to offer, Y.
تلمه tangah (subs.) a money of account used in Turkistán, consisting of 25 small copper "cash" (of Chinese make with square holes though them) called dahchán, each of which is worth two pul (imaginary coin). The value of the tangak varies constantly in the bazars according to the number of tangak that may be given for a kurs (a Chinese silver ingot weighing about 2 lbs ., and worth about 170 Rupees). Sometimes the number reaches 1100 and sometimes falls as low as 800 . The Amir of Kâshghar has lately supplied the lack of small silver coinage, by issuing silver coins worth a tangah each, and called ak-tangah (white tangahs) after the model of the Khokand and Bokhâra coins so-called, but in the name of the Sultan of Turkey; they are current at a small premium. The Khosan tangah consists of 50 copper shu-chan, which are only slightly smaller than the Yarkand dah-chan. Consequently a Khosan tangak is worth nearly twice as much as a Yarkand or Kashghar one.

The word tangah is also used for the 'scales' of a fish.
تíg tanur (subs.) an oven, P.
تine tanidah (subs.) Same as tandah, P.
تو turoa (subs.) a two-humped camel [the sort more usual is East Turkistân], Kirghiz.
turodq (subs.) a lid, cover of a saucepan.
turoaq (subs.) a hoof [same as tuyaq].
tiub (subs.) a root (used also in counting trees; as $\bar{o} c k$ tüb darakht "three trees"); also the bottom of anything. [Used as a comp. post-pos.; e. g., kazan-ning tiib-i-da " in the bottom of the saucepan]."
" e. g., din tuban or ning tuban-i-da "below ;'r also as an adv. absolutely].
( ${ }^{\text {توبانراكس }}$ tiban-rak (adv.) more below. Also (post-pos.) din tuban-rák " lower than."
تُïliban-lash (adv.) downwards. [ceiling of a room.
توبروكـ tübüriukc [tübriuk] (subs.) a pillar or prop supporting the توبوركس tuburuk. (subs.). The same as tubruk.

تُوت top (subs.) a cannon.
top (subs.) a definite quantity (of anything) ; e. g., a ' piece' of cloth, a ' herd' of cattle, \&c.
توب tôp (subs.) a ball used by children for playing.
$\mathrm{H}^{\mathrm{E}}$ topa (subs.) earth, dust.
تربأث tobáq (subs.) the cover of a saucepan.
توبالاتهاكس topa-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to heap up.
تربالاشماكــ topa-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to heap up together.

 horses).
تولهي top-chi (subs.) an artillery man, a gunner.
توليجي top.chi (subs.) a row of buttons on the breast of a robe.
تgupah (subs.) the top, also height [used as a comp. post-pos.; e. g., tagh-ning tupa-si-da on the top of the mountain].

تويورماك tupur-mak (v. tr.) to spit, to spit out.
تويوروركـ tupuruk (subs.) spittle, saliva.
topi (subs.) a skull-cap.
نوت tut (subs.) mulberry, P.
تونانُ tut-ash (adj.) touching, contiguous.
"tut-ash-tur-maq (v. recip. caus.) to cause to ignite.
(tut-ash-maq (v. recip.) to lay hold of, to kindle, to ignite [used only of fire ; and governs gha].
tut-am (subs.) a measure of length, the length covered by the clenched hand, a "hand."
توتاملاتمات tut-am-la-'t-maq (v. tr.) to cause to measure by noting the successive lengths covered by the hand grasping the object.
© ${ }^{\text {G }}$ tut-am-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to compare measurements thus taken.
ciolotiontam-la-maq (v. tr.) to measure by grasping in the fist.
"توتقوّ tut-qun (subs.) captivity.
tut-luq-maq (v. intr.) to stutter.
توتُات tut-maq ( $\mathrm{\nabla}$. tr.) to grasp, to seize, to take.
 other; viz. to cause to wrestle.
توتوشُمات tut-ush-maq (v. recip.) to grasp one another, to wrestle. توتولهات tut-ul-maq (\%. pass.) to be seized; also to be eclipsed (of the sun and moon).
توتون tutun (subs.) smoke.
توتونمات $t w t-u n-m a q$ ( F. refl.) to be seized with astonishment.
توتي toti (subs.) a pony, a small baggage horse.
توتّيّ toti (gubs.) a parrot, $P$.
تو tuck (subs.) brass.
tuch-kur-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to sneeze.


تو tuchkur-uk (v. subs.) a sneeze.
توختاتمات tokhta-'t-maq (v. caus) to cause to stop.
tokhta-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to stop together.
cilolothta-maq (v. intr.) to stop, to halt.
توخمات tokhmaq (subs.) a mallet. For toqmaq. توضو tokhii (subs.) a fowl.
tokhum (subs.) an egg, a seed.
توغوماكـ tokhumak (subs.) a seed used in dyeing (yellow and red).
تو tokhi (subs.) a fowl.
تور tur (subs.) a net, P.
تو tur (subs.) the place of honour (in a company, \&c.).
تورا tura (subs.) a Chief (among the Kalmaks) ; a Prince, a descendant of an independent sovereign, or of the

Prophet (sometimes). Amir Timur in his Autobiography applies the term to the descendants of Chingiz Khan, the then sovereign house. The family, which almost exclusively enjoys the title in Eastern Turkistân, is that derived from Makhdum $\mathbf{L}^{\prime} z z i m$, an eminent Sâyad and saint of Western Turkistân who, in the 16th century of our era, married a Kashgharian lady, a descendant of Satuq Bughra Khan [one of the early kings of Kâshghar said to be of the race of Afrasiab, and whose descendants ruled till they were displaced by the KaraKhatai power of the Gurkhân]. 'The family of Makhdum A'zim held sway in East Turki chiefly by virtue of the religious veneration felt for them, till they were ousted by the Chinese in the middle of last century, and have since made many attempts to regain it. (They are also termed "Khwaja" (pron. Khoja) which is the term applied to the offspring between a Sâyad and a woman of any other family who are not Sâyads). [Probably of Mongol derivation.]
تورالهالـ tura-'l-mak (v. pass.) to be born, to be increased in numbers [said of the generations of men or animals].
Stura-mak ( F . intr.) to increase in numbers [said of the progenitor]
turba (subs.) a nose-bag [for feeding horses] (for tobra).
تورص tört (num.) four.
تورتاو tört-ao (subs.) a four.
تورّْالالّ tört-ao-lan (subs.) a four, Kaz.
تورتاوي tört-awi (subs.) a four, KAz.
"تورتابلان tört-ä̈lan (subs.) a four.


تورتماكـ turt-mak (v. tr.) to poke, to prod (as a sleeping man, to awaken him).
تورتوشَا twrt-ush-mak (v. recip.) to poke at one-anothor.
10
elort-un-mak (v. refl.) to poke at one's self [used of the Russians crossing themselves], Kaz.
Slonerorgitur-dür-mak (v. caus.) to cause to wind up, [from turmak]. tursuq (subs.) a leather water bottle, Kaz.
تورغالي turghai (subs.) a lark.
tur-ghuz-maq (v. caus.) to cause to stand up, to arouse. توزغون tur-ghun (adj.) tame [from tur-maq " to remain"].
تورقا turqa (adj.) silken (used for the stuff of a kind of sieve).
"تور) tur-la-maq (v. tr.) to net (stitch) ; also to catch in a net.
تورy tur-la-mak (v. tr.) to change appearance, attributes or accompaniments, A. T.
el'ilyr-la-'n-mak (v. refl.) to change one's own appearance or attributes or accompaniments, A. T.
توزلوكــ tur-luk (adj.) various, diverse, [probably from taur, A.]. تورمات tur-maq (v. intr.) to stand, to rise on to one's feet, to remain, to stay [from the Continuative Participle of this verb a corrupted form, $d u r$, is in use as an auxiliary which has acquired the simple meaning of "is." See Gram.].

نورن turna (subs.) a large bird with a long neck (? a crane), KH. Kaz.
tur-wsh-maq (v. recip.) to stand together, to rise up together.
تُوروشها tur-ush-mak (จ. recip.) to wind up together.
$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { تورغ turugh } \\ \text { تُوروت turuq }\end{array}\right\}$ (adj.) bay [the colour of a horse].
تورولWاكـ tur-ul-mak (v. pass.) to be wound or rolled up.
'تورور turum (subs.) an axle and socket (of a wheel), a door socket.
تورومطانى turumtai (subs.) a sparrow-hawk.
توروزهاثق tur-un-maq (v. refl.) to fix one's self [not in common use, but the probable origin of the name "Irongami," quasi
turusn-gan " one who fixes himself," corrected to trungan and Tungan " a settler or colonist"] ; from tur-maq" to stand."
y turah (subs.). The same as turd.
توز tüz (adj.) straight, direct, right.
"وز tuz (subs.) salt.
joz (subs.) the thin sheets of bark of the mountain birch tree, used as paper.
"توزاتّورماكــ tüz-a't-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to make right.

tuuz-a't-mak (v. tr.) to make right, to mend.
توزالهاكس tüz-a'l-mak (v. pass.) to be made right, to become right.
توزات tuzdq (subs.) a springe, a horse hair loop for catching birds.
tozan (subs.) dust in the air.
cold toz-dur-maq (v. caus.) to raise the dust.
toz-dur-maq (v. caus.) to wear out (clothes).
Slogion tuzz-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to make straight.
توزغات tozgh $d q$ (subs.) the cotton-like seed pods of a certain reed.
توزليّت ttiz-liq (adj.) salt, tasting salt.
توزليكــ tuiz-lik (subs.) straightness.
تُوْ toz-maq (v. intr.) to rise in clouds (said of dust).
توزمات toz-maq ( $\mathrm{F} . \mathrm{intr}$ ) to wear out, to become old.
Stiz-mak (v. intr.) to be enduring, to be patient [governs gha].
توزما tüz-mak ( F . tr.) to straighten, to make straight.
توزوكـ tulk-ak (subs. and adj.) arrangement, order, institution; straight, arranged, orderly, correct. [Cf. the "Tuzük Timuri" so-called].
تُوس tüs (subs.) appearance.
(subs.) the thin sheets of bark of the mountain birch. tree. See toz.
tostaghan (subs.) a small wooden cup, Kız.
cict tos-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to arrest, to get (any-one) stopped.
ت゙ tos-maq (v. tr.) to stop, to arrest.
تؤن tüsh (subs.) a dream, a vision.
tilsh (subs.) direction.
تؤن tüsh (subs.) mid-day.
تونٌ tösh (subs.) breast, chest.
توشاكسـ tosha'k (verbal subs.) bed, bedding.
( tosha-'l-mak ( v . pass.) to be spread, to be laid out ; [used of any thing for sitting or lying upon].
تونLlosha-mak (v. tr.) to spread, to lay out [as above].
تؤماماكــ tiish-a-mak (v. tr.) to dream of, to see in a dream.

"توشُفان taushqan (subs.) a hare.
توشولنماكس tüsh-la-'n-mak (v. refl.) to eat the mid-day meal with any one.
tush-luq (subs. and adj.) equivalent.
توtithh-lïk (subs.) the mid-day meal.
Stioh-mak ( V . intr.) to descend, to come down, to get off, to settle down [joined with other words to indicate various meanings, of which tüsh-mak supplies the element "down." Thus at-din tüsh-mak " to dismount ;" tush-üp-ul-turmaq " to sit down"; yaqilip tuish-mak" to fall down"; tüsh-up $q a l-m a q$ " to remain fallen" i. e., " to have fallen off]."
SHish-ür-mak (v. caus.) to cause to descend, \&cc., Etakes the place of tüsh-mak in transitive compounds, as tüshür-üp sdlmaq " to throw down"].
"توشوكــ tushuk (subs.) a hole, an aperture.
توشوكـ tüsh-ïk (subs.) a loss at play, losings (from tüsh-mak).
تُوشومات toshu-maq. (See tashi maq.)
tugh (subs.) a yak's tail fastened at the top of a long stick
and used as the standard of a military officer of rank (not below that of Pansad or chief of five hundred) ; also to mark the graves of saintly personages.
togha (subs.) a D-shaped buckle (without pin) attached to surcingles and girths.
俍 toghachi (subs.) a head-man, chief of an encampment or village, Kaz.
"togha-naq (subs.) a wooden square buckle used in fastening on a camel's load, Kaz.
toghäi (subs.) a plain covered with reeds.
توغدورمات tugh-dur-maq (v. caus.) to beget.
toghra-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to cut up small, to cause to mince.
توغرالثهات toghra-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to cut up together.
toghraghu (subs.) a juice exuding from the toghraq tree, and used as leaven in baking.
toghraq (subs.) a kind of Poplar tree.
توغرام toghra'm (verbal subs.) a morsel.
cig toghra-maq (v. tr.) to cut up small, to mince.
توغري toghri (adj.) straight.
توغقان tugh-qan [pron. tuq-qan] (subs.) a relation, a relative; [bir tugh-qan applies to brothers and sisters (of one generation); iki tugh-qan applies to first cousins, i.e., born of parents who were brothers or sisters (lit. two generations), and so on. This may be translated " related in the first, second, third, \&c., degree"].
tugh-luq (adj.) possessed of the tugh, i. e., entitled to carry the insignia of military rank. [Several Turkish Princes have borne this title, as, Tughluq Timur Khan, \&c.]
tugh-ma (subs.) a slave bred in the house; the child of slave parents.
توغهات tugh-maq (v. intr.) to give birth to, to bear [takes the object merely prefixed without the mark of the accusative: as, ughul tugh-di" she bore a son"].

تونــ tuf (subs.) saliva.
toff (subs.). For tóp.
" $t u f a$ (subs.). For tupa.
tofa (subs.). For topa.
توفرات tofraq (subs.) dust, earth, Kн.
توموروك tufuruk (subs.) saliva.
توت toq (adj.) satiated, sated.
توقا toqa (subs.). The same as togha.
تُوقا toqach (subs.) a small biscuit.
توقال toqal (subs.) the junior wife ; also a hornless cow, Kaz-
توقاكي toqai (subs). The same as toghaï.
toqta-'t-maq (v. caus.). The same as tokhtatmaq.
توقتاشهاتت toqta-'sh-maq (v. recip.). The same as tokhtashmaq.
toqta-maq (v. intr.). The same as tokhta-maq.
توقسابا toq-saba (subs.). The title of civil official of rank [according to Prof. Vámbéry, derived from tugh + sahib].
"وقسان toqsan (num.) ninety [qu. töqös " nine," + un " ten]." toqsan-inchi (num. adj.) ninetieth.
tuq-qan (subs.). The same as tugh-qast.
توقمات toqmaq (subs.) a mallet.
"توقماقجّ toqmaq-chi (subs.) a man who uses a mallet, or who makes them.
توقماقتلامات toqmaq-la-maq (v. tr.) to strike with a mallet or with any heavy object.
توقوتمات toqu-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to weave.
toqöz (num.) nine.
توموزاولأ toqة̈z-aolan (num. subs.) a nine, Kaz.
توقوزايلاّ toqöz-ailan (num. subs.) a nine.

"وقونهاتّ toq-ush-maq (v. recip.) to strike or brush against one another [qu. from an obsolete verb toq-maq " to strike," which has survived in the Osmanli dialect].
toqu-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to weave in company.
توقوم toqum (subs.) a felt put under the saddle.
توقومات toqu-maq (v. tr.) to weave.
توك tuk (subs.) hair on men or animals' bodies (exclusive of beard, hair of the head, mane, tail, \&c., which have separate names).
توكر tokar (adj.) lame.
توكي tokai (subs.) leggings reaching up to the thighs, CHin. (?).
' tuk-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to empty by pouring out.
segrak-mak (v. tr.) to empty by throwing out the contents.
E ${ }^{\text {E }}$ tuk-ur-mak (v. tr.) to spit.
توكورو! tukuruk (subs.) saliva.
تورا tuga (subs.) a camel, [the variety is specified by prefixes :
as airi-tuga the double humped camel, and nar tuga the single humped camel].
توكاتمالtrga-'t-mak ( F . caus.) to cause to come to an end, to conclude, to finish (tr.).
توكارالت tugarak (subs. and adj.) circuit ; circular.
stuga-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to come to a conclasion mutually, to come to terms together.
ertuga-'l-mak (v. pass.) to be finished [the sense of the Pass. taken from the Causative].
Etuga-mak (v. intr.) to come to an end.
Stuga-'n-mak (v. refl.) to finish itself, or one's self, [practically almost equivalent to the passive].
توكا tugma (subs.) a button.
tiug-mak (v. tr.) to tie in a knot.
توكور tügün (subs.) a knot (not a bow).
etügin-chak (subs.) a knot enclosing any small object [as when money is tied up inside a knot in the turban or sash].
"tiul (subs.) the total of the lambs produced in each year from a flock of sheep; the year's increase of the flock.

تول tul (adj.) widowed.
y tola (adj. and adv.) many, much, very.
elola-'t-tur-mak (v. caus. redupl.) to cause to compensate.
stola-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to compensate.
ertola-sh-mak (v. recip.) to compensate one-another.
elley tola-mak (v. tr.) to compensate, to make up for a loss of property.
tol-dwr-maq ( v . caus.) to fill.
colgha-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to twist.
tolgha-'q (vl. subs.) labour [of a woman with child].
tolgha-maq (v. tr.) to twist, to twirl [generally applied to things which resist the process and require force, whereas tâu-la-maq applies to materials which yield easily].
تولغانهات tolgha-'n-maq (v. refl.) to twist one's self, to writhe.
تولقوس tolqun (subs.) a wave, a breaker.
تولقوزلامات tolqun-la-maq (v. intr.) to break into waves, to surge up.
tülki (subs.) a large yellow variety of fox.
تولماق tol-maq (v. intr.) to be full.
تولوم tulum (subs.) a goat-skin taken off entire, freed of hair and otherwise prepared; used for holding grain or flour.
تولونآي tolun ai (comp. subs.) the full moon.
موم tôm (adj.) thick, substantial [used almost exclusively in application to spices and medicinal roots].
ر tumar (subs.) a written charm, $\mathrm{K}_{\mathrm{Az}}$.
تومار támar (subs.) a root of a tree dug up for fuel, also a log of drift wood.
"توماغه tumagha (subs.) a hood (put on a hawk or hawking-eagle's
tumaq (subs.) a fur cap with three lappets, one for the nape of the neck, and one for each ear.
نومان tuman (subs.) a fog.
U tuman (subs.). For tuban.
تومتات tumtaq (subs.) a short story, a fable, a parable.

تومشوى tumshuq (subs.) a beak, an animal's nose; a projection (of mountain).
توموتمات tum-ut-maq (v. caus.). For tamitmaq (which see).
twouz (subs.) the dog-days, the height of summer, A. (P)
ciglon-uz-maq (v. caus.). For tamizmaq (which see). tün (subs.) night.
"in (subs.) a robe reaching to the calf [the usual outer garment of Central Asiatics].
tün-a-gön (adv.) yesterday [from tün "night" and gön (kön) " day"; qu. ' the day belonging to last night'].
توزمـ tung (subs.) a wooden barrel for holding water, [fastened together with twisted wooden bands instead of hoops].
تونــ tong (adj.) hard frozen [used chiefly of earth, mud, \&c., not of water].
تونغغوز tongghuz (subs.) a pig.
تُنli tong-köz (adj.) foreign, strange [said to be derived from tong and köz, (lit. 'frozen-eyes') because a stranger recognises no one, and preserves a cold aspect].
تونگlاتماث tong-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to freeze.
'rong-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to freeze together, or, all at once.
تُون大امات tong-la-maq (v. intr.) to become frozen, to freeze; also, to harden with the cold, as butter.
tong-luq (subs.) a hard frozen field [distinguished from the rest of the country where, no water having been artificially let in, the ground remains loose and friable through the severest frosts, such is the dryness of the climate].
تُiolungluk (subs.) a chimney (that part of it which projects above the roof) ; also, a hole in the roof, whether for the escape of smoke (from a Kirghiz tent), or for the admission of light ; also, the felt sheet with which it is closed at night. [? derived from tutün " smoke"].
 citann-'sh-maq (v. recip.). For tanu-'sh-maq (which see).

تونوا twnukea (subs.) sheet iron, thin iron.
تونوكوس tün-ï-gön (adv.) jesterday, [see tünagön].
تونوماتو tumb-maq (r. tr.). For tanmmaq, (which see).
تونى turoaq (subs.) a hoof.
(subs.) a feast [either on the occasion of the circumcision of a boy, or of a marriage].
Le' tilya (subs.) a camel, KH. Kag.
Stiya-chi (subs.) a guardian or attendant of camels.
cily tuyaq (subs.) a hoof, KH. Kaz.
cicioghyot toi-dwr-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be satiated, to satiate.
 divulge.
Slogegre tuii-dwr-mak (จ. caus.) to cause to pound up.
"تويلوت" toi-luq (subs.) preparations for a wedding feast ; the bride's ' corbeille de marriage.'
[peased, to be sated.
cilug toi-maq ( v . intr.) to be satiated, to have one's hanger ap-
تودمات tui-maq ( $\mathrm{\nabla}$. tr.) to become aware of, to find out (a secret).

lin tipa (subsa) a small height, a mound [restricted meaning of the word tupa].

Shintip-mak ( $\mathrm{\nabla} . \mathrm{tr}$.) to kick.
 one's horso's flanks with one's heels, "piquer des deux," Fr.
Chaigin tip-ïch-mat (v. recip.) to kick one another.
Tibat (subs.) the country of Tibet (our so-called "Thibet') ; also, an inhabitant of that country [the name is reatricted to the districts on the upper Indus from Baltistan upwards, and is not extended to Eastern Tibet or Lhassa].
tiban (subs.) a packing needle.
تيبراتمكـ tibra-'t-mak (v. caus.). See tabratak.
تيبراشهاكس tibra-'sh-mak (v. recip.). See tabrashak.

تيبرانیاكس tibra-'n-mak (v. refl.). See tabranak.
(sibilghts (subs.) a mountain bush of whose wood the handles of riding-whips are made.
(ibanak (subs.) a packing needle. See tiban.
"tir (subs.) perspiration.
تيرا tira (subs.) skin (of men or animals).
tira-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to prop up.
تيواشُماكس tira-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to prop up in company.
tina-'k (vl. subs.) a prop, a support (written also tarak).
Stirak (subs.) a variety of poplar grown in cultivated land.
© tira-mak (v. tr.) to prop up, to support (by artificial means).
تيربlاسهات tir basmaq (comp. v. tr.) to perspire ; also, to be ashamed [lit. "perspiration oppresses (him)"], (tir is the nominative, and the English subject takes the accusative form).
تيرتيتى tirtiq (adj.) having the skin drawn up by a wound or burn, [properly "tartiq"]. Also, (subs.) a scar.
تيردورماكس tir-dur-mak (จ. caus.) to cause to gather up.
Sirsak (subs.) elbow.
SLirg-uz-mak (v. caus.) to cause to live, to give life; [for tirik-guzmak].
تيرلتماكـ tir-la-t-mak (v. caus.) to oause to perspire, to cause to sweat.
تيرلالشماكـ tir-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to perspire together, to work hard in company.
تيرلاماكص tir-la-mak (v. intr.) to perspire.
ت̈'ترْ tirma'q (v. subs.) a finger-nail, a claw, a talon (the points or nails of the same) [from tirma-maq].

Sir-mak (v. tr.) to gather up, to collect, to pick up (many small objects one by one).
تو tirma-la-maq (v. tr.) to cover seed up with earth after sowing (by hand).
Shorosirma-maq ( $\mathrm{F} . \operatorname{tr}$. ) to seratch, to tear with the nails or claws.
cirnirna-t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to scratch.
تيرناشُهاق tirna-'sk-maq (v. recip.) to scratch one another.
تيرنات tirna-' $q$ (v. subs.) a finger nail, a claw. See tirmaq. [claws.
تيرناملت tirna-maq (v.tr.) to scratch, to tear with the nails or
تيرئ tiri (subs.) the skin of any animal. See tira.

كـ


تيربلغو tiri-'l-ghu (vl. adj.) cultivable [for tarilghw from tarimaq].
"تيريلهاتى tiri-l-maq ( $\mathbf{F}$. pass.) to be cultivated, to be sown.
تيرتم tirim (subs. and adj.) cultivated land ; cultivated.
cintiri-maq (v. tr.) to cultivate, to sow [for tarimaq].
تيز tex (adj. and adv.) quick, fast ; also, quickly, $P$.
" ing rods of tents, \&c. [It consists of a strong piece of wood laid horizontally with a gap in its upper side to receive the object which requires to be straightened or bent], Kaz.
تيزا tiza (subs.) a knee [the same as tiz].
تيزا كــ tizak (subs.) horse dung.
تيزرات tex-rdq (adj. and adv.) quicker ; more quickly.
تيزكيّن tizgin (subs.) reins, bridle.

sernemak (v. tr.) to arrange in rows, or in line.
تيش tish (subs.) tooth.
s) tish-a't-mak (v. caus.) to cause to file the teeth of a saw. s) tish-a-mak (v. tr.) to file the teeth of a saw. shongintish-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to make holes.
(tish-q'ari (adv.) outside [for tàshqari].

s) tish-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to bite one another.
gelolish-la-mak (v. tr.) to bite [from tish "tooth"].
ESthemak ( $\mathrm{\nabla} . \mathrm{tr}$.) to perforate, to make a hole in.
تيشول| tish-uk (vl. subs.) a hole, a perforation.
 hole.
هيشَ tishah (subs.) an adze, a cutting tool with its edge set at right angles to the stock, and its inner surface at an acute angle with the same.
تيشي tishi (adj.) female.
تيشَيكـ thsh-ik (rl. subs.) a perforation [from tish-mak].

S تيفما tif-mak (r. tr.). For tipmak.
تيقتورْات tiq-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to ram in.
cin tiq-ish-maq (v. recip.) to ram in in company.
تيغماق tiq-maq (v. tr.) to press anything into a receptacle, to ram in.
تيكـ tik (adj. and subs.) vertical, upright, steep, difficult; also, a steep place.
تيكّ tikan (subs.) a thorn.
تيكلاتمالك tik-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to set upright.
silk tik-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to set upright together.
Slolk-la-mak (v. tr.) to set upright.
elik-mak (v. tr.) to sew, [see takmak].
تيكيس tikis (adj.) smooth.

تيكيسmikn tikis-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to make smooth together.
sholonenerntikis-la-mak (v. tr.) to make smooth.

تيكيسلانمالT tikio-la-'n-mak (v. pass. or ref.) to be made smooth, to become smooth.
تيكه تيكه tikah tikah (adv.) in pieces [tikak tikak qeldi " he put (it) in pieces'].
Stig-ish-tur-makk (v. recip. caus.) to canse to exchange.
تيكشدك tig-ieh-mak (v. recip.) to change anything against another, to exchange [from tigmak].
تيكمات tig-mak (v.intr.) to touch, to attain, to reach [governs gha]. تيكورماك tig-ur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to touch, to cause to attain (a mark), to hit [in the sense of reaching the object aimed at].
[igurman (subs.) a mill. [Qu. from tigur-mak " to cause to tonch"].
تيكوزمالك tig-tzz-mak (v. caus.). The same as tigürmak.
تيكير tigin (subs.) the absence of a price (paid) ; tigin-ga " gratis," "for nothing," Kız.
تيل til (subs.) tongue ; also, language.
تيلاتمكت tila-'t-mak ( r . caus.) to cause to desire.
تيلانماكس tila-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to desire of one another, to desire together.
تيلاك tila'k (vl. subs.) an earnest petition.
ت تيلامlila-mak (v. tr.) to desire, to ask for.
تيلانهيمي tila-'n-ohi (subs.) a beggar.
تيلبك tilpak (subs.) a fur cap.
تيلبه tilba (adj.) idiotic, foolish.
تيلبه ليك tilba-lik (subs.) idiocy, foolishness.
تيلمي til-chi (subs.) a spy, a news collector.
تيلمرمّاك til-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to split, to cause to cut anything lengthwise.
تيلفك til-fak (subs.). For tilpak.
تيلاتهالك til-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to abuse, to cause to scold.
تيلاشماكس til-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to scold at one another.
sholatis
til-la-mak (v. tr.) to abuse, to scold, to 'give the rough side of one's tongue' [from til "tongue"].
Sil-mak (v. tr.) to split, to cut anything into strips lengthwise [from til ; qu. to make into strips like tongues].
تيلمورتمתى tilmilr-'t-mak ( $\mathrm{\nabla} . \mathrm{caus)}$. ) to cause to dance attendance.
تيلمورماكس tilmur-mak ( $v$. intr.) to be in a state of humble expectancy, to dance attendance.

تيليكـ til-ic (vil. subs.) a slit or cut lengthwise [from til-mak "to slit"].
til-im (vil. subs.) a strip or tongue (what remains between slits).
imo (subs.) a cold, rheum.
تيمراتكو timratku (subs.) an itching red spot on the skin.
تيمور timur (subs.) iron.
تيمورهي timur-chi (subs.) a blacksmith, an ironsmith.
تئ tiyin (subs.) a squirrel, Kat.
s [intake (adj.) mad, insane. [Qu. for tintrak from tantramake.]
تينتواتهاكس tintra-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to totter, or waver.
تيغتراشماكـ tintra-'sk-mak (v. recip.) to totter or waver together.
s/تينiر/ tintra-mak (v. intr.) to totter; also, to vacillate, to waver.
C, 区 in winch (adj.) at ease, happy, well [qu. from tin-mak].
تيدنَ
©lofgintin-dur-maq (v. caus.) to make quiet, \&c. \&c.
تينشَمات tin-ish-maq ( $\nabla$. recip.) to be quiet together, \&c. \&c.
تينكـ ting (adj.) of equal height.
تichinting-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to listen.
Shjulinting-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to make equal in height.
ت̈lailllin ting-la-'sh-máq (v. recipe.) to listen to one another or together.


shallin ting-la-mak ( v . tr.) to make equal (in height), also, to compare heights.
تينگّ tingiz (subs.) a large lake, a sea.
تining timaq (v. intr.) 1, to be quiet (said o. g. of a child); to settle (as muddy water) ; to be filled in and made level (as of an old well) ; 2, to sigh.
تينيش tin-isk (subs.) a sigh.
"تينیت tin-iq (adj.) clear, not muddy ; lit. settled.
تيوا tivoa (subs.) a camel.

## 8

بابط jaban (subs.) a range of shelves (in a shop, \&sc.).
مبالفومات jabdw-maq (v. tr.) to prepare, to make ready (for an expedition).
مابلوت jabduq (vl. subs.) the complete accoutrement of a horse (either for riding, or for draught or carriage) ; also, the material preparations for a journey.

جlar (subs.) the crying of articles, \&c. in the bazar, a proclamation.
1, jara (subs.) a wound [for jardhat, P.].
( ${ }^{\text {ararang-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to tinkle, to ring }}$ ( a bell, \&c.).
جارانگلاشطان jarang-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to tinkle together.
© jarang-la-maq (v. intr.) to tinkle, to resound, to ring (intr.).
جارني $j a r-c h i$ (subs.) a town-crier [from $j a r$ ].
جام jam (subs.) a metal or wooden cup, P.
(elolanan (adj.) bad [for yaman].
جامغور jamghur (subs.) rain [for yamghwr].
جانß jang (subs.) a cold.
( janjal (subs.) a tumult, a row, a quarrel, P.

جانجّال|لشهات janjál-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to quarrel with one another, to have a row.
jو زansilz (subs.) a spy, a tell-tale [for jasis, P.].
( $j a n-l i q$ (subs.) sheep or goats (considered en masse without reference to age or sex) [lit. living creature, P. T., specialized to refer to the flocks which are the principal possessions of a nomad people, as " birds," with English sportsmen, have come to mean specially partridges].
جا, java (subs.) a sack made of coarse goat's hair.
جاوان jaroan (subs.). For jaban.
جا $j a i$ (subs.) a place, P.
جايلآتهات jai-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to put in the proper place, to cause to set in order.
جإيلا شمات jai-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to place in proper order mutually, or relatively to one another. [place, P. T. جإِلامات jai-la-maq (v. tr.) to place in order, to put in the proper جايلانمات jai-la-'n-maq (v. pass. and refl.) to be put or to put one's self in the proper place.
جadal-chi (subs.) a quarrelsome person, a disputer, P. T.
sho with one another.
s ${ }^{\text {s }}$ jadal-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to quarrel with one another [from a supposed simple verb jadal-la-mak which is not in use, because "it takes two to make a quarrel"].
جزانه jazanah (subs.) interest (on money lent), usury.
جزایل jazail (subs.) a short gun carried on a camel, P.
jazail-chi (subs.) a man who serves the jazaill, P.
جلمبـ jalab (subs.) a harlot.
جلغه jilghah (subs.) a valley, a gorge, a ravine.
deara'h (subs.) Friday, the day of assembly, A.
dut jumak (interj.) do you hear?
x ${ }^{\text {P }}$ jandah (subs.) a beggar's gaberdine [a robe with little tufts of thread-ends sticking out every here and there].
aimian janistah (subs.) a small stone-fruit of the plum kind.
جi jing (subs.) a weight (equal to about 1.275 ms .).
جوا $j$ 亿a (subs.) a fur robe, a " posteen." For juba.
( javoab (subs.) answer, dismissal, leave to go ; also, leave or permission of any kind, $P$.
جوابلاشتورمدات jawab-la-'sh-tur-maq (v. recip. caus.) to cause to make retorts.
جوابِلاشمات jawab-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to answer back again, to retort; also, to discuss, dispute.
جواتمات jawa't-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be occupied in anything, to amuse (said with reference to children). For yuwatma'q.
جوان jawan (adj.) mature, matronly [epithet applied to a woman who has a child, but is still young].
ترانی jawa-'n-maq (v. refl.) to occupy or amuse one's self. For yuroanmaq.
زوبا juba (subs.) a fur robe, P.
جوجه juja (subs.) a chick.

جوفلاشتورماكــ juf-la-'sh-tur-mak ( $\nabla$. recip. caus.) to cause to pair.
. juf-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to match together, to be similar ; also, to be joined together smoothly:
s juf-la-mak (v. tr.) to match or pair (two objects), to render similar or equal ; also, to join together smoothly.
קوكا jugan (subs.) a horse's headstall and bit.
زول jul (subs.) a horse blanket, $\mathbf{P}$.
; juna-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to start.
جونانشا
s) juna-mak (v. intr.) to start, to depart.

مییر jiak (subs.) an edging or binding (of any garment, on the outer side, such as a tape sown round).
حمياكلاتهاكـ jiak-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to put an edging (to a garment).
 pany.
جياكلامسك jiak-la-mak (v. tr.) to put an edging or binding on a garment.
بير
جيران jiran (subs. and adj.) an antelope or gazelle (Saiga Turtarica) ; also, chesnut (the colour of a horse).
جيت $j i q$ (adv.) much, many.
جيكله jikda (subs.) the Trebizond date tree and fruit.
جيل $j i l$ (subs.) wind ; also yil.
جيلاو jilao (subs.) a thin rope attached to the horse's bit on one side, and used for fastening him up on dismounting. Its loose end is carried noosed to the pummel of the saddle.
حيليم jilim (subs.) glue.
ج
jaïnak (subs.) elbow.

## ©

جابا chaba (subs.) sweepings, refuse. For chabar.

- chabaq (subs.) a species of fish.

■ chapat (subs.) a pat, a slap; also, a thin cake made by patting the dough between the hands. [Cf. chupatti, H.].
—— chapaq (subs.) gumminess in the eyes.
ماپاغان chap-a-ghan (subs.) a rapid expedition.
حآلالق chapalaq (subs.) the flat of the hand (as used for giving a slap), a slap. [Also written shapalaq.]
هإن chapan (subs.) a robe or gown reaching nearly to the ancles [the ordinary outer garment of Central Asia].
إبا chapao (subs.) a plundering.
شاناول chapaul (subs.) a plundering raid; also, a charge of cavalry. chorg chap-tur-maq (v. caus.) 1, to cause to gallop; 2, to cause to strike with the sword or any cutting instrument.

苞 chap-ish-maq (v. recip.) 1, to gallop together, to race against one another (of horses); 2, to strike one another with swords, to fight one another with swords.
بإِّو chap-qu (subs.) a board for chopping on.
چإيعولانمات chap-qu-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to chop.
© chap-qw-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to chop at one another, or in company.
cher chap-qu-la-maq (v. tr.) to strike repeatedly with a sharp instrument, to chop.
. wind.

char chap-maq (v. tr.) to strike with a cutting instrument.
بما chapi (subs.) a shampooing.
 healing].

- chat (subs.) the angle at the junction of two streams [used elsewhere for angles formed by other things].

محاتشها chat-ish-maq (v. recip.) to tie many horses two by two.
هـاتهاق chat-maq (v. tr.) to tie two horses together, the head of each to the crupper of the other [this is the common way of securing caravan horses in the open plains and treeless mountains of Central Asia].
 also, the fastening of them so.
Shan chajmak (subs.) a jacket with long sleeves.
c chach (subs.) the hair of the head.
ما
قما chack-maq (v. tr.) to scatter seed, to sow.


1) chara (subs.) a large wooden bowl or vessel.

مار châra (subs.) help, remedy, P.
©

chlol chara-la-maq (v. tr.) to remedy.
صاركس charak (subs.) a certain weight. [There are three distinct charaks in Eastern Turkistán: One used for raw silk, certain colouring materials, spices, tea, \&c.; it is equal to 4 jings, or 5 tbs. The second is used for all manner of goods, and is called ashliq tashi "food weight," also törttash "four weights"; it weighs $12 \frac{1}{2}$ jings or nearly 16 tbs. This is distinguished from the third sort recently introduced by the Amir which is called besh-tash "five weights," and weighs 16 jings or 20 ms .]
بارلاتمات char-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to reconnoitre.
. char-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to reconnoitre one another, to reconnoitre in company.
人
مارإلجّ char-la'k-chi (subs.) a reconnoiterer, a patrol.
حارلآه char-la-maq (v. tr.) to reconnoitre.
备 charroa (subs.) quadrupeds, cattle, P.
 drupeds.
حارزز charozah (subs.) a small carpet the length of a bed.
حاروت châroq (subs.) a rough boot of untanned leather formed like a mocassin with the lower leather drawn up round the foot; worn by the Kirghiz mountaineers, and by caravan-men for journeys.
(إري chari (subs.) grain with the husk on.
مازا تالش chaza tash (subs.) jade stone obtained from the quarries in the mountains. Distinguished from su-tash "waterstone," which is jade found in the form of rolled pebbles in the streams. In this state it is free from flaws
which have all been found out by the hard usage it has received, so that what remsins is solid. This gires it a greater value for carving; whereas in carving a piece of chaza tash, the risk is incurred of finding many days of labour spoilt, by a hidden flaw or crack.
il chash (subs.) a heap of grain piled up after thrashing and winnowing. Also for chasht (which see), $\mathbf{P}$.
 chadir-i-shab, P.].
chash-ghalbir (subs.) an open sieve for separating the chaff from the grain.
Kill chash-ga (comp. subs.) the hour half way between sun-rise and midday, (at which a meal is often eaten), $P$.
chash-la-'tomaq (v. caus.) to cause to heap up grain.
تاق chash-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to heap up grain together.

$\dot{\varepsilon}$. chàgh (subs.) account, reckoning, conjecture, inference; also, number ; also, time, epoch (any fixed time).
ماغاتالي Chaghatai (subs.) (Pr. name.) A son of Chinghiz Khán; his descendants or family; the tribes over which they raled; the country ruled by them (in some books this includes the whole patrimony of Chaghataï, but usually only that which was left after the separation of the Kháns of the Moghuls, viz., Western Turkistân) ; the language spoken in Western Turkistân. [The term is now dying out except in talking of the past.]
حاغان chaghan (subs.) a winter festival of Chinese origin.
© chagh-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to conjecture.
cilalich chagh-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to form conjectures together.
जلاء chagh-la-maq (v. tr.) to conjecture, to surmise, to reckon (anything that is expressed in numbers).
بِاغلوت chagh-lük (adj.) conjectural [from chàgh].
هات chaq. The same as chàgh.

- chaqa (subs.) a copper coin, KH.

حاقال chaqan (adj.) light coloured (applied to eyes).
ماقان chaq-qan (vl. adj.) fiery, sparkish, excitable.
چحاقلاكه chaq-la-maq (v. tr.). The same as chagh-la-maq.
حاقمات chaq-maq (v. tr.) to bite or sting (with venom) ; to slander, to detract.
حاقه chaq-maq (v. intr.) to sparkle, to give forth sparks; also, (v. tr.) to crack.

هاقْمات chaqmaq (subs.) a steel for striking a light on flint.
© chaqich (subs.) a kind of resin extracted from the birch tree and also from firs.
حاقيرتمات chaqir-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to call.
chaqir-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to call in company.
ماقغرمات chaqir-maq (v. tr.) to call, to summon.
© chaq-ish-tur-maq (v. recip. caus.) to cause to sting or slander one another.
chaq-ish-maq (v. recip.) to sting one another, to slander one another.
chaq-il-maq (v. pass.) to be slandered ; 2, to be cracked.
. chaq-in-maq (v. refl.) to sparkle, to lighten of itself (of the lightning).
. chal (adj.) partly black and partly white (of the hair, or beard), KH.
${ }^{1}{ }^{n}$ chala (adj.) unfinished, incomplete.
alalab (subs.) a drink made by mixing water with curds and whey.
. chalbar (subs.) wide outer trowsers made of leather (into which the robes are tucked for work in which they would be in the way), P. (shalwas).
بالبارقاتماق chalbar-qa-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to scold.
ح بالبار قاشهات chalbarqa-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to scold one another.
بالكارقاماق chalbarqa-maq (v. intr.) to scold, to upbraid, to abuse.
R chalpak (subs.) a thin cake of bread cooked in oil.

- C - chalpai-maq (v. intr.) to sink down exhausted, to be prostrated (by weakness).
حالُحْيت chalchiq (subs.) a boggy or miry spot, (permanent).

حك
lél chalqa-si-da, \&c.
حالعاينمات chalqa-i't-maq (v. caus.) to cause to lie face upwards, to turn any one over on to his back.
حالقالملق chalqa-i-maq (v. intr.) to lie on one's back.
حهالقيماق chalqi-maq (v. intr.) to surge (of water).
Whalma (subs.) a lamp of hard earth, a piece of sun-dried brick.
مالماق chal-maq (\%. tr.) to twist over ; specially 1, to trip up; 2 , to braid, to tat, to crochet; 3 , to stir up (of liquids); 4 , to beat a roll on a drum, to sound a call on the trumpet.
حالنمات chal-in-maq (v. pass. and refl.) to be twisted, \&c., to twist one's self, \&c.
Colo chama (subs.) a conjecture, Kaz.
قام
شا

حیاما chaman (adj.) slow, aluggish, $\mathrm{K}_{\mathrm{uzz}}$.

مامفور chàmghur (subs.) turnip, Y.
chana-t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to cut with an axe.
هاناشُماق chana-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to cut with axes together, or one another.
chanaq (subs.) a funnel-shaped feeder of a mill.
حانامات chana-maq ( $\mathbf{\nabla}$. tr.) to cut with an axe.
شانك chang (subs.) dust flying in the air.
 their meat.
ch iv changal (subs.) a claw, a talon.

مانگُقامات changqa-maq (v. intr.) to be thirsty.
[child.
ch chaukan (subs.) a young woman who has not borne a
هاوگون chav-gwn (subs.) a tea-pot (used also for the vessel in which the water is boiled).
بالي chat (subs.) tea.
مايان chayan (subs.) scorpion.
( 0 Chai-josh (subs.) a teapot [that in which the water is boiled is called "kara (or black) chai-josh"; that from which the tea is poured into the cup is called "ak (or white) chdi-josh" for obvious reasons], $P$.
مإيقاتمطت chai-qa-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to rinse out.

حهايقاתهالى chai-qa-'l-maq (v. pass.) to be rinsed out.
cioloch chati-qa-maq (v. tr.) to rinse out (either cups \&c., or clothes after soaping).
sh lon chaina-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to masticate.

seloliol chaina-mak (v. tr.) to masticate, to munch.
( $\sim$ chap (adj.) left [hand], P.
$\left.\begin{array}{c}\text { chapaghai } \\ \text { chapaqai }\end{array}\right\}$ (adj. and adv.) left-handed; with the left
hand, P. T.
$\stackrel{\sim}{\circ} \mathrm{\sim}$
之只 chakh (subs.) a spinning wheel, a water-wheel. [For charkh, P.]
קوأ chiragh (subs.) a lamp, P.
[ rem chiraï (subs.) countenance, appearance. [? For chehrah, P.] 13

برايسيز chirai-siz (adj.) ugly, ill-favoured.
ثرايسيزليت chiraï-siz-liq (subs.) ugliness.
chirai-liq (subs. and adj.) beauty, handsomeness; also, well-favoured, good-looking, P. T.
خ charkh (subs.) a wheel, a grind-stone, spinning wheel, \&c., P.
charkh-la-maq (v. tr.) to grind (on a turning grind-stone).
هرك chirk (adj.) rotten.
[another.
© ترالزا
حقارتمان chiq-ar-'t-maq (v. redup. caus.) to cause to take out.

ciolole chiq-dr-maq (v. caus.) to cause to go out, i. e., to take out, to send out, to expel.
chiq-maq (v. intr.) to go out.
chak-man (subs.) coarse woollen or cotton stuff.
(
Bla chig-il-mak (v. pass.) to be knotted.
slaf chig-mak ( v . tr.) to knot, to tie in a knot.
SUKifaringak (adj.) given to backing (of a horse).
s) chigin-mak (v. intr.) to back (of a horse), to retire, to retreat.
w ehchu, (interj.) used for making a horse move forward.
و g Chu (prop. name) a river running from near the Issik-kúl (Lake) north of the Kara Tagh Range.
چوپب chub (subs.) sweepings, Kaz.
موبوت chübuq (subs.) a rod [? P. chabuq]; also, the piece of cloth let in to the side of the skirt of a robe to give it fullness.


حو چور chupur (subs.) goat's hair.
چوت chot (subs.) a small adze, Kız.

هوتور ohbtur (adj.) marked with small-pox.

©


عورتان chortan (subs.) a sort of fish with a snout resembling a duck's bill.

—churgul-'sh-mak ( $\nabla$. recip.) to go round together.

- ${ }^{\bullet}$ © churgul-mak (v. intr.) to go round, to revolve, to rotate.

קور chaurah (adj.) round, disk-like. Same as chdurah.
©وروتماكש ohürü-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to rot.
جوزرت choruq (subs.). The same as charoq.
هوروكس chürii'k (adj.) rotten.

-
عوغول chughul (adj.) slandering, making mischief.
حوغول لوت chughul-luq (subs.) slander, mischief-making.
چوت choq (subs.) a tassel, KAz.
تو choq (adj. and adv.) many, much; also, very.
حوت choq (subs.) a hot ember.

- choqa (subs.) the back of the head.

קوقماق choqmaq (subs.) a mace, a weapon formed of a handle with a heavy head attached to it rigidly.
קوقوتهات choqu-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to peck.
چوقور chuqur (subs.) a pit, a depression.
چورقور choqur (adj.) marked or pitted with small-pox.

هوقوراق choqu-maq (v. tr.) to peck.
「 choka (subs.) chop-sticks for eating Chinese fashion.
R. B. Shaw-A Vocabulary of the Language [Extra No. for Shijk chuk-ar-'t-mak (v. caus. redup.) to cause to make (a camel) to lie down, to order (a camel) to be made to lie down.
© chuk-ar-'sk-mak (v. caus. recip.) to cause (camels) to lie down in company, to make a number of camels lie down.
ellorkther-mak (v. caus.) to cause to sink, to cause (camels) to lie down.
كوك chokan (subs.) a young woman who has not borne a child. Same as chdukan.

שת camel).
shotherter-mak (v. caus.). The same as chuk-ar-mak.
Jg chwl (subs. and adj.) an arid place; arid.
عولاق chuldq (adj. and subs.) maimed, mutilated, armless, hand. less ; a man who has lost a hand or arm, \&c.
$\boldsymbol{U}^{y}{ }^{y}$ - chülan (subs.) cooked rations.
utit cholpan (subs.) the morning star (seen in summer).
chulgha-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to wind.
هولغاشُمات chulgha-'sh-maq ( v . recip.) to wind in company.
© chulgha-maq (v. tr.) to wind, to roll up, to entwine.
©
عولاتهاكس chul-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to be thirsty, \&c.

שת dry up, to talk one's self hoarse (or dry) [from chul], $\mathbf{K H}$.
Pو chom (subs.) a camel's pack-saddle, Kaz.
cilog chomaq (subs.) a mace. [See choq-maq.]
. ${ }^{\text {Shog }}$ chumali (subs.) an ant.
© chumchuq (subs.) a sparrow.
-تا one) take a dip (by word or gesture).
©وموه chum-máq (v. intr.) to duck (one's self under water), to take a dip, to dive.

区وْ chumich (subs.) a wooden ladle, $\mathbf{P}$.
© (actively).
chum-ul-maq (v. pass. with refl. sense) [literally, to be ducked], specially, to bathe, to dip one's self.
حونانی chundq (adj. and subs.) having lost an ear; one who has lost an ear.
صونال chunak (subs.) a furrow for irrigation separating the several beds in a garden.
© chuntak (subs.) a pocket in the skirt of a robe.
حونک chung (adj.) great, large, big.
هونگگاتِمات chungqaï-t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to squat.

بولعقايمات chungqai-maq (v. intr.) to squat (with the knees near the face, like the natives of India).
chawar-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to invert.
 turn over (entirely), to turn round (on to the opposite direction).

© chlwar-ul-mak (v. pass.) to be inverted, to be turned round.

a chah an affix implying extent or amount; also, fashion. [See Gram. under "adverbs" and "post-positions" and "formation of adjectives." Also see under chinn, below.]
بatch chian (subs.) a scorpion. Same as chaydn.
مییبار chibar (adj.) skilled, skilful, Kaz.
-

chibilduq (subs.) a curtain stretched across a room, dividing it into two.
. chep (subs.) an intrenchment, an earth-work (to protect guns or troops).
는 chît (subs.) a border, an edge, a frontier.
ט
(n) chitt (subs.) a thorn fence, thorns stuck on the top of a wall.
(푝 chitt (subs.) printed calico, chintz.
ا
el chichak (subs.) a flower; also, small-pox.
路 chichan (adj.) eloquent, persuasive, Kaz.
chichan-lik (subs.) eloquence, Kız.
خير|تماتر chida-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to last.
chida-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to last together.
colon chida-maq (v. intr.) to last, to endure.
辎 chida'm-siz (adj.) not lasting, unenduring, impatient.
قيلرارليت chida'm-liq (adj.) enduring, lasting, patient.
© chiran-mak (v. intr.) to make an effort (physical), to strain at any task, to groan or grunt over a hard task; to sit back in the saddle with one's feet well forward.
هيرايلوق chiraï-lüq (adj.) handsome, good-looking.
شيركير chirkin (adj.) dirty, Kaz.
chirla-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to call.
chirla-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to call one another.
مصيرلا
chirma-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to wind, to cause to twine.
عيرمان chirmash (adj.) entangled.
cichormailoth-tur-maq (v. recip. caus.) to cause to be entangled, to entangle, to intertwine.
تريرومشُشهات chirma'sh-ish-maq (v. recip. redup.) to be entangled together, to be intertwined.
© chirma'sh-maq ( $\mathrm{\nabla}$. recip.) to wind or twine in company; to be entangled.
chorman-'l-maq (v. pass.) to be wound, to be twined.
© chirma-maq (v. tr.) to wind (irregularly), to twine.
chirma-uq (subs.) a creeper which winds itself round trees (dying down in winter).
ר chiriu-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to rot.
شيروما chirü-mak (v. intr.) to rot.
(chîrik (subs.) an army, a force.
مكرِيلازمات chiril-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to chirp.

هم young birds).
1癸 chîza (subs.) a measure of length (two spans of forefinger and thumb) [now identified with the half of the alchîn (Russian " arschine") which is about 28 inches].
©
قيزشَهات chiz-ish-maq (v. recip.) to draw lines in company.
©
حيزبت chiz-iq (vil. subs.) a line, a score.
غ a chick (Indian screen).
chighartmaq (subs.) a coarse kind of grass growing in bunches which grazing animals will not touch.
Cher ex chighariq (subs.) a machine for cleaning cotton of its seeds, by passing it between two rollers one of iron and one of wood.

© chic (subs.) dew.
تيقارتمات chiq-ar-'t-maq (v. caus. redup.) to cause to make to go out, to cause to take out.
קרیقارشهات chiq-ar-'sh-maq (v. caus. recip.) to cause to go out in company.
© chiq-ar-maq (จ. caus.) to cause to go out, to take out, to expel.
cen chian (subs.) a red eruption on the body.
cold chiq-maq (v. intr.) to go out.

K- chika (subs.) the temple (of the head).
ט chikan (subs.) embroidery.
Shence chik-mak (v. tr.) to embroider.
vhon ohik-mak (v. tr.) to smoke.
ch chikman (subs.) coarse cloth. The same as chakmans.
Ky elige (subs.) vegetable fibre; a kind of wild hemp; also, a rope made of the same.
Mhe chig-mak (v. tr.) to knot, to tie in a knot. K-
بـئير chigit (subs.) cotton seed.
elins chigitak (subs.) the refuse of fat left after boiling.
 the Indian bêr.
2 chilbur (subs.) a picketing rein, attached to a horse's headstall.
echilpul-la.'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to sound by splashing. میليوللأشماتِ chilpul-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to sound of splashing in several directions at once.
 of water ; to make a sound of splashing.
chilpiq (subs.) weakness and running of the eyes.
: حيلتال chiltak (subs.) a fancy edging to a garment.
م chilim (subs.) a hookah, a hubble-bubble [made of a hollowed gourd to contain the water, in Eastern Turkistân].
( chim (subs.) a sod, a turf.
chimchiq (subs.) a sparrow.

ज10
chimchilaq (subs.) the little finger ; chinchiláq ana-si' the ring-finger' literally 'little finger's mother.'
 peatedly).

(ax chin (adj.) true, trustworthy.
چمپ chin (subs.) amount, extent, measure [the probable origin of the affix chah (which see). This latter is pronounced by the Kazzaks chaïn (风s tiz-ga-chainn for tiz-ga-chah); this forms a link to connect the two].
-
, chinn-a-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to measure.

س chîn-a-'sh-mak ( v . recip.) to measure in company.
ق
هينا ماكس chinn-a-mak (v. tr.) to measure, to estimate, to reckon (size or extent) [distinguished from chagh-la-maq which refers to numbers].

- liñ ching (adj.) strong, firm, tight, hard.
ching-qa-maq (v. tr.) to tighten, to brace up. Same as china-maq.
هينكعرتمات chingqar-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to scream.
حينلقُرمات chingqar-maq (v. intr.) to scream, to squall.
© ing.
ching-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to sharpen together by hammer. ing.
colole ching-la-maq (v. tr.) to sharpen by hammering (cold) [as a horse shoe-nail before shoeing].
همر، لاتمات chin-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to speak truth.
chin-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to speak truth to one another, to become in earnest with one another.
ciololin chin-la-maq (r. intr.) to speak truth, to speak in earnest, to get angry.
هينیي chini (subs.) china, porcelain; specially a china cup.


## $\tau$

hait (subs.) a festival, Wed. [Corr. A.]
haït-lik (subs.) things prepared for the celebration of the festival; also, presents given at the festival.

## خ

خiti khatun (subs.) a woman, a wife, P. (?)
lula khdda (subs.) a long etake or post.
aíj khdrkhashak (subs.) bother, worry.
duli khdsah (subs.) calico, shirtings.
khasak-lik (adj.) particular, special, P. T.
أفا khafd (adj.) annoyed, displeased, troubled. [Corr. P.]
غافالْاتمات khafa-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to annoy.
خالفاشماتر khafa-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to annoy one another.
غ khdfa-la-maq (v. tr.) to annoy, to vex.
khdfa-la-'n-maq (v. pass. and refl.) to be annoyed; to vex one's self.
خاناليت khafa-liq (subs.) displeasure, annoyance, P. T.
خاy khala (subs.) a maternal aunt, $\mathbf{P}$.
خالالتدأت khd-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to desire.
 another, or, of one another.
خالامات kha-la-maq (v. tr.) to desire, to wish for, P. T. [kha for $k h w a ̂ h]$.
aíll khalta (subs.) a bag, $\mathbf{P}$.
( $\mathrm{i} h \mathrm{hm}$ (adj.) unripe, raw (in all senses), crude, unfashioned, unlaboured, $P$. ; hence (subs.) cloth made of coarse single threads of cotton.

خloham (subs.) a threshing-floor or ground (where corn is trodden out); reaped comn collected for threshing, $P$. [for khirman].
© $k$ cham-la-'t-mAq (v. caus.) to cause to unravel, (tr.).
cilal kham-la-'sh-mdq (v. recip.) to unravel in company.
خlololam-la-máq (v. tr.) to unravel, P. T.
خْاملوت $k h d m-l u ̈ q$ (subs.) immaturity, rawness.
. khan (subs.) king, prince; also used in Kâshghar as an ending for the names of women (not of men as in India) as : Ai Khdn ("moon princess"), Maïram Khan ("lady Mary').
Khán-ariq (prop. name) a canal some fourteen miles south of Kâshghar, derived from the Tazghun River; also a district and town irrigated by it. [Literally the Khân's canal.]
Rhabar (subs.) news, intelligence, information, P.
shivilyabar-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to inform.
غبرلiknabar-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to inform one another.
shlohabar-la-mak (v. tr.) to give news, to inform [with the person in $g a$, and the news in the accusative」, P. T.
khabar-la-'n-mak (v. pass. and refl.) to be informed; to inform one's self.
Khar-khar (adj.) inarticulate, indistinct in utterance.
kharrat (subs.) a carpenter.
خhturrak (subs.) a snore.
[floor, $\mathbf{P}$.
khirman (subs.) corn collected for threshing; a threshing. Khari (subs.) the main beam of a (flat) roof, [on which the lesser cross beams from either wall rest on their ends]. (Cf. Hind. karri = beam.)
khwâja (subs.) a title applied to the offspring of a Sâyad by a woman of any other family, also to their descendants. Also, used as a mere term of honour for addressing a superior, like "Sir," generally pronounced khoja.

خhituk (subs.) a. young ass.
غُوتوس khutun (subs.). For khatun (which see).
خوجه khoja (subs.). For khrodja (which see).
خورجلر khurjîn (sabs.) a a saddle bag (double, so as to fit on each side of the horse's back), $\mathbf{P}$.
khur-liq (adj.) base, contemptible. [From khwoâr, P.]
khurul-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to snore.
خhorrul-la-maq (v. intr.) to snore.
خوش khush (adj. and adv.) happy, well, P.
خhشامتـ khush-amat (subs.) syeophancy, obsequiousness, P.
khush-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to make happy.
khush-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to please one another, to please several people ; to wish one another farewell.

khush-la-'n-maq (v. pass. and refl.) to be made happy; to please one's self.
khush-yaq-mas (adj.) unwilling, lazy.
khush-yaq-maq (v. intr.) to be agreeable (of an action), to be willing (of the agent). [Little used in Eastern Turkistân.]
خhinm (subs.) a large earthenware vessel.
khumar (subs.) illness or mal-aise resulting from the giving up of stimulants or narcotics; also, headache after drinking.
خوماري khumari (adj.) ill from giving up drink or drugs, or from the excessive use of them.
خور khun (subs.) blood-money, satisfaction for the death of any one [from khwn = blood, P.].
خرنאا khungan (subs.) a cucumber.
خيرا khira (adj.) dim ; közi khira=dim-eyed, i. e. short-sighted.
خيريلإلامات khiril-la-maq (v. intr.) to speak indistinctly or hoarsely (as from the effect of a goitre).
خينا khina (sabs.) the dye called 'henna'. [Corr. A.]

## $\checkmark$

Iv da (post-pos) at, in (used where motion is not implied).
(ר) dab (participle). For dep" having said", from dé-mak.
dab (subs.) a spring forwards, [only used in composition, as dab-birmak to spring forwards, to dart forwards].
daba (subs.). For dawa.
|טاט dàda (subs.) father. Ugai dàda=step-father.
ט dar (subs.) a gallows, a clothes-line (for drying clothes), $\mathbf{P}$.
dâru (subs.) medicine, drugs, spices; gunpowder.
$\dot{\mathcal{E}}^{\text {| }}$ dagh (subs.) grief, sorrow ; also P., an indelible mark.
|ोا
;
(غاغلاتمات dagh-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to brand.
[P. T.
داغلامات dagh-la-maq (v. tr.) to mark indelibly, to brand, to tattoo,
vagh-la-'n-maq (v. pass. and refl.) to be branded, to brand one's self.
Siv dak (advl. affix). For dik.
(l) dalan (subs.) an inner gateway [dividing the outer premises to which men have access from the inner courtyard in which are the women's apartments. It is formed of a kind of hall or passage with two doors, not opposite one another, so that no one can see into the inner yard, even when the doors are open].
dalu (subs.) a shoulder-blade, the shoulder.
ט dang (subs.) a serai frequented by the poorer class of travellers, CH.
ט dang (subs.) renown.
و dao (subs.). For dâwa.
glo dao (subs.) a stake laid by a looker-on at a game.

I İ daroa (subs.) a claim, a lawsuit. (Corr. A.)
واو davod (subs.) medicine. (Corr. A.)
( dawodn (subs.) a pass (over mountains).
داوراتمات daura-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to mimic.
daura'sh-maq (v. refl.) to mimic one another.
© daura-maq (v. tr.) to mock, to mimic, to imitate.
(داورق ddurvq (subs.) a clamour, a hullaballoo.
El daush (subs.) noise.
(
داوشlikn daush-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to make a noise together, or to one another.
exala daush-la-maq (v. tr.) to make a noise.
دالي ddi (advl. affix). For dak or dik, Kaz.
دإئ $d d y$ in (advl. affix). For $d a k$ or $d i k$, KH.
dar-hal (adv.) at once, on the spot, P. (literally, in the condition of affairs).
dar-rao (adv.) while in the act, immediately, P.
eرك darak (subs.) cognizance, perception (concrete), darak taptim "I have become aware," P. [work).
Jto dar-kar (adj.) necessary, required, P. (literally, in the (s) dar-kdr-liq (subs.) a necessary, a requisite, P. T.

Shorish darak-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to inquire.
shanto darak.lan'sh-mak ( v . recip.) to inquire of one another, or, together.
S darak-la-mak (v. tr.) to inquire, to endeavour, to become cognizant.
Jloj dazmal (subs.) a flat iron (for smoothening linen).
(subs.) a table-cloth (spread on the floor for eating); also, what is placed thereupon, a spread, a feast. [The dastar-khan is quite an institution in Turkistan, hospitality requiring that one should be put before a guest on every possible occasion quite regardless of regular meal-times. First bread, fruit and sweetmeats
are put on the cloth, afterwards meat entrées of different kinds, then huge dishes of pilao, and then cups full of soup.] (For dastar-khwan), P.
(dastar-khan-chi (subs.) the chief servant who lays the cloth and puts the dishes on it, one by one, taking them from the hands of the other attendants. Also, an officer at the Court of Khokand who enjoys the revenues of a certain district subject to the duty of providing the requisites for the Khdn's guests.
cincial dastak (subs.) a written order of any one in authority, P.
(surnt-mal (subs.) a handkerchief, a towel, P.
دستورغان dastur-khan (subs.). For dastar-khan.
(subs.) beginning, commencement.
dasmal (subs.). For dast-mal, P.
dasmaya (subs.) capital (of money) [for dast-mdya], P. [As rigid Musalmáns consider it wrong to receive interest on their capital, they arrange as follows: they advance a certain sum to the borrower who is considered their trading agent; of the profit that accrues (after deduction and repayment of the capital) two-thirds go to the capitalist and one-third to the borrower (the latter having deducted his own cost of maintenance meanwhile out of the undivided profit). Another arrangement is that the capitalist takes only half the profits, but the agent or borrower bears his own expenses. Losses are borne, on the second plan by both in the proportion of 2 to 1 ; and on the first plan by the capitalist.]
ps dam (subs.) breath, steam, P.

cilulid dam-al-ish-madq (v. recip.) to take breath, or rest, together; or in turns.
تماتمlos dam-al-máq (v. intr.) to take breath, to rest, P. T.

دمبورا dambura (sabs.) a two-stringed guitar, Kaz.
دملاتماكس dam-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to cook by steam.
Sam-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to steam together; also, for dam-al-ish-mak, in the sense of rest by turns in any task, to work 'in tie,' to carry by turns.
dam-la-mak (v. tr.) to steam, to cook in steam [by shutting the top of the vessel, as with a tea kettle; or by placing the pastry, \&c. to be cooked, on a wooden grating fixed some distance above the surface of boiling water in the inside of a large closed vessel].
כ dan (post-pos.) from, than.
dunya (subs) the world ; also, wealth, riches, A.
dunyâ-dâr (adj.) wealthy, rich, A. P.
duba (subs.) a mound, a hillock. Same as tipah.
dutar (subs.) a two-stringed lute [du-tar as distinguished from si-tar = "three-stringed," a guitar], P.
د $d u r$ Present auxiliary tense (see Grammar under "Verbs"). Probably a corruption of turur (which often occurs in its place in old writings) the Present Future of tur-mak " to stand."
dauri (subs.) rule, reign, the time of any king's rule, P.
dusha (subs.) a board for chopping meat on.
دول dul (adj.) hump-backed.
Dolan (prop. name) the plains of the Yarkand River from two marches east of Yarkand to within some seven marches of Aksu; also, their inhabitants. They are great reverers of the saintly family of the Kâshghar Khojas.
daulat (subs.). For daulat (which see).
درل d $\delta \delta l$ (subs.) the funnel-shaped feeder of a mill.
دوليـ doli (subs.) the shoulder-blade, the shoulder [for dalu]]. لرمبَّق dumbdq (subs.) a drum.
dawan (subs.) a pass over a mountain range [for dawan].
dunan (adj.) two-year-old.

دونبول devnbul (adj.) unripe (of corn). [in Central Asia).
dunba (subs.) a broad sheep's tail (of the sort common لرونــ dung (sabs.) rising ground.
( deb [pronounced dip] (part.) having said, saying. [This closes almost every quotation or even statement of what passed in the mind of any one, answering nearly to our "that" at the beginning. E. g. bardi dip kupti "he arose that he might go" (literally "let me go, so saying, he arose") ; shubu dip tunudim " I recognised that it (was) he" (literally " he, so saying, I recognised").]
Sinsa-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to tread down.

Shond dipaa-mak (v. tr.) to tread down, to tread in.
دلـدا dédak (subs.) a female slave.
كlotedur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to say.
désak-chi (subs.) a night watchmen.
dik (adjl. and advl, affix) like ; similarly to. [This is affired to words or even subordinate sentences; governing generally the genitive of pronouns, the future participlo of verbs, but the simple radical of other words.] (? Verbal form from dé-mak " to say", dek " what is spoken", quasi " so to speak ;" as pitik " what is written", from pit-mak " to write".)
لdé-gu-chi (subs.) a speaker, one who says [from the fut. part. of dé-mak].
Sés-mak (v. tr.) to say.
(post-pos.) from, than. [cant, a dervesh, a beggar, $\mathbf{P}$.
ديوانه diroama (adj. and subs.) mad; a madman ; also, a mendi-

## $\gamma$

راباس rabat (subs.) a rest-house.
(اباق rabaq (subs.) a palace, the private dwelling of a Ruler, [for rawaq, A.].
15
(mils (adj.) straight, right [for past, P.].
(v. caus.) to cause to discharge (a payment).
call , rds-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to discharge together.
gill ras-la-mdq (v. tr.) to complete a number, to discharge a payment, to set right, to set in order. (?) P. T.
, rambal (subs.) a soothsayer, $\mathbf{P}$.
ch erg (subs.) colour, appearance, species, $\mathbf{P}$.
, rang-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to dye.

SLolli, rang-la-mak (v. tr.) to colour, to dye, P. T.
 ed ; to assume a colour.
ת company; to paint their faces in company (of women). , rang-lik (adj.) coloured, bright coloured, handsome, P. T.
 incubus, an old man of the sea, $P$.
y ${ }^{\text {y }}$ ر rozah (subs.) a fast, the month RamazAn, $P$.
ل روomal (subs.) a napkin, a towel, a handkerchief [from ru "face" and maidan " to wipe," P.].
עولان ryan (subs.) madder (a dye), KH. P.

> j
j $z a$ (subs.) trouble, annoyance [for $i z a$, A.].
زأ zagh (subs.) a jackdaw.

苗; záqchah $\}$ (subs.). The same, KH.
زاغون zaghun (subs.) mustard [only used for extracting oil].
cijlol zamaruq (subs.) a root eaten cooked in milk [in Wakhan, Badakhshan, \&c.].
zaghir (subs.) linseed, flax (grown only for the oil).
زمبركس zamburak (subs.) a gun, a piece of artillery.

زُنجيرلاتما zanjir-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to put in chains.

## 

; zanjir-la-mak (v. tr.) to chain, to put in chains, to chain up (as a door), P. T.
;نجيرلانهاكس
zanjir-la-' $n$-make ( $v$. pass.) to be enchained.
زijzang (subs.) rust.
;'j zangbarale (subs.). The same as zamburak.
;زنلانماكس zang-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to rust, to allow to rust.
كامlofij zang-la-mak (v. intr.) to rust, to become rusty.
ز $z$ jor (subs.) strength, force, violence, $\mathbf{P}$.
زرولاتمات zôr-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to use force, or, violence.
 themselves together, or, against one another.

زرليق zor-liq (subs. and adj.) force, violence ; strong, violent.
زورّ zoflan (subs.) fetters.
 irksomeness.
 gather.
زيريكماك zerik-mak (v. intr.) to be wearied, to feel (anything) irksome.
زيغير zighir (subs.). The same as zaghir.
زيلجهاتِ Zilchaq (prop. name) a small river or canal a few miles south of Yarkand.
a

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { u } \\
& l^{l}{ }_{8} a \text { (subs.) a kite [bird]. } \\
& \text {. } \text { سابات saba (subs.) instruction, a lecture. [Corr. A.]. } \\
& \text { سابٌ sep (subs.) the handle of an axe, spade, \&o. }
\end{aligned}
$$

cum sapaq (subs.) the eye of a button (formed of wire).



ghotivin ant-twr-maq (v. caus.) to cause to sell.
的
號 sat-mdq (v. tr.) to sell, to give in barter.
cictivine edt-ipal-maq (v. tr.) to buy, [literally, to take by purchase].
(
(vil. adj.) sold.

$e^{\mathrm{lu}}$ zach (subs.) a starling.
$c^{\text {lu }}$ sack (subs.) hair of the head, Kr.
clam achaq (subs.) a tassel. [For chachaq.]
elan eachqan (subs.) a rat, a mouse. Also, the name of one of the years of the Turki cycle.
cinch sach-twr-maq ( $\nabla$. caus.) to cause to sow (seed).

cham sach-maq (v. tr.) to sow (seed). The same as chachmaq.
(v. pass.) to be sown.

مساراتمات sdra-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to sing (as a bird).
cillilina-sh-maq (v. recipe.) to sing together (as birds).
El, low sdrdgh (vil. subs.) a bird's song.
cloth sara-maq (v. intr.) to sing [said only of birds]. For saivamag.
سارانك. parang (adj.) mad, insane.
(إس serai (subs.) a caravansarai, a place in a town where traders with their cattle put up, $\mathbf{P}$.
(prop. name) a term applied by the nomads (Kirghiz, Kazzaks, \&c.) to dwellers in settled habitations, whether Turks or Tajiks, i. e., whether Turanian or Iranians.

تارغارغارغ sarigh-ar-maq (v. intr.) to become yellow.
 سارغايشهات sarigh-aï-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to become yellow together.
تسارغايداتر sarigh-ai-maq (v. intr.) to become yellow.
سارغو sarghu (adj.) deaf.
(2ly sari (advl. affix) as, in the measure of [after the Indefinite Verbal Substantive].

ساريغاوصت Sarigh-6t (prop. name) literally 'yellow grass.' The name of a plain near the Karakoram.
(parigh-AZ̈ghur (prop. name) a place mentioned in the Tawarikh-i-Rashidi as in the direction of Lake Lob. There is at the present day a hill near Karashahr called Aighur-Taghi. This seems to have been the home of Uighurs [Aighur means "a stallion"].
ماريغ هویان Sarigh-Chopan (prop. name) a stage on the road between Sariqol and Wakhan (nearest the latter). Mentioned in the Tawarikh-i-Rashidi, and by modern travellers.
سlàriq-qol (prop. name) a wide valley and district on the east of Pamir in the dominions of Kàshghar. [Often spelt at the present day Nàriqol.] The name is derived from Sàriq " yellow," and qol (which see), the Kirghiz name for a wide valley (distinguished from jilgha "a gorge"). The name has been wrongly supposed to be that of a Lake, after the manner of IssighKcül اسيغكول "Hot Lake," which is formed with kuill "lake" (spelt with a different guttural and pronounced with a different vowel). Sàriqol is only one of a series of similar compounds, used in this region, and should not be divorced from them ; e. g., Sarigh-Chopan, SarighAighur, Sarigh-6t, Sàriqia; on the other hand its second element is found again in King-qol " wide valley." See qol.

Lit w Sàriqia (prop. name) literally, ' yellow slant.' Name of a part of the Qaraqash Valley.
j ow adz (subs.) a marsh.
(subs.) any musical instrument, $\mathbf{P}$.
|jus gaza (subs.) punishment, $\mathbf{P}$.
سازرا azan (subs.) a species of fish, Gaz.


.
(s) stix-liq (subs.) harmony (chiefly used metaphorically), P. T.
cine saisi-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be putrid.

غ
(vil. adj.) putrid, stinking.
masigh-liq (vil. subs.) putridity, stinkingness.

$\dot{c}^{\text {c/ sigh (subs.) wellness, happiness. }}$
ساغْذاق saghddq (subs.) a bow.
ساغراغو saghraghu (adj.) deaf.
saghri (subs.) a leather prepared from horse-skin (from the back of the horse) [? shagreen].
ساغز saghiz (subs.) fine clay.
ساغزغان saghizghan (subs.) a magpie.
ساغليت saghliq (subs.) a ewe.
pic saghim (subs.) mirage, distorted and magnified objects as seen through the heated atmosphere near the ground.
ساغدات saghmaq (v. tr.) to milk.
ساغو saghu (subs.) a wooden butt or pail.
ساغير saghin (adj.) giving milk, 'milch.'
ghankicicing (v. recipe.) to yearn for one another.
ساغيزمات saghin-maq (v. tr.) to yearn for (a person).
سافال safal (adj.) of earthenware.
wafaq. For sapak (which see).

سافاقلّمات safaq-la-maq. For sapaqlamaq.
سافمات saf-maq. For sapmaq.
(th sig. For sagh.
Ur
ساتال sdqal (subs.) a beard.
(y)

ساتايتمات saq-ai-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be well or happy.
colon saq-ai-maq (v. intr.) to be well or happy.
ساتلاتماتى saqla-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be taken care of, to entrust.
ساتلاشْهات saqla-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to take care of one another.
ساقلاملت saqla-maq (v. tr.) to take care of ; also, to wait for.
ه um saga. The same as salta.
ulm akan (mum.) eighty. [From sakiz "eight" and un "ten".]
ساكسانابلان saksas-ailan (nam. subs.) a group of eighty.

ساكساول saksaul (subs.) a sort of heavy wood which burns without wasting, retaining its shape until after it has become a glowing mass all through.
ساكيز sakiz (mum.) eight.
Uakiz-aïlan (numb. subs.) a group of eight.

(v. caus.) to cause to dangle, to cause to be of uneven length.
salbira-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to dangle together, to be of uneven length together.
clortionale (v. intr.) to dangle (as a rope); to be of uneven length (as stirrups, or the two sides of a robe).
سall-dur-mdq (v. caus.) to cause to throw.
سالشمات sal-ish-maq (v. recip.) to throw together.

مالقير salqin (adj.) cool, temperate, moderately warm.

Lilw salma (subs.) drift wood.
call-maq (v. tr.) to throw (gently), to throw off (as clothes), to pour, to put in, to lay out (as a wall, \&c.).
(subs.) any thing put on as an ornament, e. g., a necklace, \&c.
راو
سامunsa (subs.) a small baked mest dumpling.
, mamou (subs.) a glazed cotton stuff, [now made in Khotan, but formerly imported from China], CH.
$\boldsymbol{u}^{\boldsymbol{\omega}}$ san (subs.) total, amount ; used by the Kazaks for ten krors (10,00,00,000).
vin san (subs.) the thigh.
(van-a-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to count.
ع ${ }^{\text {U }}$ sanach (subs.) an entire goat skin used as a bag for flour, \&c.
cinch san-a-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to count together.

givilin san-a-'l-maq (v. pass.) to be counted.
[following]. تسانجيرت sanjiq (subs.) an acute pain in the stomach [from the
سانجميماكس sanji-mak (v. tr.) to stab, to prick, to pierce, to spear.
ساندال sandal (subs.) an anvil.
(صندوت Panduq (subs.) a box. For
范 sin-siz (adj.) countless, uncounted; also, of no account.
سانكاغو sangraghu (adj.) deaf.
سانكاور sangraù (adj.) deaf, Kaz.
سانكولغمكـ sangul-la-mak (v. intr.) to dangle, to hang loose.
號 saùr-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to winnow.
ساوروشمات saìr-ush-maq (v. recip.) to winnow in company.
ساورمات saùr-maq (v. tr.) to winnow (grain).

maughat (subs.) a present, a keepsake, P.
cig saóq (adj.) cold, [in form derived from saô-maq].

سارتلوق sabt-luq (subs.) cold, coldness.

和 $\mathrm{ma} \mathrm{\delta}$-'sh-maq ( V . recip.) to be cold together.
. سارمات sab-maq (v. intr.) to be cold, to become cold, to cool (intr.).
ساني saï (subs.) a desert plain ; sdirkak "a desert gazelle."
سالي sai (subs.) a gorge, a ravine, a river-bed, Kaz.
سابآت maydq (sabs.) a mare which will not consort with the herd, Kaz. Also, the name of a Kirghiz tribe.

سابلاتهات sai-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to select.
號
سايلاماق saiz-la-mdq (v. tr.) to select, to pick out.


sabaq (subs.) instruction. (Corr. A.)
سالياق sapaq (subs.). The same as سات
(subs.) a soldier. For sipahi, P.
esipur:'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to sweep.
س سنورماكس sipur-mak (v. tr.) to sweep.
ساوركي sipur-gi (subs.) a broom, a brush.
سيليل sapil (subs.) a fortification, a battlement. For safil.
سat (adj.). ugly.
 tents of an egg, the brain, \&c.
ستيلماق süt-il-maq (r. pass.) to be extruded, to ooze out.
سیهوكس sachuk (adj.) sweet-toned.
sarai (subs.) a rest-house for travellers in a town, P.
 stakes his head,"] $P$.
سسرياى sarpaiz (subs.) a full dress of honour (including turban or cap, robe and boots). For sar-o-pai, P.
سرهی suir-chi [prond. almost sirchi] (subs.) a painter and gilder, a painter of patterns on a wall.

سردار sardar (subs.) a high officer charged with some particular employ, $\mathbf{P}$.
surg sur-diur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to purge (as a draught).
/ sirka (subs.) vinegar, P.
سركار sarkdr (subs.) an official (of great or small degree) charged with the duty of collecting and re-distributing or accounting for the revenues in kind, of a large or small district or village under the orders of its governor or head-man; also with all the works of making up or repair of moveable Government property, such as clothing, furniture, \&c., $P$.
 ticular function, $\mathbf{P}$.
سركّ sürgi (subs.) a purging draught.
sion sur-mak ( v . intr.) to be purged (in consequence of a draught).
سفيل safîl (subs.) a fortification, a battlement.
سفال saqal (subs.) a beard.

 one another (by the throat).
cict süq-mdq [prond. almost siq-mdq] (v. tr.) to squeeze to express (juice, \&c.).

פת سكراil sakra-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to jump together.
مكرامكا sakra-mak (v. intr.) to jump close-footed, to hop.
سكز sakiz (num.) eight.
sakiz-ailan (num. subs.) a group of eight.

(num.) eighty [sakiz " eight" and un " ten"].
ám salla (subs.) a turban.
(pron.) thou.
, sïn [prond. almost sin] trial, experience.
cilarinta-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to try.
cilan sün-a-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to try one another, or in com,
[pany.
sïn-a-maq (v. tr.) to try, to prove, to make experiment.
, sün-chi (subs.) a trier, an examiner.
cilorigindiur-'t-maq (v. caus. redupl.) to cause to break (tr.), to cause to make broken.
سinn-dür-maq (v. caus.) to cause to become broken, to break (tr.). [Also sün-dür-ïsh-mdq, \&e.]
जlolid, sün-la-maq (v. tr.) to try, to prove [same as sïn-a-maq].
سïn-mdq (v. intr.) to break, to become broken; [also sün. üsh-maq, \&c.].
sün-iq (vl. adj.) broken, in a broken state.
سو $\delta \mathfrak{u}$ (subs.) water, a stream [the latter sense in composition chiefly, as $a k$-suc " white stream or water," kizil-su " red stream or water"].
can su-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to anoint.
(

[another. jold
(v. tr.) to spread any liquid or semi-liquid over a surface, to anoint, to smear, to plaster.
(v. refl.) to anoint one's self.
(ت) si-ba-maq. The same as siamaq [also subatmaq, subash-
سوت silt (subs.) milk.
[maq, \&c.].
سوهوكس silchük (adj.) sweet (not bitter or sour).
سوشي sth-chi (subs.) a water-carrier.
[P. T.
(saudagar-chi-liq (subs.) the profession of a merchant,

سوراراin sudra-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to drag.
كسا سوJ| sudra-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to drag one another, or together.
sudra-'l-mak (v. pass.) to be dragged.

 a rope behind a cart).
سوراتماتو sara-'t-maq ( $v$ caus.) to cause to ask.
(ving sara-sh-maq (v. recip.) to ask one another, or in company.
 سورام sura-'m (subs.) harrow. [justice.
(v. tr.) to ask, to inquire ; also, to rule, to have jurisdiction.


s sirt-mak ( $\mathrm{f} . \operatorname{tr}$.) to wipe, KH. ; to smear, Y.

سوركو surgu (subs.) a purging draught.
cicion sur-mdq (v. tr.) to ask. The same as sura-maq.

سתوghair-üsh-mak (v. recip.) to drive together in company, to drive one another alternately backwards and forwards (as cattle fighting).
سوروروسـ sürük (subs.) a flock, a herd [from sürmak].
部 sürün (subs.) a Royal assembly, a King's Court.
© سورونهمإ sur-ïn-chak (adj.) stumbling, given to stumbling.
 together].
留 söz (subs.) a word, a speech ; also, any written matter.
سوزاكـس sözaq (subs.) venereal disease.

سوزكو süz-gü (subs.) a strainer, a cullender.
© middle).

Shaty somz-la'sh-mak (v. recip.) to speak together.
elloly wionz-la-mak (v. tr.) to speak, to say, to talk.

emiz-mak (v. tr.) to strain, to filter; to remove solids from a saucepan.
ell suiz-izl-mak ( $\nabla$. pass.) to be strained, or filtered.
cicheghar-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to water.


(subs.) a water-pail.
© in the city of Yarkand.
سوغورتماتّ sughur-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to draw out.
( سوغو;مات sughur-mdq (v. tr.) to draw out (any long object as a sword from the scabbard, or a stick from a faggot).
(v. recip.) to draw out in company, to draw
(swords) on both sides.
سوغوت sughoq (adj.) cold.
(subs.) fine linen or cotton cloth.
liga (subs.) a raised platform for sitting on ; origin of our
'sofa,' P.
سوفيـ sufi (subs.) a recluse, a religious man, A.
(subs.) the stroke of the evil eye.
斎 soqta (subs.) black puddings (the blood of animals filled into sausages; used in feeding dogs), Kaz.
moq-twr-maq (v. caus.) to cause to strike.
سوتمات soq-maq (v. tr.) to strike.
سوقمات suq-maq (v. tr.) to sheathe, to pass any long object into a receptacle.

. soqush (v. subs.) a fight, a striking [from soqmaq].
的 $80 q-w s h-m a q$ ( V . recip.) to strike one another, to fight.

سوقور soqum (subs.) a fat ox.
سوكـ suk (subs.) millet cleaned of its husk.
Kamka (subs.) an ear-ring.
sumksuk (subs.) a tree used for fuel. The same as saksaul.
sckl-mak (v. tr.) to scold, or vituperate.
sthemak (v. tr.) to undo a seam.
سوكوثر swkush (subs.) abuse, vituperation.
esherkithsh-mak (v. recip.) to scold or abuse one another.
sesk-wsh-mak ( v . recip.) to undo a seam together.
سوكولها suk-ul-mak (v. pass.) to be scolded.
sids-ul-mak (v. pass.) to be undone (of a seam).
sugat (subs.) a willow tree. Also the name of a place (where these trees grow) and of a Pass, in the KuenLun (near Shahid-ullah).
č sugal (subs.) a wart.
Now (adj.) left [hand].
سوراغالي
(subs.) a watering-place for cattle.
秋 sula'q (subs.) a house in which cattle or sheep are kept.
سولاتي sulaqai (adj.). The same as solaghai.
(v. intr.) to be enclosed, or shut up (in ans place).
سورلاملت sula-maq (v. tr.) to enclose, to shut up.

سولو sulw (subs.) breath, Kaz.
سولوت suluq (subs.) a bit (horse's).
su-luq (subs.) a waterproof, or garment to ward off the rain.
(vulu' $q$-üsh-maq (v. recip!) to be enclosed together or at the same time.
sulw'q-maq (v. intr.) to be enclosed.
سوليت suliq. For sulwq (both senses).

سور sum (adj.) thick, massive.
ghormer-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become fat, to fatten (tr.).

Sum-ur-ush-mak (v. recip.) to become fat together.
سونك sung (post-pos.) after, behind [governs the affix din]. Also
absolutely as an adverb, Kaz., KH.
ع سونk sungach (subs.) the os coccygis.
سدونگّ sungaq (subs.) a bone.
sungalchaq (subs.) the heel-bone.

, سون大ا , sung-ra (post-pos. and adv.). The same as sung, Kaz., KH.
سونگغي sung-ghi (adj.) hinder, aftermost, following.
© سونك sunguch (subs.) a culvert, a hole for the escape of water, Y.
[to digest.

el cause to be absorbed or digested]. See singurmak.
e will sung-ur-ush-mak (v. caus. recip.) to absorb or digest together.
留 sun-maq (v. tr.) to stretch, to extend (a limb), sun-up yetmak to reach (by stretching out a limb).
(vin-ush-maq (v. recip.) to stretch (limbs) towards one another, or together.
تilar survor't-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be or become cold, to cool (tr.).
survu-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to become cold together, to cool (intr.) together.
سورى sucur'q (vl. adj.) cold, cool.

el siiya-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to support or prop up.

emsingak (subs.) a bone, Kag.
سوy süyal (subs.) a wart, Kaz.
suiya-'l-mak (v. pass.) to be supported or propped (as a sick man).
موريام siyan (subs.) a measure (the span between the forefinger and thumb).
elolegesua-mak (v. tr.) to support or prop up (as a sick man); also, to prop up, or cause to lean, any object against some firmer thing; also metaphorically, to support the credit of any one.
 and forefinger.
[against.


elon sizizka-mak (v. tr.) to smear, to daub.
erlaika-'n-ish-mak (v. refl. recip.) to rub or brush against one another (as men in a crowded street).
 self (as an animal against a post).
cincherndq (v. tr.) to kill by cutting the throat ; also to skin.

siüy-iuk-lük ( Fl. adj.) beloved.
 tial) mark of gratitude.
 like one's self, 'to fancy one's self').
(exiy-ün-üch (subs.) pleasure, bappiness.
سيباتمات sipa-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to stroke.
سith sipa-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to stroke one another.
سییاملت sipa-maq (v. tr.) to stroke.
سيبالامات sipa-la-maq (v. tr.) to stroke continuously; also specially, to feel about for any thing, to search with the fingers or hand, "tatomner."
(v. refl.) to stroke one's self, to plume itself (of a bird), to arrange one's hair, \&c.
(sipach (subs.) a turban of white cloth.
elo sip-mak (v. tr.) to strew, to sprinkle, to scatter [by dropping, not by casting].
سيتار sitdr (subs.) a guitar [seh "three", tdr "string"], P.
هی sitar-chi (subs.) a player on the guitar, P. T.
(subs.) a spit, a skewer, P.
ghorr (subs.) the colour vermilion; cinnabar, also colour in general.
Nive (prop. name) the River Jaxartes or Saïhun.
emarpi-l-mak (v. pass.) to be moved forward in a wave.
er serpi-mak (v. tr.) to move (a fluid or semi-fluid) forward in a wave.
Shing serpi-'n-mak (v. refl.) to move (itself) forward in a wave, to surge.
 cular spot of the body.
سيرقوراملت serqura-maq (r. intr.) to feel sharp local pain.
偣 sirr-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to paint.
سيرلأشمات sirr-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to paint together.
سيرلامات sirr-la-maq (v. tr.) to paint, to lay on colour.
سيرليت sirr-liq (adj.) painted, coloured.
قاترمرم, siyir-maq (v. tr.) to tell one's beads (of a rosary).
سيريتهات siri-'t-maq ( $v$. caus.) to cause to quilt.
ciri-'l-maq ( F. pass.) to be quilted.
سريريماتٍ siri-maq (v. tr.) to quilt, to ornament a garment, \&c. by rows of stitches.
(pron.) you, [used respectfully to a single person as in English].
jem siz (post-pos.) without, deprived of; also, as a privative affix to adjectives, \&c., [e. g., khush-siz "un-happy" or "dis-pleased"].

لmas-dur-mak (v. eaus.) to cause (involuntarily), to discover or become aware, to let out (a secret).
ميزغورمات sizghur-maq ( v . intr.) to whistle.
صيزلى sislaq (adj.) unwell, ailing; aghriq-sizlaq (suba.) an epidemic.
هيزل"'تمات siz-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause looal pain.
هدزلڭاتمات siz-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to feel pain together.
تمريزلمات siz-la-maq (v. intr.) to feel any local pain.
تjo siz-maq (v. tr.) to make a mark by scratching.
S有 sez-mak ( $\mathrm{v} . \mathrm{tr}$.) to detect, to become aware.
cidjeres siz-iq (vl. subs.) a acratch, a line or mark acratched.
(vl. subs.) a clue, a solution.

saifung (subs.) a tailor, CH.
هيل sil (subs.) a flood, a flooding, A.
سيلاتماتّ sila-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to rub down, to cause to une friction.
مصيلاتدات sila-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to entertain (a guest), Kas هيلاشهات
जnitila sila-sh-maq (v. recip.) to entertain one another, Kaz.
הtrin sila-maq ( v . tr.) to rub down, to use friction.
cial aila smdq (v. tr.) to entertain (a guest) to show hospitality.
/ sim (subs.) wire, $\mathbf{P}$.
(subs.) quicksilver [literally "silver-water"], A. P.
שسيمارمات simar-maq (v. tr.) to tuck up one's sleeves or trousers.
سيهالاماق sima-la-maq (v. tr.). The same as simarmaq.
gemir-'t-mak (v. caus.) to become fat, to fatten (tr.).


سیز semiz (adj.) fat.
(subs.) a trial, an experiment.
سina-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to try.
سina-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to try together.

سin sina-' $q$ (vl. adj.) tried, proved.
जtoline sina-maq ( $\mathrm{v} . \mathrm{tr}$.) to try, to make trial, to test, to prove.
cicingindur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to breat (intr.), to break (tr.).
登 sin-chi (subs.) a trier, an assayer, an experimenter; specially, a judge of horse-flesh.
slo سينأكيرماكس singgir-mak ( $\mathrm{v} . \mathrm{tr}$ ) to blow one's nose.

سينlل singil (subs.) a sister younger than one's self.
كس

سinn-maq ( v. intr.) to break, to become broken.

alap (subs.) a straight sword.
© inner side of the fingers; also, a slap (with the open hand).
Nith shatal (subs.) a percentage of the winnings at any game, taken by the landlord or by the Government.
ghat shatir (subs.) a man who goes in advance to clear the way by calling out to the people.
شاترلاتمات shatir-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to make a noise so as to scare away birds, \&c.
 pany.
ع ithdtir-la-ghwch (subs.) a rattle for scaring away birds, \&c.
شاتراتراتر shdtir-la-maq (v. tr.) to make a noise so as to scare away birds, de., to spring a rattle, P. T.

ثالتو as shatir. The same as شاتير
$\dot{c}^{(\$ 1}$ shdkh (subs.) a branch, a twig; also a horn, antler, P.

رil shakhar (subs.) potash, $\mathbf{P}$.

شادليتى shdd-liq (subs.) happiness, pleasure, P. T.
شاراتقشارات shdrdq-shdrdq (subs.) the rattle or noise of a child's plaything, of a waggon, \&c.
: شاراقلاتهات sharaq-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to ratile, to rattle (tr.).
© al araraq-la-maq (v. intr.) to rattle, to make a rattling noise.
© torrent or a waterfall.
cilotich shdsh-tur-maq (v. cans.) to cause to hurry.

cill shdsh-ur-maq. The same as shashturmaq.
شاغل shaghal (subs.) a jackal.
th shdf (subs.) a straight sword.
cian shaf-la-'t-mdq (v. caus.) to cause to strike with the sword.
cilailal shdf-la-'sh-mdq (v. recip.) to strike one another or togetber with the sword.
shaf-la-mdq (v. tr.) to strike with the sword.
JVla shakal (subs.) broken walnut or other fruit-shells.
شال shal (subs.) a wooden plank. Also P. stuff made of goati' down, shawl.
shal-yaghliq (subs.) a woollen (shawl-stuff) handkerchief or small scarf.
شالاقلاتمات shalaq-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to jog, to cause to be shaken uncomfortably.
shalaq-la-mdq (v. intr.) to jog, to be shaken uncomfortably.
 also, a shameless woman.
شالتاتٍ shaltaq (adj.) defiled.
شالكي shali (subs.) rice in the husk, $P$.
$\boldsymbol{p}^{\text {hit }}$ sham (subs.) a candle [made in Eastern Turkistân of tallow with a wick of cotton wound round a central piece of reed], A.
lola shdma (subs.) refuse tea leaves after infusion.
Jloli shamál (subs.) wind, (? A.).
anli shamah (subs.) a candle.
شانــ shang (subs.) a present, [P CH.].
(adj. and subs.) truculent, turbulent (of men), (its shangghut vicious (of animals).
شارقوم shduqum (subs.) tumult, noise.
cilalig shdu-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to murmur (as water).
(\%) shdu-la-maq (v. intr.) to murmur (as distant waters), to hum (as a kettle).
شاوني shduni (subs.) a thread of hemp, flax or hair.
ئي shai (adj.) dandy, well-dressed.
shai shdi (subs.) a kind of silk stuff with large brilliant pattern, made in Central Asia [properly shahi, P.].
ethdi-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to prepare.
el inlolithi-la-mak (r. tr.) to prepare, to make ready.
, shdi-la-'n-mak (v. refl.) to prepare one's self.
, shüb-shüb (subs.) the shuffling noise of slippers.
شبرلأشهات shibar-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to whisper together.

شبو shu-ba (pron.) this very, this same.
cich shipil-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to whistle (a whip).
 or stick quickly moved), to whizz.
$\dot{\text { © }}^{\hat{\omega}}$ shakh (subs.) a precipitous cliff. Also (adj.), hard, diffcult, $P$.
شخذار shakhar (subs.) potash, P.
sut shadah (subs.) a string of beads, \&c.
(ath sharm-lik (adj.) shameful, also shame-faced, P. T.
. goats].

Shinit shish-mak ( v . intr.) to swell.
(Ahashi (subs.) a flimsy material used for linings.
شغارلّ Shagharoal (subs.) a high official of Central Asian sovereigas, who is supreme over all the Kazis and Mullahs.
( شفاتآهات shifa-tap-maq (comp. v. intr.) to recover (from illness), [literally" to find a cure"], A. T.
 remedy (from illness), to obtain benefit (from a remedy), [literally " to see or experience a cure"], A. T.
كُّشّ shak-kak (adj.) suspicious, jealous; also (subs.) a suspicious person, P. T.
شكل shakl (subs.) appearance, form, A.
لtal shakal (subs.) a walnut shell.
Naíshamal (subs.) wind (from any quarter), [? A.].
an shamah (subs.) candle [for A. A.].
$\hat{\mathrm{H}} \mathrm{H}$ shu (pron.) that [said of things that are present, though not immediately under one's hand].
شوبو shu-bu (pron.) this or that very, the same.
شوتي shuti (subs.) a ladder.
شوخ shokh (adj.) playful, P.
شوخلا shokhla (subs.) a small yellow seed contained in a pod or fruit, [used in Turkistân as medicine, and in Tibet by the women to stick on to their faces]. The seed of Solanum nigrum according to Aitchison.
 cause to play truant.
شوخلاندات shokh-la-'n-mdq (v. refl.) to be playful, to play [literally, to render one's self playful], to play truant.
(v. refl. recip.) to play together or with one another.
shokh-lwq (subs.) playfulness, idleness, distraction.
\&
shrudugar (subs.) land ploughed previous to sowing, which is only done by very careful cultivators, (? P.).
shor (subs.) white efflorescence on the ground, common in certain districts and making the land barren, $P$.
shora (subs.) saltpetre, P. Also, a small plant.
شورلا shor-laq (subs. and adj.) covered with white efflorescence, شورزليت shor-liq $\}$ salsugineous; also, land so affected, P. T.
شوشانع shoshang (subs.) shears, (P CH.).
شوت shoq. For shokh, P.
© shoq (subs.) an inclination or hobby, A.
شوكـ shuk (interj.) Silence! Be quiet!
(ing shul (pron.) that [applied to less distent objects than ul, but not implying such nearness as $b u l]$.
IV shucla (subs.) a diah composed of rice, meat and fat, cooked till it is soft.
شوم shum (adj.) unlucky, unfortunate, ne'er do weel, A.
drent shum-chah [for shwn-chah] (adj. pron., also adv.) that much, to that amount or extent, [from shul 'that' and chah, for chin ' amount' or 'extent'].
شوملوت shum-luq (subs.) bad luck, coming to grief, [through fault or mismanagement), A. T.
| shul ' that' and $d d$ 'in' or 'at'].
(adjl. pron., also adv.) that like, such ; also, like شونهات shun-daq $\}$ that, so. [From shul 'that' and diq or dagh 'like'.]
af 1 [from shul 'that', gha ' to' and chah for chinn 'extent'].

arkig shun-ga-chah. The same as shunghachah.
a\% shu-nung-gha-chah. The same, Y.
شونگقار shungqar. The same as shunqar.
; shaikh (subs.) the chief person in charge of a mosque. Shaikh-ul-Islam, a sort of religious police-officer, looking after religious observances as well as bazâr morals.
: shirah (subs.) grape-juice (sherbet) ; also rice-water, $\mathbf{P}$.
 used mixed with water for glue.
سيكل shill. For shake.
shilan (subs.) cooked rations issued to soldiers, P.
shilan-chi (subs.) the officer charged with issuing these - rations, P. T.
cilice shiltaq (subs.) a frivolous complaint of assault, made for the purpose of extracting money.
[plaints.
شيلتاقفيـي shiltaq-chi (subs.) a person given to making such com-
شيليم shilim (subs.) paste made of flour or rice.
(i) shim (subs.) wide outer trousers, often large enough to take in the skirts of several robes.
 trousers,) [? from shim and almdq 'to take'] (governs the accusative both of the limb and also of the garmont).
[trousers.


[A.]
deal (subs.) injury, [for zarar, A.].
b
chen $\ddagger A b d q$ (subs.) a dish, (of earthenware, wood or metal), A.
cir lb tamdq (subs.) the throat; also KH., any eatable.
blanab (subs.) a measure used in measuring land, vise., a square whose side is forty gaz in length, each gaz being about 3 feet 6 inches. Also, the tax levied on gardens and pleasure-grounds, which is assessed per tanáb, A.
(blair (subs.) a young horse rising two years old.

y tillah (subs.) gold ; also, a gold coin worth 10 shillings, $P$.
boil (subs.) a feast given on the occasion of a wedding or circumcision.

## 

طودِلورماتٍ toi-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be satiated, to satiate.
طوريمات toï-maq (v. intr.) to become satinted, to feast.
© toy-in-maq ( $\mathrm{\nabla}$. refl.) to satiate one's appetite, to gorge [one's self-

## $\dot{\varepsilon}$

ghaja-maq (v. tr.) to gnaw.
غl ghar (subs.) a cave, a cavern, A.
غارُّوراتماتو ghar-qura-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to give a hollow sound.
غ غارقور|مات ghdr-qura-maq (v. intr.) to give a hollow sound.
ghanjurghah (subs.) a strap for fastening loads, \&c., to the back of the saddle.
غأرغه ghdoghah (subs.) a row, a disturbance, $P$.
غ gharr (subs.) a woman of bad repute.
$\dot{\mathrm{c}} \mathrm{ghürr}$ (interj.) a term of mockery, used to a person who fails to accomplish what he has tried to do.
ghurung-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to speak together in such a way that the by-standers do not understand.
cin ghurung-la-maq (v. intr.) to tinkle (as a camel's bell) ; also, to talk gibberish, to give an uncertain answer.
ghalbir (subs.) a coarse sieve.
ghaltak (subs.) a wooden disk (used as a wheel for play carts in Turkistân, and for working ones in many parts of India); also, a roller, a pulley, a reel, [? P. from ghaltidan].
Ghalchah (subs.) the name applied to the Aryan (Iranian) inhabitants of the mountain-districts chiefly Shîyar (Kolab, Màcha, Karategin, Badakhshân, Wakhàn, \&c.) ; also, in Eastern Turkistân applied generally to a slave bought with money.
 to talk indistinctly (as a child), to babble.
$\dot{\boldsymbol{\varepsilon}} \mathrm{ghw}$. An affix corresponding with our " $n$ 't"in" isn't there?" "doesn't it?" E.g. bdr-ghu "(there is) isn't there?"
ghojah. For khojah.
غوز ghoza (subs.) a cotton-pod. For غوز P غ
عولجِa gholjah (adj.) mad (of a dog).
\& ghah (post-pos.) to, on to, into, \&c. (Also written ga, qa and $k a$ ), [used to imply action as distinguished from rest; e. g., kitab ga pit-tim "I wrote in(to) the book;" but kitab da taptim "I found in the book"].

ghijàq (subs.) a violin.

## 4

فاتس fat (adv.) quickly. The same as pdt.
فافي fafi (subs.) a dwarf with a full-sized trunk and head. The same as $p d p i$.
فوت fut (subs.) a leg (including the foot). The same as put.
efuchak (adj.) empty, rotten at the core, of fair appearance but valueless. Also puchak.


## v

قاب qab (subs.) a coarse woollen sack.
بكي قاباس وabat (subs.) fold, covering, lap, stratum. E. g. كابات Kkiki kabat kdghaz dah yurga'ng "wrap (it) in two folds of paper."
قاباتلامرت qabat-la-maq (v. tr.) to lay in layers, or one on the top of the other.

قابرغ̇ه qabirghah（subs．）a rib．
قآارجوّى qapar－chuq（subs．）a rash on the skin．
قاليارْ qapar－maq（v．intr．）to rise in a blister（as from a burn on the skin，or a rub on the foot from an ill－fitting boot）．
قابالمات qaba－＇l－máq（v．pass．）to be shut in．
qaba－maq（v．tr．）to shut in，to confine（used of men only）．
qaba－maq（v．intr．）to bark（of dogs）．
عاباس qaban（subs．）a male pig，a boar．
قا⿰亻⿱丶⿻工二又 qaptal（subs．）the two side pieces of a Turki saddle，from which the arch of the seat springs on both sides；also， that part of the horse＇s back covered by them，Kaz．
تإتورمlop－tur－maq（v．caus．）to cause（a dog）to bite，to set on （a dog）．［From qap－maq．］
（ $q$ qap－chah（subs．）a small sack（ $q a b$ ）．

qapsa－＇sh－maq（v．recip．）to wrangle together，Kız．
ciق qapsa－maq（ $\mathrm{V} . \mathrm{intr}$ ）to jangle，to wrangle，Kaz．
قابِقات qapqaq（subs．）a lid，a cover．
qapqan（subs．）a gin for catching fores．
quap－qara（adj．）very black；［an intensitive form of kara］．
قإيقوس qapqun．The same as qapqan．
قالطاتهات qap－la－＇t－maq（จ．caus．）to cause to plate．
تآلام qap－la－maq（v．tr．）to plate（one metal with another）．
قا⿰亻⿱口木⿴囗十丌 qap－maq（v．tr．）to bite［used of dogs］．
قاس qat（subs．）a fold，a stratum．［The same as qabat．］
قُتار qatar（subs．）a line，a row，P．
Qataghan（prop．name）a tribe of Uzbek Tûrks inhabiting the districts of Kunduz，\＆c．［A Tajik proverb says：
 ＂Where the hoof of the Kataghan＇s horse arrives， ＂There the dead find no grave－cloth，and the living no home＂．］

قاتُقات qat-qaq (adj.) stiffening, stiffened (as badly prepared leather) ; [from qat-maq].
qat-la-'t-maq ( V . caus.) to cause to fold.

[itself.
 Gat-maq (v. intr.) to become hard, to harden, to stiffen.
تاتمات qat-maq (v. tr.) to twist (yarn into thread) ; also, to join, to put together.
قواتناتمات، qatin-a-t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to travel (the same road) repeatedly.
qatin-a-maq (v. tr.) to travel (the same road) repeatedly; [to iterate, un-metaphorically].
قاتّورمان qat-ur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to become hard, to harden (tr.). [From qat-maq " to become hard".]
qat-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to twist (yarn) [From qatmaq " to twist".]
$\left.\begin{array}{c}\text { قاتيغ qatigh } \\ \text { qatiq }\end{array}\right\}$ (subs.) curds.
قatt-igh (adj. and adv.) hard, stiff; severe; also, hardly, \&c.
(From qat-maq.]
قاتمصر qatim (subs.) a time. Bir qatim once; iki qatim twice, \&c.
قانيم qatim (subs.) a needle-ful (of thread).
lato qacha (subs.) a vessel (of any sort), a pot, \&c.
(\%) qa-chan (adv.) when $P$ [Derived probably from the com. mon element $q a i$ " what," and some other word to denote measurement of time? chîn "amount".]
afle qachan-gha-chah (adv.) until when $P$ [With the dative affix gha and the affix chah implying 'extent'.]
 maq.]
解 qAch-qAq (adj.) given to running away. $q$ ach-qu-'nchi (subs.) a fugitive. [For qach-qu-chi.]


部 $q$ dch-ur-mdq (v. caus.) to cause to flee, to put to flight. قآ $q$ ach-ush-mdq (v. recip.) to flee away together.

givi qachir (subs.) a mule. [For khachar, P.]
قار $q a r$ (subs.) snow.
, ${ }^{10}$ qard (adj.) black. Qara-tàgh often used to designate mountains which are not covered with perpetual snow. (See Remarks, under $A q$-tàgh.) Qara-su is similarly used to designate springs of water not derived from snow mountains. (The same remarks apply here.)
قاراتهاتٍ qard-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to look, to cause to regard.
تاراغاني qara-ghaï (subs.) a fir-tree [generically].
garaqchi (subs.) a highway robber, a bandit.

قارالامات qard-la-maq (v. tr.) to blacken (the face of any one, metaphorically), to look black upon, to regard with disfavour.
قارالمآ qara-'l-maq (v. pass. and intr.) to be blackened ; to become black.
qara-liq (adj.) in mourning (which in Yarkand consists in not shaving, putting on white and not-coloured clothes,\&c.)
قار|ماتّ qara-mdq (v. intr.) to look, to cast one's eyes [governs gha]. qara-'mtul (adj.) blackish.
[wheat.
قاراموت qara-muq (subs.) a small black seed of a weed found among
قارانغو qara-'nghu (adj. and subs.) dark, obscure ; also, the dark.
"ارانغولوتَ qara-'nghu-luq (subs.) darkness, obscurity.
(lاراول qard-wal (subs.) a post of observation, a watch, [from qaramaq].

قارتا qarta (subs.) the fat in a horse's stomach. Also, playing cards, Rus.
قar-'tang (adj.) oldish, past the middle age.
قارْهر qarchighah (subs.) a species of a hawk, ? a gos bawk.
qarchi (subs.) large scissors [for qainchi].
قارساتق qarsaq (subs.) a small kind of fox.
新 qair'sh-maq (v. intr.) to be disobedient, to be recusant [? for $q A r a ' s h-m a q$ " to exchange looks with any one"].
تارشهان qarsh-maq (v. tr.) to mingle, to mix up.
( ${ }^{\text {قارشّ } q d r ' s h i ~(a d v .) ~ c o n t r a r y, ~ o p p o s i t e . ~[? ~ F r o m ~ q a r a-m a q, ~}$ qard-'sh-maq.]
قارشيلاتمات qar'shi-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to make an angry rejoinder; to cause to place opposite.
 another.

qargha-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to curse.
cilalik qargha-'sh-maq ( V . recip.) to curse together.
تارغامات qargha-maq (v. tr.) to curse.
ciciel qargha-'n-maq (v. refl.) to curse one's self, viz., to imprecate curses on one's self in asseverating anything.
قارغو qarghu (subs.) a blind man.
qarghish (vl. subs.) a curse.
قارغه qarghah (subs.) a crow.
قارقرا qarqara (subs.) a tuft or crest stuck in a woman's cap.
عارلوغا qarlughach (subs.) a swallow.
قارليت qdr-liq (adj.) вnowy. Also the name of a Pass in the Kuen-lun leading from Yolarik to Toghra-su on the Upper Karakash.
ت
cilon qarma-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to grope.
© ${ }^{\text {قارمالا}}$ qarma-la-maq (v. tr.) to grope (for anything in the dark).

qdrun (subs.) belly, womb.
 fellow']. The particular relation is specified by the words: bir-tuqqan qärundash $=$ one generation relation
or first (degree) of relationship, viz., brother or sister;
iki-tuqqan qarundash $=$ related in second degree, \&c., viz., children of brothers or sisters, \&c. ; ughul qdrundash
"a male relative;" qiz qarundash "a female relative."
qari (subs.) a person who can repeat the Koran by heart, A. Gari (adj. and subs.) old, aged (used only of living creatures); also, an old man, an old woman.
قاريش qarish (subs.) a span.

qarish-la-maq (r. tr.) to span out, to measure by spans.
qar-il-maq. For qairilmaq.
qari-liq (subs.) old age.
قاريهاق qari-maq ( V . intr.) to become old.
قاز $q d z$ (subs.) a goose [for ghaz, P.].

قازاق Qàzàq (prop. name) the name of several vast hordes of nomads known to the Russians as the Great, Middle and Little Hordes of Kirghiz (see that name). The Qàzàqs are divided (according to Turki reekoning) into three hordes: 1st, Ulugh-yüz (great horde) sub-divided into the tribes Abdan and Dolat; 2nd, Urta-yïz (middle horde) subdivided into the tribes, Arghun, Naïman, Qipchaq, Kungrat ; 3rd, Kichik-yüz (little horde) Alchin, Jabbas. There are also innumerable further sub-divisions of each of these tribes.
qazan (8ubs.) a cauldron, a cooking-pot.

Gaznaq (subs.) an inner room or store room, [? from khazànah, A.].
qazuq (subs.) a peg.
qazi (subs.) a sausage of horse-flesh.
مازريق qaxiq. The same as qazuq.
قازيليق qaxi-liq. For qazi, Kız.
ciajol $q$ gazi-mdq. The same as $q A z m d q$.
قاسقان qasqan (subs.) a thin broad wooden hoop forming the edge of a sieve, or of certain trays with perforated bottoms which are placed one above another over a cauldron of boiling water for the purpose of cooking pastry by steam.
قاسلاتهات qas-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to resolve.

قاسلامفاتق qas-la-maq (v. tr.) to resolve, to determine, to intend. [From قصه A.]
cick qasmaq (subs.) scrapings of a cooking-pot, tdz-qasmaq the scurf of a scald head.
$q d s h$ (subs.) the hair of the eye-brows; also, metaphor. a man's neighbourhood or presence; e. g., aning quash-i-da $=$ near him, with him.
قاشانكـ qashang (adj.) lazy, slow, sluggish.
قانشاو qashao (subs.) a curry-comb.
قish-tash (subs.) jade-stone. [This is found in the mountains of Khotan and Sanju, the so-called Kuen-lun. There are three varieties: 1st, chaza-tash obtained from the quarries, often full of flaws which destroy its value; 2nd, pur-tash (rotten stone) or Kavoash a soft variety of the same; 3rd, su-tash (water stone) the most esteemed; it is obtained in the form of pebbles, water-worn in the beds of the streams, whereby probably the flaws are eliminated, the resulting pebble being sound to the core, and therefore not likely to render useless the long labour of carving it, by the discovery of a hidden flaw in the centre. Chapan-lik tash (coated stone) a pure nuclens with a reddish outside is highly valued.]
qashdq (subs.) an animal's forehead.
قاشُوت qashuq (subs.) a spoon for eating soup.

قاشيلامات $q$ ashi-la-maq (v. tr.) to scratch all over (with the hands).

قاشيداتَ qashi-maq (v. tr.) to scratch (on account of itching).

تات $q a q$ (adj.) dried, desiccated.
قات $q a q$ (subs.) a temporary pool of water.

قاترمات qdqir-maq (v. tr.) to cough up phlegm.
تاقرِّت qaqriq (subs.) phlegm from the mouth.
qaqsha-mdq (v. intr.) to lament in a plaintive or querulous manner.
تاقليت $q d q-l i q$ (subs.) dryness, desiccation.
qaq-maq (v. tr.) to drive in (a nail) ; also, to beat (a garment, \&c., to remove the dust).
تاقِدلمtت qdq-il-maq (v. pass.) to be driven in.
قاقينمات $q d q$-in-mdq (v. refl.) (lit. to beat one's self) to dust one's
self (by quick strokes of the hand).
لاق qald (subs.) a fortress, a fort [for A.].
قالاتمات qala-'t-mAq (v. caus.) to cause to pile up.
تلاقَ qaláq (subs.) a small wooden spoon for feeding small children.


قالكآت $q$ alpaq (subso) a felt wide-awake (hat), worn in hot weather by travellers, \&c.
قالتان qaltaq (adj.) unworthy of credit, untrustworthy.
qaltura'q (vl. adj. and subs.) palsied, trembling; a person afflicted with the palsy.
قaltura-'t-mdq (v. caus.) to cause to tremble.
قالتوراماق $q$ altwra-maq (v. intr.) to tremble, to quake, to shiver.
قالديرانز qaldiraq (adj.) rustling (as paper or badly prepared leather, when crushed together).
قالدبراتهات qdldira-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to rustle.
قالديرامات qaldira-maq (v. intr.) to rustle, to give a rustling sound. قالمبرتَاتى qal-dir.'t-maq (v. caus. redup.) to cause to put by.
 leave. [From qal-maq.]
qaldighach (subs.) a swallow.
qalghi-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be drowsy, to make (any-one) sleepy (as by talking overmuch).
 to nod.
تالهات $q a l-m a ́ q$ ( $v$. intr.) to remain, to stay behind. In composition with the Perf. Part. of another verb it expresses completion or condition: e. g., ketip qaldi "he has started" (lit. "he remained gone") ; qetip-qaladur "he is starting" (lit. "he is in the condition of starting").
जill qalmdq (prop. name) a nomad people of Buddhist faith, living to the east of the Amír of Kashghar's dominions, the 'Calmucks' of European writers. The name appears to be applied to all the Mongolian tribes, by the Turks.
qalqi-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to float. قالقيدات qalqi-maq (v. intr.) to float. Also, to hover.
qalun (subs.) a kind of open horizontal harpsichord, consisting of many strings of different lengths which can be tightened by turning their pegs or by means of moveable bridges. It is played partly with the fingers (like a harp) and partly with a little metal instrument like a tooth-pick. [For qanun, P.]
\%alin (subs.) a carpet, a rug of carpeting, $P$.

lol qama (subs.) an otter, otter-skin.
حاماتمات qama-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to enclose or besiege.
cololg qama-'l-maq (v. pass.) 1, to be enclosed; 2, to have one's teeth set on edge.
تام qama-maq (v. tr.) to enclose, to besiege.
gholo qama-maq ( $\mathrm{\nabla} . \mathrm{tr}$.) to set the teeth on edge (as anything acid).
qamchi (subs.) a riding-whip (consisting of a short wooden handle with a thick stiff thong of plaited leather, lashed on so as to form one line with the handle).
qam-la'sh-tur-maq (v. recip. caus.) to put together, to cause to live at peace together, \&c., (raccommoder in both senses).
qam-la'sh-mdq (v. recip.) to be fitted together (as broken pieces of anything); to be in unison, to be at peace together ; to assist. [ $P$ From an unusual qam-la-maq.]
قاملاشـشمـمات qam-la'sh-ish-maq ( V . recip. redup.) to assist one another. qamish (subs.) a reed.
قأ $q$ an (subs.) blood. Also, bloodshed.
qanat (subs.) a wing. Also, the side-covering of a Kirghiz akwiz or felt-tent.

gann-a-maq (v. intr.) to bleed.
قانتوكان qan-tukmaq ( v . comp.) to shed blood, to massacre.
$k a n-t i c h t i$ (verb used as an adj.) skin-flint, miserly. [Lit. 'he evacuates blood'.]
قانجموغه $q$ qanjurghah (subs.) straps in the cantle of a saddle for fastening a cloak, \&c.
تانججوغه qanjughah. The same, Kaz.
قانبجيغه qanjighah. The same, KH.
قانجه qan-chah (adv.) how much $P$ how many ?
qan-dà (adv.) where?
 قاندات qan-dàq $\}$ of? Also, how?
قاننهرتماتْ qan-dur-'t-maq (v. caus. redup.) to cause to satisfy the thirst (of another).
olongrodur-maq (v. caus.) to cause (any man or animal) to satisfy (his or its) thirst.
قاندئ qan-din (adv.) from whence ?
قانليت qan-liq (adj.) spotted with blood.

وانمات qan-maq (v. intr.) to quench one's thirst ; to satisfy one's desire for sleep [governs su or üqu with gha].
قانكتارتمات qangtar-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to fasten a horse's head up short.
qangtar-maq (v. tr.) to fasten a horse's head up short by a bearing-rein, or by hitching the reins over the peak of the saddle.
langshar (subs.) the bone of the nose, the part midway between the bridge and the tip.
qangshar-liq (adj.) hook-nosed.
قانه qanah \} (adv.) where? Also used as an exclamation equi-

قاو $q$ quo (subs.) tinder (made of fungi or of the down of a kind of flowering reed), KH.
فاورهات qdurchaq (subs.) a doll, an image for children to play with. Also, the figures in a kind of Punch and Judy show, which are dressed up on a man's fingers, who hides behind a cloth and manipulates these marionettes, making speeches for them in a feigned or falsetto voice produced by holding a small tube in his month, KH., (in Yarkand pronounce gorchaq).
هُ qaurgha (subs.) a rib.

قارومأق qdur-maq (v. tr.) to roast (grain), to fry.
تاوغه qaughah (subs.) a leather pail for drawing water.
qaughun (subs.) a melon.
qaï (pron.) which, what [only used in composition as qai$d a, q a i-s i]$.
قايل̂ qayash (subs.) [in composition with tuq-qan or wruq] relation, relative.
قاباس $q A^{\prime}-y a n$ (adv.) which side? Used also with the affires da, \&c. As $q a^{\prime}-y a n-d a$ " on which side;" $q a^{\prime}-y a n g h a$ " to which direction ;" $q a^{\prime}-y a n-i-d a$ " on which side of it."
qaïta (subs. and adj.) a fresh beginning; beginning afresh [qaïtabdsh-din yessadim " I made it over again (lit. ' from a fresh head') or qaita din yessadim (lit. "I made it from a fresh beginning'')].
qait-ar-'t-maq (v. caus. redup.) to cause to turn back (tr.). to order any one to be turned back.
قايتارمات qaït-ar-maq (v. caus.) to cause to return, to turn back (tr.).
قaïtaqi (subs.) the turned-back edge of any garment (as a European coat-collar).
qaitam (adv.) on the contrary.
فايتمان qaït-maq (v. intr.) to return, to come or go back, KH.
قاليجهي qaichi (subs.) scissors, shears.
قايم| qai-da (adv.) where ?
قايباغ $q a i ̈-d A g h$ (adjl. pron. and adv.) what like $P$ also, how $?$
قايداغرات qaï-dagh-rdq (adv.) how again $P$ or how further? [lit.
the comparative of 'how $P$ ' to which the reply would
be ' better' or 'worse,' not simply 'well' or 'ill'].
قایلات qaï-daq. The same as qaiddgh.
قابراتهات qaira-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to whet or sharpen.
عaira'q (vl. subs.) a whet-stone, a rough hone.
 passer."
cich qayir-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to retrovert forcibly. قإيرهان qa'-yer-dan (adv.) from what place? whence? Ga'-yer-liq (adj.) belonging to what place ? of what place? قايرمأت qayir-maq (v. tr.) to retrovert forcibly, to force back (the arm or any long-shaped object) into an unnatural position.
تايريلمات qayir-il-maq (v. pass.) to be retroverted.
"آيرِيغهات qayir-in-maq (v. refl.) to retrovert itself.
qai-si (pron.) which of them? who amongst them? [the
$s i$ is the possessive affix of the 8 rd person].
قايش qdish (subs.) strap-leather.
qaish-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be retroverted forcibly, to retrovert forcibly (same as qayir-maq) ; also, to causo to use continuous efforts.
qdish-maq (v. intr.) to be retroverted forcibly ; also, to use continuous efforts.
قايغو qaïghu (subs.) sorrow, grief [? vl. subs. from an obsolete verb qaï-maq].
"ايغورتهاتc qaighur-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be sorrowful.
قايغورمات qaïghur-maq (v. intr.) to be sorrowful, to grieve.
قايغغوليت qaigh ${ }^{\text {قايت-liq (adj.) sorrowful, grief-laden. }}$
qaïmaq (subs.) cream [often prepared by warming the milk, as in the preparation of Devonshire cream].
قابر $q$ ain (subs.) the birch-tree (whose bark is in sheets like paper).
 "—_—in-law." E. g. qdin-ata "father-in-law," qdïnana " mother-in-law."
倍 qaïng (subs.). For qaïn "a birch-tree."
位 qainna-t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to boil, to boil (tr.).
Gaina-maq ( v . intr.) to boil (as water).
qayur-maq. For qayir-maq (which see).
تايوق qayuq (adj.) nasty, having a bad taste.
qayu-maq (v. intr.) to swim (said of one's head).
فايوماق $q$ فاقن $q$ ayu-maq $\}$ (v. tr.) to stitch, to hem-stitch.
قاييمات qáai-maq $\}$
قابات qabat. The same as قبت

قاباماق qaba-maq. The same as قبامات
تَ qip a particle used before qizil to signify "intensely," " very."
U qaplan (subs.) an ounce (or white leopard).
قـتا qat. The same as

قاتْيم قاتيم qatim. The same as.
qichir-maq (v. tr.) to call, to summon.
Gأ. qichqir-maq (v. intr.) to shout.
qichi (subs.) mustard.
qichish-qaq (subs.) the itch.
تُ: qichi'sh-maq (v. recip.) to itch all over.

 speaks).
قه| quda (see) (فودا).
gür (prond. qirr) (subs.) a ridge, an edge formed by two planes meeting at an angle.
قرا qará (adj.) black.
قوالامان qaral-'maq. The same as قارالامات.
قارانغو qará-'n-maq. The same as قرانغو
قردوروان qür-dür-maq (v. caus.) to cause to scrape, \&c.
qir-ghu-chi (subs.) a turner, a person who works with a lathe. [From قومان.]
qirghol (subs.) a pheasant (of a species resembling the European, but named Phasianus Shavoii in Elliott's Book of Pheasants).
قوت qirq (num.) forty.
قوقايلاس qirq-aillan (num. subs.) a group of forty.
qirq-inchi (num. adj.) fortieth.
قرمان qür-maq (prond. qirr-maq) (v. tr.) to scrape, to scratch off, to scratch out; to turn (any article by means of a lathe, quasi " to scrape off the outer layers"); also, to destroy atterly, to " wipe out ;" also, to spend (time).
قوي garri (subs.) an old woman.
quir-il-maq (prond. qirr-il-mnaq) (v. pass.) to be scraped off; to be turned (in a lathe); to be utterly destroyed (" wiped out").
$j^{j} q i z$ (subs.) a maid, a virgin, a damsel ; also, a daughter. [ P From a root signifying " redness" for " modesty." See qizarmaq.]
©ing qiz-ar-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to redden, to make red.
 [? From the same root as above, see also qiz-maq.]
قزان qazan. The same as قازان.
قزازات qazaq. The same as قزات
قزمات qiz-maq (v. intr.) to become hot or warm ; also metaph., to become or to be eager [in Uighur it seems to mean "to redden" see Vambery], Kaz.
ciz-it-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be hot or eager.
© ${ }^{\text {قز }}$ qiziq (vl. subs.) warmth, eagerness, vivacity [from qizimaq].
قزل qizil (adj.) red. [? A passive form (in il) from a root signifying ' heat' as well as 'redness,' which would thus be the common origin of qiz-maq, qiz-ar-maq, qiz-il and qiz.] (See also yàshil.)
ciojo qizi-maq (v. intr.). The same as qiz-maq.
قزيندورماتو qiz-in-dur-maq (v. refl. caus.) to cause to warm one's self.
قوز $q$ qiz-in-maq ( F. refl.) to warm one's self.
قوْ qul (subs.) a slave.
qul-luq (subs.) slavery, service. Also used as a complimentary reply to congratulations, in the name of "your servant" or " my service to you."
qamtu (adv.) in company.
قهيز qimiz (subs.) an intoxicating liquor made from mare's milk, Kaz.
قاناس qandt. The same as قنات.
quala-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to pursue; to cause to drive away, Kaz.
quala-maq (v. tr.) to pursue ; to drive away, KAz.
quanji (subs.) happiness.
quan-maq (r. intr.) to be happy, to be pleased.
قوروبور qubuz\} (subs.) a Jew's harp. Also, a rough guitar with qupuz $\}$ horse-hair strings. Also, the inside of the cheek. $\left.\begin{array}{c}\text { قوبوزاتو } q u b u z d q \\ \text { قوبرق } q u u q\end{array}\right\}$ (subs.) the bark of trees.
qup-ar-'t-maq (v. caus. redup.) to cause to arouse.
تويارمات qup-ar-maq (v. caus.) to cause to stand up, to arouse.
qopal (adj.) rude, unpolished (used either of men or things).
ق $q u p$-maq (v. intr.) to rise up, to arise.
قرويوت qupuq (subs.) a term used in gambling with sheep's knuckle bones, implying success. As maning qupuq-um kelde
"I have won the toss," qupuq maning-ki" the toss is mine (I have won $i t$ )."
قوت qut (subs.) blessing, happiness.
$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { qotaz } \\ \text { قوتاز } \\ \text { qotas }\end{array}\right\}$ (subs.) a yak (Bos grunniens').
qutan (subs.) a sheep-fold ; a place where a flock of sheep is collected to pass the night, Kaz.

قوتفازمان qut-qdz-mAq] [From an obs. qut-maq.]
قوتلرت qut-laq (adj.) blessed.
قوتور qotur (subs.) the itch.
Gutur-maq (v. intr.) to go mad (of a dog), to be rabid.
qut-ul-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to become free, to release.
qut-ul-maq (r. pass.) to be made free, to be released. [From an obs. qut-maq.]
قوهاف quchaq (subs.) an armful, as much (of any thing) as can be embraced in the arms. [From quch-maq.]
quchaq-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to embrace one another.
quchaq-la-maq (v. tr.) to embrace, to take in the arms.
『 ${ }^{\text {lent }}$ quchquch (subs.) a small bird (of any sort).
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قوجار quchqdr (subs.) a ram.
quch-mdq ( v . tr.) to embrace, to take in the arms.
quch-wr-maq. The same as qdchurwaq.
qweh-wsh-maq ( v . recip.) to lie in one another's arms.
quda (sube.) a person standing in the relationship of father-in-law to one's son or daughter; one of two fathers whose children have intermarried.
قودرق quduq (subs.) a well.
قور qurr (subs.) a garter, a tape for fastening up leggings.
قور $q$ (subs.) a balance, a remainder (of goods or money).
قورا qura (subs.) a space enclosed by hurdes or railings; a fold, a pen.
قورام qoram (subs.) ground covered with large blocks of stone (fallen from the mountains). [? The origin of qaraqoram.]
قوراماق qura-maq (v. tr.) to make patch-work, to make a garment \&c., by sewing together small patches of staff.
qurowra-maq (v. intr.) to dry up hard (as a skin exposed to the sun, \&cc.), Kaz.
qurbashi (subs.) a chief police official, a ' Kotwal.'
qurt (subs.) a worm, a grub.
qurt-la-t-maq (v. caus.) to cause or allow to breed worms (of meat \&c.).
qurt-la-maq (v. intr.) to breed worms (of meat \&c.).
qurchaq. The same as qaurchaq.
[qur-chi (subs.) a superintendent of a magazine. [See qurkhana and qur.]
قورخانه qur-khdna (subs.) a magazine (for powder and balls).
قوزداش qur-dash (subs.) a contemporary.
qurdum (subs.) a place where any stream disappears (in the sand, \&c.). [The Yarkand River is said to disappear in a district called kurdum-kâk.]
qursaq (subs.) stomach, belly.

قورساقك| qursaq-dAsh (subs.) a brother or sister by the same mother [lit. "womb-fellow"].
قورساقو qursaq-lash. The same.
qursha-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to surround.
qursha-maq (v. tr.) to surround, to encircle.
قورغانانوى qurghashwn (subs.) lead.
qurghan (subs.) a fort, a fortress.

qurq-maq ( v . intr.) to fear, to be afraid.
قورقوتصات qurq-ut-maq (v. caus.) to cause to fear, to frighten.
قورقونجليتى qurqu'nj-liq (adj.) fearful, causing fear, frightful.
قورقونیهاق qurq'u-'nchak (adj.) fearful, afraid, cowardly.

qiuvur-maq (v. tr.) to fledge.
qurut (subs.) dried curds.
quru-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to dry.
 $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { قوروغ qurugh } \\ \text { قوزوت quruq }\end{array}\right\}$ (vl. adj.) dried, dry. qaruq (vl. subs.) a field of growing grass, fenced round to prevent its being grazed on. [From quru-maq.]
quruq-maq. The same as qurq-maq.
قوروم qurum (subs.) soot, the black deposit of smoke.
قورورamerum-saq (subs. and adj.) a miser; miserly, stingy. [? From quru-maq " to dry up" in the same way as bolumsaq "likely to become (useful)," modern phrase "a likely boy," from bol-maq " to become," \&c.]
quru-maq (v. intr.) to become dry, to dry up.
قورومات quru-maq (v. tr.) to scare away birds and beasts from a قورور quirün. The same as kurum, Y.
[field.
quru-'n-maq (v. refl.) to dry one's self.
 (from the mud on a road, from flies or mosquitoes, \&c.).

解 $q z$ (sube.) hot ombers or cinders.
quzgha-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to move ; (tr.) to canse to shift.
quzgha.'l-maq (v. pass.) to be moved, to be shifted.
توزغامات quxgha-maq (v. tr.) to move, to shift.
[self.
quzgha-'n-maq (v. refl.) to move one's self, to shift one's قوزغون quzghm (subs.) a raven (supposed by the Turkis to life a thousand years).
quzuq (subs.) a peg.
qozi (subs.) a lamb.
qush (subs.) a bird.
qosh (subs.) a pair ; also, a household, a set of people using one fire, [chiefly used however in the sense of people on a journey : c. g., bu kadroan nichath qosh " how many tents or fire (does) this caravan (consist of)"]. Also, quarters, lodgings.
quoursh (adj.) hollow.
qosh-bashi (subs.) the headman or responsible head of each set of merchants, \&c., composing a caravan.
qosh-bégi (subs.) the title of a high official 'Lord of the Household,' who acts for the king in his absence.
qosh-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to join ; (tr.) to cause to unite.
qoshqun (subs.) a crupper.
qosh-maq (v. tr.) to join, to unite, to put together.
goshmaq (adj.) united, joining (used only of the humpo of a two-humped camel when they almost coalesce).
qosh-na (subs.) a neighbour ; also, a person allowed to lire in some part of one's house.
© $q$ ushndch (subs.) a soothsayer, or foreteller of future events
 teacher.
qosh-ni. The same as qoshna.
qosh-ur-maq. The same as qoshturmaq.
قوشوق qoshuq (subs.) a ladle.
gosh-uq (vil. subs.) poetry, verse, a poem, a song. [From qosh-maq " to put together".]
 be united.
qoshun (subs.) an army.
qugha (subs.) a rush (a kind of grass), Gaz.
qughla-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to pursue.
qughla-maq (v. tr.) to pursue, to follow.
qughurchaq (subs.). The same as qaurchaq.
قوغون qughun (subs.) a melon.
قول pol (subs.) a hand.
aol (numb. subs.) a hundred thousand, Gaz.
aol (subs.) a broad open valley between mountains; مريقول Sariq-qol or Sariqol: "yellow valley;" the name of a valley and small province in the angle between Pamir and the Muzbaq Range (a name often mis-spelt Sirikul, and wrongly applied by Europeans to a Lake on Pamir). كينگ قول King-qol " wide valley ;" the name of a place on the road between Sariqol and Kâshghar, Kirghiz, Gaz.
Y: qula (adj.) reddish dun (the colour of a horse).
gulag (subs.) an ear. [Before affixes the $q$ usually becomes dh, as qulagh-ing " thine ear".]
qulaq-chah (subs.) a cap with flaps covering the ears.
qulaq-chun (subs.) a cap with long side (ear) lappets which can be crossed under the chin.
قولا quean (subs.) a wild ass [Equus homi-onus], (from qula).
qulaï (adj.) easy, propitious.
© ${ }_{\text {© }}^{\text {قولتور qulturmach (subs.) a crutch. }}$
qultruq (subs.) the arm-pit.
[arms.
قultuq-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to take under the
ar ${ }^{\text {قولتوقلام } q u l t u q-l a-m a q ~(v . ~ t r .) ~ t o ~ t a k e ~ u n d e r ~ t h e ~ a r m, ~ v i z ., ~ e i t h e r ~}$ to support a person in walking by placing one's hand under his arm, or to carry any object under one's arm.
qul-chi-liq (subs.) slavery, servitude.
قللوت qul-luq (subs.). For
quluf (subs.) a lock, a padlock, P.
qulun (subs.) a colt, a foal.
qulun-la-maq ( v. intr.) to foal.
قوم qum (subs.) sand.
قومالات qumalaq (subs.) sheep's dung.
قومتوخي qum-tokhi (subs.) Podoces Hendersonii (lit. 'sand-fowl').
قومغان qumghan (subs.) a basin.
qumuchaq (subs.) a frog. [The people of Darwâz call it " bulbul-i-Hazrat Ali" (the nightingale of Holy Ali).]
qumush. For qamish.
qunaq (subs.) a guest; also, a night's lodging. [From qun-maq.]
قونات qonaq (subs.) Indian-corn, maize.
قرناש qunan (adj. and subs.) rising three years old; also, any four-legged animal of that age.
قونdورتمات qun-dur-t-maq (v. caus. redup.) to cause to give a night's lodging.
cioggijo qun-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause or allow to sit or lie, to give a lodging-place, to house; also, to cause to lodge (as a falconer taking up a hawk on his wrist).
قوندز qun-duz (subs.) a small animal whose fur is much in roquest, ( $?$ sable); also, fur of that animal.
قونكاغو qungraghu (subs.) a bell.
qungraq (subs.) a little bell attached to an animal. قونكو qungur (adj.) dun. [Qungur-at 'dun horse', corrupted to Qungrat, is the name of one of the divisions of the Middle Horde of Qazzaqs, also of a town in Khiva.]
قونكز qunguz (8ubs.) a black beetle.
qungi-yoghan (subs.) a boil.
解 $q u n-m a q$ ( v . intr.) to lodge, to put up ; also, to dismount.
قوي qoï (subs.) a sheep.
قورانّ qüyash (subs.) the sun [rare].
تورياق quyaq (adj) thick, viscous [of fluids].
قويان quyan (subs.) a hare, KH. Kız.
قويانگـ quyang (subs.) a moveable subcutaneous tumour.
qö̈-chi (subs.) a shepherd.
قويلروراتى qoi-dwr-maq (v. caus.) to cause to place, to cause to put, to cause to set aside, to cause to leave, to cause to abandon.
قوريرت quyiruq (subs.) a tail. quii-ma (adj.) cast (of metal). [abandon.
qoi-maq (. V tr.) to place, to put, to set aside, to leave, to
قوياق quii-maq (v. tr.) to pour, to cast (metal).
quii-mdq (subs.) a cake cooked in butter, a butter-cake.
quyushqun (subs.) a crupper.

quii-ish-maq (v. recip.) to pour from both sides, to pour together.
قوريوق quyuq (adj.). The same as quyaq.
قويور qoyün (subs.) the breast of the robe (used as a receptacle or pocket). [ $P$ From qoi-maq.]
قويور qüyün (subs.) a whirlwind, a ‘devil.'
قويكي qüyi (subs. and adj.) "lowness," low ; e. g., aning quyi-sida "below it," Hindustan Yarkand-din qüyi "India is lower than Yarqand."
${ }^{2}$ qah (post-pos.) to.
qî. (See Gram. p. 262, Pronouns.)
$q^{i a}$ (adj. and subs.) slanting, sloping; also, a road slanting up a hill-side or on the face of a cliff. [Sariqa-qia " yellow slant," the name of a part of the Upper Qàrakàsh Valley; corrupted to Sariqia.] From qi-maq.

قيات qîaq (subs.) a•sharp-edged rush.
قياس qayan (adv.) which way, on which side. [For qai yan.]
 Horde of Qazzaqs. Dasht-i-qipchaq the desert north of the Jaxartes and of Khokand.
قيتيت qitiq (subs.) tickling.
qitiq-la-'t-mdq (v. caus.) to cause to tickle.
قَيتّيقلامات qitiq-la-maq (v. tr.) to tickle.

qichi (subs.) mustard.
qichish (vl. subs.) a tickling, an itching.
qichish-qaq (subs.) the itch.
cichi-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to itch all over.

Gichi-maq ( v . intr.) to experience a tickling or itching sensation, to itch.
تيو $q$ qir (subs.) a ridge, the meeting line of two plane surfaces.
قكر $\operatorname{qir}$ (subs.) water-proof plaster (applied to a bathing-place, tank, \&c.)
قيرا gira (subs.) a ridge, an edge.
ع ${ }^{\text {قيواغا }}$ qaïraghach [ $?$ for qara-yaghach 'black-wood'], an elm.
قير'ت qiraq (subs.) an edging (of any stuff).
قيراتى qairaq (subs.) a whet-stone, a hone.
قيرال qiral (subs) a white frost.
girdo (subs.) a white frost; a camp of nomads (Kirghiz, \&c.).
قيرغأ qirghaq (subs.). The same as qiraq.
qirghaol (subs.) a pheasant. [The same as قيرغاول]
قيرغايب qirghai (subs.) a small species of hawk.
قيرغوع qir-ghüch (subs.) a scraper.
تيرغون qirghun (subs.) slaughter (in battle).
qirghi. The same as qirghai.

Qirghiz (prop. name) a race of nomad Turks living in the mountains, from the south of Yarkand round by Pamir and Alai to the north of Kàshghar and Aksu (the Issik-kul district). They are called by the Russians Tchorny Kirghiz (black Kirghiz), also Mountain Kirghiz, to distinguish them from the Qazzaqs of the plains, to whom also (though incorrectly) the name of Qirghiz is applied by the Russians.
قرت qirq (num.) forty. More often قيرت.
قيرمات qir-maq (v. tr.) to scrape, to shave, to erase; also, to kill, [see قرماق] ; also, to spend (time).
قيرد.ت qiriq (vl. adj.) scraped, threadbare, worn down (as the fur of a skin, \&c.).

قيرِقعان qiriq-maq (v. tr.) to shear, to cut with a pair of scissors.
qir-il-maq (r. pass.) to be scraped, to be turned (in a lathe), to be shaved, to be destroyed utterly.
qirindi (subs.) scraping (of leather, a cooking pot, \&c.). قيز $q$ قيز (subs.) maiden; also, daughter. The same as
قزارمای qiz-ar-maq. See.
qizghan-chaq (adj.) grudging, selfish, churlish.
qizghan-maq (v. tr.) to grudge, to be churlish, to stint.
قيزيقمات qizi'q-maq (v. intr.) to be eager or hot (over anything).
قيزيتى qizi'q (adj.) hot, also eager. Same as قزيت.
قيزيل qizil (adj.) red. Same as قزيل
qizi-maq (v. intr.) to become hot; also, to become eager. Same as قزيهات.
gista-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to become tight or pressed.

錐 qis-tur-maq (v. caus.) to infix, to stick into (as a flower into the cap).
qisqa (adj.) short.
قيسقارتماتُqisqa'r-t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be short, to shorten.

قيسفlocisqa'r-maq (v. intr.) to become short.

تيسمات qismáq (subs.) a gin (for catching animals).
قيسيلهاق qis-il-maq (v. pass.) to be pressed.
قيش qish (subs.) winter.
cish qishai-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be crooked.

قيشَلات qish-laq (subs.) lit. winter-quarters; also, a village [probably so called from having originally only been occupied in winter by the Central Asiatic tribes]; (opposed to yaï-laq "summer-quarters or pasturage," answering to the Swiss word 'alp').
قيشليتى qish-liq (adj.) belonging to or destined for the winter.
قيشيت qishiq (adj.) crooked.
giqr-maq (v. intr.) to try to shout without being able to produce a loud sound (as people afflicted with goitre).
قيل qil (subs.) horse-hair (for the tail).
qel-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to do.
قيلغوچو qel-ghu-chi (vl. subs.) a doer.
gel-maq (v. tr.) to do [very common in composition].
qel-in-madq (v. pass.) to be done.
قيلم gilich (subs.) a sabre.
gel-ishi-maq (v. recip.) to do in company, to do one another [in composition with another verb].
قيليغليتو qeligh-liq (vl. adj.) done.
قيليت qel-iq (vl. subs.) the doing.
qeliq-liq (vl. adj.) doing (well), behaving properly; also sometimes used for qelighliq.

(From A.]
cila qi-maq (v. tr.) to trim, to cut slanting (generally for the purpose of making a side of anything square with the
other sides; the slant being considered with reference to the existing edge).
qaimaq (subs.) cream.
وتُمات qüimaq (subs.) a butter-cake.
qimat-chi-liq (subs.) dearness, scarcity, A. T.
قيمريرلاتهاق qimir-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to crawl.

قير gin (subs.) a scabbard, a sheath.
qiyün (adj. and subs.) difficult, troublesome ; also, a pain-
ful punishment, torture.
qina-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to torture.
 difficulty or pain (in doing anything).

قينغرات qinghrdk (subs.) a large knife, a hanger.
 crooked.
قينغرايمات qinghr-ai-mdq (v. intr.) to become crooked.
قينغور qinghür (adj.) crooked.
© $q$ qiydq (subs.) a sharp bulrush.
قيْهيهو qayi-maq (v. intr.) to swim (said of the head).
qiyin (subs.). The same as qiyiun.
qiyin-di (subs.) a cutting of cloth (remaining from the cutting out of a garment).
قيمتو qiyeq (adj.) crooked.

$\left.\begin{array}{l}6 k a \\ 6 \quad g a\end{array}\right\} \begin{gathered}\text { (post-pos.) to, onto, into, at (with a sense of 'motion') } \\ \text { [written also gha and ka] }\end{gathered}$ [written also gha and ka] kitàb-ga pitti="he wrote in (to) the book;" but kitàb-da oqudi = "he read in the book']. to chatter.
Glolath kdipsha-mak (v. intr.) to chew the cud; also (more commonly), to chatter, to babble.

كإیح kapki (adj.) gossiping, talkative.
ckarwain (subs.) a caravan; also applied to any individual merchant, a member of a caravan, $P$.
; Kariz (subs.) a subterranean water-course [formed by digging a line of wells at certain intervals on a hill-slope, connecting the bottoms of these wells by small tunnels; as the foot of the slope is reached the wells get less and less deep till at last the water-course emerges into the open air; in this manner springs at the foot of the hills are tapped and brought to the surface of the land at a lower level. In Eastern Turkistân these kariz are found near Turfân only], P.
Kleaski (adj. and subs.) idle, gossiping; also, an idler.
ank kasah (subs.) a cup (of earthenware), P.
رiul Kashghar (prop. name) the capital of Eastern Turkistân.
[This is the spelling usual among the Western Turkistànis, and which has now been adopted in the coinage of the reigning Amir.]
Kششق Kashqar (prop. name). The same. [This is the spelling used by the natives of the country both in their every day transactions, and also in their books. It is spelt Qàshqar in the 'Kudatku Bilik', an ancient Uighur poem written in A. H. 462 or A. D. 1069, and lately published with a translation by Prof. Vámbéry.]
(îk kashki (interj.) Would to God! P. (P)
KK kákd (subs.) an egg.

J gal (subs.) throat, Y.
Jo gal (adj.) blunt, Y.
ك ga -li [a compound affix applied to the root of verbs conveying the sense 'in order to'].
Kalib (subs.) a mould, $\mathbf{P}$.
Kamshuk (adj. and subs.) having a retreating chin.
c $k$ can (subs.) a mine, $P$.
Klavak (subs.) a hole.
M katush (subs.) slippers. From P.
jh kaush (subs.) chewing the cud.
© Kdusha-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to chew the cud.
shighkausha-mak ( v . intr.) to chew the cud.
e kiola-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to dig.
slolgk kdola-mak ( $\mathrm{v} . \operatorname{tr}$. ) to dig, to excavate.
skati-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to be angry.
Skati-mak (v. intr.) to be angry, to be vexed, to be tired.
Sap (subs.) word, speech; a social meeting, a 'conversazione,' $\mathbf{P}$.

كختر kaptar (subs.) a pigeon. From P.
Kiprik (subs.) an eyelash.
Kapshar (subs.) solder; a joint made by soldering. From P.

كبكير Kapkir (subs.) a ladle, a skimmer. From P.

كشَيْ Kapish (subs.) slippers. From kafsh, P.
Scatak (subs.) a fowl-house.
كich Kitman (subs.) a hoe.
Skitman-la-mak (v. tr.) to hoe.
Katta (adj.) great. [The eldest son of the Amir of Bokbâra always bears the title كترتورا 'Katta-Turah' = 'Great or first Prince'.]

gaj (subs.) plaster, mortar.
(kajaba (subs.) camel's panniers (generally for women 8 Kajaica $\}$ to travel in), P.

kichik (adj.) little, small.
STMChikkina [contr. from kichik-kina] (adj.) very small, tiny, little; also (subs.), a very little, a small quantity.
Skech-mak (v. intr.) to pass through (water, \&cc.), to wade, to ford; to pass by (a fault), to let pass (one's rights); [governs din].
س $\log _{\mathrm{J}}^{\mathrm{S}}$ Keck-ur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to pass through or by, to cause to let pass.
Sadai (subs.) a beggar, a pauper. From P.
Sadaiz-lik (subs.) poverty, beggary, P. T.
Ǩar (adj.) deaf, $\mathbf{P}$.
$\int_{\mathrm{J}}^{\mathrm{S}}$ kir (adj.) dirty, soiled.
S Kurr (subs.) a cave, a cavern. From A.
Skira (subs.) hire, P.
كإر kira-chi (subs.) a letter out on hire, P. T.
Skira-kash (subs.) a carrier for hire, the owner of a troop of horses, \&c. who carries merchandise for hire, $\mathbf{P}$.
Kirpi (subs.) a hedgehog.
Kirpik (subs.). The same as kiprik.
Kar-qulaq (adj. and subs.) deaf, lit. deaf-eared; also, a deaf man.
Kir-guz-mak (v. caus.) to cause to enter.
كركي karki (subs.) an adze.
Silu; kir-mak (v. intr.) to enter, to come in [governs gha].
K kiiz (subs.) autumn.
, kuzat-chi (subs.) a guard, a sentry, a care-taker.
Kuzat-mak ( $\mathrm{v} . \mathrm{tr}$.) to guard, to take care of.
Shoj kuza-mak ( $\mathrm{v} . \operatorname{tr}$.) to out hair (of a horse's mane, \&ce.) with a knife.
كز. gazak (subs.) smarting (of a wound, caused by cold air or water getting into it).
كزلدِك gazlik (subs.) a small knife (for paring the nails, \&c.).
Skisak (subs.) a piece, a portion; (in Eastern Turkistân confined to) a piece of brick.
Kasal (adj.) ill, unwell. From A.
SLardes-il-mak (v. pass.) to be cut.
Shous kes-mak (v. tr.) to cut.
slams kismak (subs.) a shot fired backwards from the back of a horse at full gallop, a Parthian shot.
كش Kishan (subs.) a chain hobble (for a horse).
كشئي Kishi (subs.) a person, a 'body'; [kishi with the negative verb = 'no-body'].
كف̈ت Kaftar (subs.) a pigeon. [For kaptar.] From P.
كفش Kafsh (subs.) a slipper, P.
كفشر kafshar (subs.) solder, a soldered joint, P.
kifrik (subs.) an eye lash. Same as kiprik.
Kafgir. For kapgir.
d kal (subs.) scald-head ; also (adj.), hornless (of a cow, \&c.).
كُ kiul (subs.) ashes, cinders.
لُ gul (subs.) a flower, P.
Kcalah (subs.) a cow ; (used also in a general way for horned cattle).
كلته kalta (adj.) short.
Kaltak (subs.) a stick, an Alpenstock.
كعليكـ kaklik (subs.) a red-legged partridge, a 'chikor', Oaccabis pallidus, Hume.

אلكُ kuluk (adj.) winning (applied to the horse that comes in first in a race).
S Kim (conj.) that ; also (pron.) who?
S cam (adj. and adv.) little (in amount), P.
Skam-baghal (adj.) poor, indigent [lit. having nothing to carry under his arm], $\mathbf{P}$.
un guman (subs.) doubt, suspicion, $P$.
guman-liq (adj.) doubtful, suspicious, suspected ; also, enceinte, (not implying any concealment of the fact), P. T.
Samar (subs.) a girdle or waist-belt, $\mathbf{P}$.
Kim-irsa (pron.) originally, whosoever, whoever [from kiss ' who' and ursa 'may be'] ; modern usage, a person, any one, some one.

 nigh (tr.).
EKami-mak ( V . intr.) to become less, to diminish (intr.) P. T.
( $k$ (subs.) a village, a place of settled habitations [the S land termination of many names of places, Yarkand, Tàshkand, \&c.].
\& Kanah (subs.) a tick.
[Kr.
Stub or kop (adj. and adv.) much, many; also, much, very,
אوبر Juba (subs.) a mallet.
Sc köp (subs.) a water-butt.
ك Köp-aï-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become much or many, to increase (tr.).
[(intr.).
Köp-aï-mak (v. intr.) to become much or many, to increase,

Supchak (subs.) the nave of a wheel.
'Supchuk (subs.) a saddle cushion.
كويروكــ kupruk (subs.) a bridge.
كويلاشٌack-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to throng together to any work [from an unusual kup-la-mak].
كورلوكس Kup-luk (subs.) many-ness, much-ness, a deal of.
St كويّمالmak

كویوكـ kup-uk (vl. subs.) foam.

Kutar-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to lift.
كوتازماكـ Kutar-mak (v. tr.) to lift, to raise.
[gage.
"kutar-'n-mak (v. refl.) to take one's self off bag and bag-
كوتا Kutak (subs.) a log of wood, a cross-cut portion of a trunk.
Scitan (subs.) the gut.

© ${ }^{\text {Suth }}$ (subs.) strength, power.
© $k a u c h$ (subs.) a march, a migration, $\mathbf{P}$.
© Kaich (subs.) a wife.
كو $k$ Kucha (subs.) a street or lane in a town, $P$.
كوجا Kuja


 make an effort.
Küch-a-i-mak (v. intr.) to become strong.
küch-lük (adj.) strong, powerful, [the title given to the Naïman prince from whom Changez Khán conquered the country of Kâshghar].
אوحلوكليكـ kuich-liik-lik (subs.) powerful-ness, mightiness.
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Kach-un-mak (v. refl.) to march one's self about, to wander about without purpose or unnecessarily.
Khada (subs.) a grass of a very nourishing nature growing in the mountains, Kaz.
كو سّ Kurr (subs.) a cavern. See كوّ
كوراشَ kura'sh (subs.) a wrestling match.
كوراششماكـ kura-'sk-mak ( F . recip. ?) to wrestle together (in a friendly way).
كورالف Kura'k (subs.) a shovel, Кнок.
Sura-mak (v. tr.) to shovel away, to throw (snow, earth, \&c.) up with a shovel.

كورسThar-sat-mak (v. caus.) to cause to see, to show.
Scur-shapalak (subs.) a bat, P. T.
كوركوراكـ gurkura'k (vl. subs.) thunder.

كورگوزما Kar-guz-mak (v. caus.) to cause to see, to show.
كورglor-mak (v. tr.) to see, to look. "Obdán kurmaq" to be pleased.
SRAR-ush-mak (v. recip.) to see one another; to have an interview.
Kir-uk-siz (vl. adj.) un-seemly, un-sightly.
Kir-uk-lik (vl. adj.) seemly, sightly, well-favoured, wellmade.
كورولماكש $k a r-u l-m a k$ (v. pass.) to be seen.
كوروملوكـ Kir-um-luk (vl. adj.) worthy of being seen.
Kklr-un-mak (v. refl) to make one's self (or itself) seen, to appear.
Köz (subs.) an eye.
ز $k$ كüz (subs.) autumn.
كوزا Köza (subs.) a pitcher, $\mathbf{P}$.

Küz-at-chi (subs.) a watchman, a sentry; lit. a looker after. كوزاتمالّف küz-at-mak (v. caus. ?) to look after, to take care of.
Köz-tik-mak (comp. v. intr.) to fasten the eyes on; lit. to sew the eyes.
 [governs gha]. Conjugated in the 3rd pers. sing.
كوزهيـ $k$ Köz-chi (subs.) a good judge (of horseflesh, \&c.). Lit. an eye-er.
 a distance.
köz-luk (subs.) dark spectacles to protect the eye, made of hair; also, the stone of a ring, \&c.
Köz-luk (adj.) far-sighted, long-sighted; also, gifted with the evil eye [supposed to be a great advantage as the possessor can compel the sale to him of any horse, \&c., that he takes a fancy to, under penalty of causing it to die if it be refused to him].
Köz-ïk-mak (v. intr.). The same as köz-tigmak.
كوسا kosa (adj.) beardless, with only a few straggling.hairs on the face, $P$.
كوساتهاكـ kosa-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to stir (the fire).
كوسامساكس Kosa-mak (v. tr.) to stir (the fire).

Kُونٌ Kaush (subs.) slippers. The same as \&cc., P.; also, chewing the cud.

Kausha-mak ( v . intr.) to chew the cud. [Camels are watched before purchase, to see whether they perform this operation properly. If they do not move their jaws laterally at least 25 times before swallowing again, they are not considered to be in good health. In that case it is said : kaush-i buzuldi "its chewing is spoilt".]

Skejor kufah-lak (subs.) a moth, a butterfiy. The same as kupaklak.
Kuyfruk (subs.) a bridge. The same as kwpruk.
Kufuk (subs.) foam. The same as kupmk.
كوكـ kok (subs.) a leather thong forming the pivot of the trelliswork of a Kirghiz tent.
Kök (subs.) the sky. Also (adj.), blue; also, green.
stherkikgk-ar-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to be blue, to make blos (or green).
sko,k koök-ar-mak (v. intr.) to become blue (or green).
Skök-ra-mak (r. intr.) to thunder.
كوكراك kökrak
كوكشي Köksi $\}$ كوكي
كوكشون Kokshun (adj.) aged, decrepit, in extreme old age; also, an intriguer, a mischief-maker.
elelersk kok-la-mak (v. tr.) to stitch roughly, to tack ; to fasten two wands together by a leather thong passed through them forming a pivot, [the sides of a Kirghiz tent are formed of wands thus fastened together into a trellis-work which can be folded up for travelling, or else extended and set upright round the circumference of a circle, and then covered with felts to form the sides of the tent].
Kök-la-mak (v. intr.) to become blue or green, to send forth leaves (of a tree).
Shokmak (subs.) a wild sheep [Ovis nahura].
كوكنار koknar (subs.) the poppy, P.
كوكيش kök-ish (adj.) bluish, greenish.
Skiul (subs.) a lake, a pond, a tank [common in the geography of Central Asia as Issiq-kül (warm lake), kara-kill (black lake); but not "Sirikül" (as sometimes spelt by Europeans), see Sariq-qol or Sariqol].
Kar-la-'t-mak ( $\mathrm{\nabla}$. caus.) to cause to dig.
Sty Kulagah (subs.) shade, shadow.
s karr-la-mak (v. tr.) to dig, to excavate.
كولانكـ Kculang (subs.) daily bread.
كولانكه Kulankah. For kulagah, Kaz.
Elogat-dür-mak (v. caus.) to cause to laugh.
Külki (adj.) laughable.
كولماكّــ kiul-mak ( $\mathrm{F} . \mathrm{intr}$.) to laugh.
كولموس Kulmus (adj.) miserly.
كوماك Kumak (subs.) help, assistance.
Skumak (adj.) toothless, whose mouth retreats from want of teeth.
Skumak-chi (subs.) a helper, an assistant.
 any thing conjointly.
كوموش』 kumush (subs.) silver.
Kön (subs.) the sun ; also, a day.
Kün (subs.) women connected by being the wives of the same husband.
كوس Kain (subs.) common leather (cow's or camel's hide).
كونا,لترسنم kön-ulturush-i (subs.) sun-set ; lit. sun's sitting down.

كونتوغوشيـيـي $k$
Kunjit (subs.) the grain sesame, $\mathbf{P}$.
كوزنجقشي
Kun-chi (subs.) a leather-worker.
Kiün-chi (subs.) a jealous person ( $P$ from kün the name applied to the connection between two women who are wives of the same husband).
 Skiun-chi-la-mak (v. intr.) to be jealous.

Kiuldindash (adj.) connected by being the wives of the same
e Sun-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become trained, to train to educate.
K Kön-döz (subs.) day-time.

Klüngl (subs.) heart (chiefly used metaph. for 'mind,' \&c.).
shiulingl-ak (subs.) a coat or shirt not opening at the breast. küngl-chak (adj.) merciful-hearted.
كونlleungl-lik (adj.) pleasing to the heart ; also adv., heartily, with pleasure.
Stion-la-sh-mak (v. recip.) to be jealous of one another.
Skün-la-mak (v. intr.) to be, or become jealous.
كونلوكس kön-lök (subs.) a parasol, a sun-shade.

elloco kun-mak (v. intr.) to become trained, to receive an education.
Kiuya (subs.) smut, the blackness formed on the outside of a kettle, black (of any kind applied or formed on any object).
Kciuga (subs.) a grub which destroys garments.
$\left.\begin{array}{c}\text { Kü̈yagú } \\ \text { Sü̈yao }\end{array}\right\}$ (subs.) a son-in-law.
Küidurgu (subs.) a malignant pustule, [so called because it is cured by inserting a hot needle].
Skiui-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to burn (intr.), to burn (tr.), to set fire to.

Skií-mak (v. intr.) to burn, to be burnt.

$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { d } k a h \\ \text { S } g a h\end{array}\right\}$ (post-pos.) to, at, into, onto. [See ka, ga.]
$\left.\begin{array}{c}\text { Si } \\ \text { Si } \\ \text { Si } \\ \text { Si }\end{array}\right\}$ (relve. affixes). $\quad$ See Gram. p. 312, Syntax.
كيباكس kipak (subs.) bran.

Skep-mak ( v. intr.) to become dry, to dry [said of clothes, \&c.].
( S Ket-ar-maks.) to cause to go away, to remove كيتكورماكــكـ ket-kur-mak $\}$ [any living being, a spot on a garment,


 to bring.
Sech (adj. and adv.) towards evening, late in the day.
Kech-qurun (adv.) late in the day.
Kichik (adj.) small, little.
كيتى Kich'k-'inah (adj.) tiny, little, very small.
Kich-mak (v. intr.) to ford, to pass through (a river), to pass by (or abandon one's rights). [Governs din.]
Kich-ur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to ford, to cause to pass by, \&c.






كير kirr (adj.) dirty, soiled.
كيرا Kara. The same as كرا
Kirăk (adj.) necessary, needful [often used as an impersonal verb in the sense of "it is necessary" with the infinitive of another verb].
كيراكليكــ Kirăk-lik (subs.) the needful, necessaries.
Kirpi (subs.) a hedgehog.
Kir-guz-mak (v. caus.) to cause to enter, to bring in.
פ كيومlir-mak (v. intr.) to enter, to come or go in.
كيز Kîyiz (subs.) felt. See Kighiz.
كيزالٍ kazak (subs.) turn, order, succession.
ك كيزدورواع kez-dur-mak ( $\mathrm{\nabla}$. caus.) to cause to walk about.
كيزماو kez-mak (v. intr.) to walk about.

كيزورك Kizuk (subs.) a contagious fever.
S Scesak (subs.) a piece (of any thing) ; specially, a piece of brick, [prob. from kes-mak].
© كيستوروالtes-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to cut.
Sl Ses-mak ( V . tr.) to cut.
Skes-uk (vl. subs.) a cut, a notch.
كيسه kisah (subs.) a bag attached to the girdle, $\mathbf{P}$.
كيشَن Kishan (subs.) a hobble, a short chain fastening together a horse's forelegs.
كيشى Kishi (subs. and pron.) a person; any-one, some-one, e.g. obddn kishi "a good person;" Kishi kel-ma-di "no one came."
C Kîik (subs.) a wild goat, or sheep, or antelope, [applied generally to all wild animals of those sorts, which are afterwards distinguished by their specific names, as : sai-Kiik-i, lit. " desert kîk" (Saiga Tartarica?), tâgh-Kîik-i " mountain Kitk" (includes ibex, Ovis Polii, \&c.)].
CK Sekach (adj.) stuttering, stammering, having an impeكيكاJ kekak diment in one's speech.

كيكايتمار kekaï-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to be haughty.
Scekaï-mak (v. intr.) to be haughty, to give one's self airs.
etienkar-tak (subs.) the wind-pipe.
פSilkar-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to eructate.
sel kikar-mak ( $\mathrm{\nabla}$. intr.) to eructate.
Sikar-uk (vl. subs.) an eructation.

פ Ski-gux-mak $\}$
كيليز kîgiz (subs.). Same as kighiz.
م
ellogether-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to come, to bring.
كيلتّورولمالkel-tur-ul-mak (v. caus. pass.) to be brought.

Slonel-ish-tur-mak (v. recip. caus.) to cause to come to a good result, to bring to a satisfactory conclusion.
shel-ish-mak (v. recip.) to come together ; specially, to come to a good result.
 [Kaz.
 keli-chak (subs.) a small hand-mortar (see keéli), Kaz.
كيلئ Kelin (subs.) a daughter-in-law.
skelin-chak (subs.) a daughter-in-law (thus called while still a bride), Kaz.
Sim (conj.) that ; also, (pron.) who. See ro.
كيمإ kîmak (v. tr.) to put on (clothes), to wear.
كيمرسه kim-ersa (pron.) lit. who-ever, whoso-ever ("it may be"), but usualiy some one [same as kishi] (no longer common).


Kimsin (subs.) a gold-tinted leather.
Kimuk (subs.) cancellated bony tissue.
كيaimah (subs.) a vessel, a ship, a boat.
كير Kiin (subs.) the rear, the back part ; also, (adv.) afterwards, behind; also, (post-pos.) after, behind [governs din]; Kîin_ga " backwards," Kiinn-i-ga" towards" or " to the back of it" (definite).
كيندركس Kinduik (subs.) the navel.
كيiking (adj.) wide, broad, extended ; also, roomy, capacious.

 of kingaï-mak; quasi "to open (one's mind) to one another'].
SWhikiking-a'l-mak (v. pass.) to be made wide or open.



$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { king-chi-lik } \\ \text { king-lik }\end{array}\right\}$ (subs.) wideness, expansion.
23
din kinah (subs.) jealousy, P.

Skinah-la-'sh-mak ( $v$. recip.) to be jealous of one another, P. T.

S Skinak-la-mak ( V . intr.) to be jealous.
 tire," "to back (of a horse) ;" Keinn-i-chah twr-mak "to turn the back on."

## $J$

y là (part.) a particle expressive of multitude: e. g. là-ylaskkar "the whole army", "the army and all."
ب) Labd (subs.) the marks of the (Qàlmàq) Buddhist religion [Lama].
labar (subs.) title of an officer commanding a corps of infantry ( 500 men).


- لاتّه latta (subs.) a rag. Also a kind of flowered silk stuff.

ه又 lachah (subs.) sealing-wax.
سlachak (subs.) a handkerchief thrown by women over the backs of their heads to cover their hair, when praying or going into any public place. Also, a kind of turban or tiara worn by Kirghiz women.
"lachiq (subs.) a temporary shed in a melon garden, \&c., to shelter the person who looks after it, "a lodge in a garden of cucumbers."
"Lachîn (subs.) a kind of hawk.
$y^{\prime}$ lar. The plural affix.
$\sim^{\prime \prime}$ lds (subs.) refuse silk.
ifl lash (subs.) green slime (formed on stagnant water, \&c.). laf (subs.) false boasting, a drawing of the long bow, $\mathbf{P}$.
$\boldsymbol{v}^{\boldsymbol{y}} \boldsymbol{l d q}$. An affix forming nouns of locality. Ir. g. yä̈láq "summer quarters" (pastures in the mountains, 'Alps' in the Swiss sense); qish-laq "winter quarters" (this
name formerly applied by the nomad inhabitants of Central Asia to the places where they spent the winter, has now become applied to all settled habitations or villages) ; $S^{\prime} u$-laq "a watering-place (of cattle);" Otlaq "a grassy place," \&c.
كا lak (subs.) sealing-wax, $\mathbf{P}$.
$\boldsymbol{u}^{y}$ lan. An affix forming numeral substantives. IV. g. "ochaolan " a group of three." See Grammar, p. 308.
,Kiل langar (subs.) an anchor (or rather a heavy object used instead of an anchor), P. Also, a halting-place, a resthouse, $\mathbf{Y}$.
asil lankah (subs.) linen (? Nankeen).
lawar. See labar.
lai (subs.) mud, clay, P.
或 lai-chi (subs.) a worker in clay, one who makes walls, \&c. of mud, P. T.
(لالاتهات'laiz-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to become muddy, to muddy (tr.), P. T.
(لاليامات lai-la-maq (v. intr.) to become muddy. Also, to float, P. T.
lai-lik (adj.) muddy. Also the name of the second stage from Yarkand on the Aksu road, P. T.
lab (subs.) a lip, an edge, $\mathbf{P}$.
lachak. See y.
lak (num.) a hundred thousand, $\mathbf{P}$.
لكلكـ laklak (subs.) a stork, A.
lukh (subs.) a rush (grass).
لوت luq. See lik.
Suk. The same as lak.
lum-lum (subs.) a composition resembling india-rubber.
لونع lunj (subs.) the inside of the cheek, P .
لوزل lungqa (subs.) a flower-pot.
lungi (subs.) a scarf used as turban or waist-scarf chiefly used by the Afgháns, $P$.

An affix used in forming adjectives from substantives, and also abstract nouns from other nouns or from adjectives. It takes various forms according to the letters of the word to which it is affixed. See Gram. Euph. Changes.
$r$
لito matal (subs.) a proverb, a saying, $\mathrm{K}_{\mathrm{az}}$.
ماتانــ matang (subs.) a kind of sweetmeat, (? CH.).
, mátao (subs.) a number of animals picketted together to a single rope, a chain-gang of criminals similarly fastened, Kaz.
.ulo majan for maryan (subs.) coral, A.
 flour mill.
of mardq (vl. subs.) a place of ambuscade or of secret ob servation (of an enemy).
(0) mardq-chi (subs.) an ambash, men placed so as to observe the enemy without being themselves seen.
مارل maral (subs.) the female of the 12 -tined stag of Eastern Turkistán.
مارالبجاشی Maral-bashi (prop. name.) a town founded by the Chinese near Laï-Masjid, at the junction of the roads from Yarkand and Kashghar to Aksu.
مارالكـ marali (subs.) leather prepared from the skins of the ' mârâl.'
(ماراق mara-mak (v. tr.) to watch from a concealed post of observation, to lie in ambush.
$\widetilde{c}^{l} \mathrm{j}$ 人 mardach (adv.) tailor-wise (used of a mode of sitting), Kaz.
ماروز marozah (subs.) a small carpet.
Jjo mdzar (subs.) a tomb of a holy man (which is revered as a shrine and ornamented with flags and yak-tails fastened to long poles, also often with horns of wild ani-
mails). The cairns, which one meets with throughout the mountains separating India from Turkistân, on all noticeable spots such as Passes, \&c. are, in the parts of these mountains inhabited by the Musalmans, honoured with the title of "Mâzâr" and considered to be the tombs of ancient worthies, $A$.
مازْ mazaq (subs.) a joke, (corr. A.).
Milo mash (subs.) a kind of pulse, $P$.
lilo marsha (subs.) candle-snuffers; also, the fork in wish the match of a match-lock gun is fixed.
ماشٌ mashaq (subs.) gleanings.
(subs.) raw silk.
olaf máqal. See natal.
ماقتانیاتٌ mdqta-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to praise.

اقْاقانما máqta-'n-maq (v. refl.) to praise one's self, to boast.
on makiu (subs.) a shuttle (generally made of horn).
ل Vo marla (subs.) a bush-harrow, a rake, an instrument for covering seed with earth after sowing.
ciotocto mál-dur-máq (v. caus.) to cause to dip.
مالمات mal-máq (v. tr.) to dip, specially into a dyeing vat.
bolo mama (subs.) a grandmother, an old woman.
(subs.) cotton, K az.
مانتو mantu (subs.) a small meat-dumpling baked in steam.
مانتوyز mantu-paz (subs.) a baker of 'Mantus.'
مانتوحيـ mantu-chi (subs.) a pimp, Kashgar.

مانكراشمات mangra-'sh-mdq (v. recip.) to bleat to one-another (of sheep or goats).
مانكاماتى mangra-maq, (v. intr.) to bleat, to baa (used of sheep and goats).
le fore mangqa (subs.) a running from the nose; also, a dangerous illness in horses.

مانڭl manglai (subs.) the forehead.
تانگlo mang-máq (v. intr.) to walk, to go, to progress in any manner (physically).
Mang-ish (vl. subs.) movement, pace.
يأ mai (subs.) fat, grease, butter, Kaz.
بابـ maya (subs.) capital, original sum invested, $\mathbf{P}$.
مإِاق mayaq (subs.) sheep's droppings.
|00 maida (subs.) fine powder, P.
مايد|لاماكس maïda-la-maq (tr.) to reduce to powder.
مايورت mdiruq (adj.) twisted, crippled, Kaz.
مايمون maiman (subs.) a monkey, A.

مرجان marjan (subs.) coral, A.
den maskah (subs.) fresh butter, P.
mashrab (subs.) a social re-union with music, \&c.
تمش mashq (subs.) practice drill, military exercises, A.
ma'qul (adj.) lit. reasonable; commonly used for well, all right, A.
 together.
معegha'qul-la-maq (v. intr.) to come to an agreement, to agree to.
© milteq (subs.) 2 gun, a musket.
0 milteq-chi (subs.) a gunner, a musketeer.
0 man (pron.) I.
مionen-em (pron.) my, Kaz, [for maning].
0 man-man-lik (subs.) egotism, self-conceit.
م manah (interj.) here! " voici!"
mu interrogative affix. See Grammar.
و $m u$ for $b u$ in oblique cases.
8\% muchah (subs.) the hind-quarters of a sheep, Kiz.
له muchàl (subs.) the cycle of 12 years (each of which is named after an animal). See Grammar.
موجوتّهاثق muju-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to pulverize in the hands
colo muju-maq (v. tr.) to rub between the fingers, to rub to powder in the hands; to bring down the pride (of any one) ; also, to scrape the meat off a bone [in this last sense used only by the Kazzaks].
( machin (subs.) tweezers (with which the Turks of Yarkand and Kàshghar used to pull out the hair of their faces out of compliment to their beardless masters the Chinese) P.
(subs.) a gutter ; also, a chimney, P P.
; muz (subs.) ice.
موزات muzat properly muz-art (from muz "ice" and art old Turki for a "Pass") prop. name of a Pass on the road from Aksu to Ila.
muzaï (subs.) a calf.
(Suz-tdgh (subs.) a glacier ; also, a snowy mountain. (See Remarks regarding the application of such words as proper names, under $\boldsymbol{A q}$-tàgh.)
موزلوت muz-luq (adj.) icy, covered with ice.

موشوت müshük (subs.) a cat.
[loling mush-la-mak [for musht-la-mak] (v. tr.) to strike with the fist, P. T.
Mughal $\}$ (prop. name) Mongol.
موغول Mughul $\}$
mol (adj.) plentiful, abundant, KH.
y mola (subs.) a pack-saddle.
y mulla (subs.) an educated person, one who has learnt to read and write, $\mathbf{P}$.
Multan (prop. name). A name applied in Yarkand to all Shîas, since a party of Multâni Shîas made themselves notorious by their misconduct some years ago in that town.
مولوى molan (subs.) a wild-cat.

موم mum (subs.) wax ; $a k-m u m$ " bee's wax"; $k a r a-m \& m$ "cobbeer's wax," $\mathbf{P}$.
مونجبات munjaq (subs.) a coloured bead.
مونیّه mur-chah (adv.) thus much, (from bu which see, and chat).
هونداغ mun-dagh (adv.) thus.
vel mun-dah (adv.) here.
مونـع mung (subs.) sorrow, care.
mung-ä̈-mdq (v. intr.) to become sorrowful.
cimertilang-da-'sh-maq) (v. recipe.) to impart one's griefs to one-مونگlang-la-'sh-maq $\}$ another.

مونكو munguz (subs.) a horn.
mihrban-chi-liq (subs.) kindness, graciousness, P. T.
(subs.) hospitality, P. T.
; mijaz for mizaj (subs.) health; also, disposition, temper, $P$. مي meh (subs.) a nail, a peg, $\mathbf{P}$.
© mekh-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to nail, P. T.
ميخلامانت mekh-la mag (v. tr.) to nail, P. T.
s midira-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to move, to move (tr.)
ميلديراملك midira-mak (v. intr.) to move, to creep.
ميلبرلامالـ midir-la-mak (v. intr.) to move about, to creep about.
ميرله maïrdah (adv.) here [for bu or ma-yer-dah 'in this place'].
pis (subs.) copper, $P$.
Af
cine mishiq (subs.) a cat.
, m'ikan ) interrogative or dubitative form of the Indef.
ميكيى $m^{\prime}$ 'ikin $\}$ Part. of the defective verb irmak or imak) is ?
whether? [See Grammar.]
ميلتيق milteq (subs.) a gun.
مُيلُ mail (subs.) inclination, choice, A.
مين min (pr.) I, Gaz, Kirghiz.

cilotion min-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to ride, to mount (any. one).

. ming (num.) a thousand.
مينــ ming (subs.) a beauty-spot, a mole on the face. [horse. chalkide min-ga-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to ride two together on one مئهُ mingah (subs.) the brain.
 هينه mina (interj.) here! "voici !"
[cheval."
ميريه miyah (subs.) the brain.

## $*$

ناباس nabat (subs.) sugar, P.
نlachar (adj.) helpless, $\mathbf{P}$.
( ناحارليت nachar-liq (subs.) helplessness, P. T.
jar (subs.) a single-humped camel, like those of India.
©
iرئ nari (adv. and post-pos.) beyond, on the further side.
[This is perhaps merely a contraction of an-yeri ('nyeri that place). At any rate, it may be used precisely as if it were a compound of pronoun and substantive; e. $g$. saning nari-'ng gha "to thy further side" (where it takes both the possessive termination and dative postposition) ; ü̈-din nari or nari da " on the further side from (of) the house." See Grammar. But it has also the properties of a simple adverb, in that it can take the comparative form, see next word.]
( ${ }^{\text {(ر) nari-raq (adv. comparative) further, beyond, more on the }}$ other side.
judz (subs.) blandishments, endearments, $P$.
©
نازلازمات $n d z-l a-' n-m a q$ (v. refl.) to endear one's self, P. T.
نازليتى naz-liq (adj.) endearing, using blandishments.
نازوكـ nazuk (adj.) delicate, tender, P.

ناس nds (subs.) snuff (generally put into the mouth under the tongue and retained there for some time), $\mathbf{P}$.
judswdr. The same, P.
ناسوال náswal. The same.
ناسوايي ndswai. The same, Kaz.
نانُباتْي ndshbati $\}$ (subs.) a pear, P.
نانشواتح nalshwati $\}$
diel ndshtah (subs.) an early breakfast, a morsel eaten on first getting up, 'choti haziri,' $P$.
زاغارا naghara (subs.) a large kettle-drum, P.
ناغار naghdra-chi (subs.) a kettle-drummer, P. T.
el nak (subs.) a pear.
ناموه namus (subs.) an indignity, a disgrace, A.
نlo $n d o$ (subs.) the wooden spout or channel which carries
il nawa $\}$ the water to the wheel of a water-mill, $\mathbf{P}$.
نارات nawat. See nabat.
نالي nai (subs.) a reed, a fife, P.
ناليحّبي naï-chi (subs.) a fifer, P. T.
(
ni-chuk (adv.) how $?$ in what manner $P$ thus, so.
a. in ni-chah (pron.) how many $?$ how much ?

نغارا naghara. See ناغار.
doغi naghmah (subs.) music, melody, $\mathbf{P}$.
naghmah-chi (subs.) a musician, P. T.
duraimarsah [ni-'m-ersa] (pron.) some thing [lit. " what-ever (it) may be." It preserves the memory of its origin sufficiently to avoid taking affixes or post-positions as a rule, excepting sometimes that of the accusative].
anj ni-mah (pron.) what $?$ also, something. [See Grammar, Pronouns.]
jing or nang or nung. The affix of the Genitive case ; in early Turki " property," " possession."
in $n i$ (pron.) what $?$ Also (post-pos.) the affix of the Accusafive case.
; naï. See ناي
ni-tak (adv.). The same as ni-chuk. [Almost obsolete.]
ni-chuk. See نجهوك.
نيـغغغل
|
ni-chagh-liq (pron.) what, at a guess? about how much ? [See chdgh.]
$n i$-'chum [for ni-uchun] (adv.) why ? for what reason ?

naï-chah (subs.) a little reed, specially one placed in a shutthe and on which the thread is wound.
\&ênim'ish-qa (adv.) to what purpose? wherefore?
danimak. See
نينـ ming. The affix of the Genitive case. See Grammar.
niersah [ni-ersa]. The same as nimarsah [constructed with $n i$ instead of $n i m a]$.
g
g $u$ an affix corresponding with our "isn't there," "does'nt it."
(إردورمات $h d r-d u r-m d q$ (v. caus.) to cause to be tired, to tire, (tr.). (هاردوت hâduq (subs.) fatigue, tiredness.


هانكـ hang (subs.) a cliff, a precipice, Y.
هانگغوت hangghut (subs.). the ruddy sheildrake, Casarea rutile.
هانكو hangu (subs.) name of a tree from whose hard wood cups are made, (?) a kind of poplar.
gl ها hang (subs.) a jack-ass.
elololo haida-mak (v. tr.) to drive, to drive away.
هركأهان har-kachan (adv.) whenever, whensoever (lit. ' every when').
هورما hur-mak (v. tr.) to blow away (with the mouth).

shog hur-mak (v. intr.) to bark (of a dog).
s) hürük-mak (v. intr.) to shy [for hürük-kak (?)].

هو;وكوتشاكس hürük-ït-mak (v. caus.) to cause to shy.
;وكوز $h u k u z$ (subs.) a bullock, an ox.

هولVالواك höl-la-mak (v. tr.) to wet.
(\$0 hai-hai (interj.) alas! what a pity!

يالآلآت yapaldq (adj.) flat.
بآراتٌ yapraq (subs.) a leaf (of a tree), Kaz.
يإرمات yaparmaq. The same, E. T.
يإيشتورمان yap-ish-tur-maq (v. recip. caus.) to cause to become affised, to affix.
 to one-another to climb, to "swarm up," [recip. from following].
بالماتى yap-maq (v. tr.) to close, to cover.
يابو $y a b u$ (subs.) a baggage horse or strong pony.
ياليومان yapurmaq. See.

- yap-ush-maq. See yapishmaq.
$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { yap-ugh } \\ \text { يإبوت yap-uq }\end{array}\right\}$ (subs.) the covering of a horse, horse-clothing.
yap-un-ji (subs.) a covering (for the body) against rain or cold, a blanket.
 clothes on without putting one's arms into the sleeves.
يالیالالات yapah-laq. See
بأس yat (adj.) strange, unknown.
clicy yatdq (subs.) a man belonging to a nomad tribe who from poverty comes into the towns to earn a livelihood, $\mathbf{K}_{\Delta z,}$ Kн.
. $y d t-q d q$ (adj.) sleepy, who sleeps much or often.
cile $y$ gt-qur-maq $\}$ (v. caus.) to cause to lie down.
. $y d t-l a-$ 'n-maq ( v. refl.) to feel one's self strange, to be shy.
باتلامات yat-la-maq (v. tr.) to treat as a stranger, to shun.
eitict-maq (v. intr.) to lie down, to lie.
yât-ugh-luq (vl. adj.) lying down, leaning.
باتوت $y a t-u q$ (vl. adj.) leaning, inclined.
syad (subs.) memory, recollection, $\mathbf{P}$.
بآ y ydd-dash for ydd-ddsht (subs.) a memorandum, a reminder.
$y d d-l a-$ - $t-m a q$ ( $\mathbf{v}$. caus.) to cause to remember, to remind, P. T.
(v. recip.) to remember one another, to speak of one another, P. T.
(2 yad-la-'n-maq (v. pass. or refl.) to be reminded, to bethink one's self, to recollect, P. T.
左 $y A d-l a-m A q$ ( v . tr.) to commit to memory, to learn by heart. yar (subs.) a friend, P.
بار yâr (subs.) a bow (for shooting).
بار yâr (subs.) a fissure, a split (in the earth), a bank, a cliff (of earth). [The derivation of the name "Yarkand" is said to be from yar "a bank" and kand or kant "a village or inhabited place," as in Besh-kant "the five villages," Tashkand " the stone abode," \&c. Yarkand is situated on the edge of a bank which forms the northwestern boundary of a depressed fluviatile plain nearly
four miles wide, low and marshy, which was probably formed by the divaricating branches of the Yarkand River. That river, however, now flows in a bed, 7 or 8 miles further east, which resembles in its character the plain on the south-east side of Yarkand. The Zilchak Ustang which runs through the latter some $3 \frac{1}{3}$ miles from the city, being derived from the main river some miles higher up, has the appearance of a natural stream and not of a canal, and is perhaps a relic left by the main stream in its former bed. The edge of the higher level plain in the neighbourhood of the city is also cut by numerous fissures or depressions with high banks which add to the appropriateness of the name Yarkand "the city of banks." The name Yamân-yâr "evil banks," is also common in the country, being applied to a river passing south of Kashghar Fort, and also to a dry river-bed some 2 miles north of Yarkand.]
y yara (subs.) a wound.
calor-mar-maq (v. caus.) to cause (or allow) to be pleasant (to one's self), to appreciate, to be pleased with [from yara-naq].
ياراتمات yardt-maq (v. tr.) to create, to make out of nothing.
yarat-il-maq (v. pass.) to be created.
باراش yar-ash (subs.) peace, concord, P. T.
( $y$ ar- $a^{\prime}$ 'sh-tur-maq (. recip. caus.) to cause to make peace, to reconcile.
vilail $y d r-a \prime s h-m d q$ (v. recip.) to make peace together, to become reconciled; also, to suit, to become, [lit. 'to be pleasant to one-another;' from yar-a-maq].
© $y$ بارات $y d r a q$ (subs.) a weapon, an arm.
ياراقلامات yáraq-la-maq (v. tr.) to arm.
$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { باراليغ yara-ligh } \\ \text { باراليت yara-liq }\end{array}\right\}$ (adj.) wounded.
cloplotra-maq (v. intr.) to be pleasant, to be agreeable, to please, P. T.
$y a r-d u r-m d q$ (v. caus.) to cause to split, (tr.).
يارغات yarghaq (subs.) leather (of sheep or goat's skin).
بارغو ydr-ghu (subs.) a fine, an exaction [quasi something split off by force from a man's property] (from $y d r-m a q$ ).
( $y$ arr-ghu-chaq (subs.) a hand-mill (only used for making tobacco into snuff, or splitting or breaking up grain for cattle, not for flour).
یارقناس yar-qanât (subs.) a bat.
$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { يارلكِ yarligh } \\ \text { يارليتغ yarliq }\end{array}\right\}$ (subs.) a (written) decree, an edict, a "farman."
يارليت yar-liq (adj.) friendly.
بارليق yar-liq (adj.) fissured, with many banks.
ydrliqa-maq (v. tr.) to absolve (from sin), to proclaim an amnesty.
يارما yar-ma (subs.) split peas (or any other grain).

cich $y d r-m a q$ (v. tr.) to split, to slit. [See yar " a fissure."]
بارمات yarmaq (subs.) a bronze coin of small value current in the time of the Chinese.
بأرتمات yarru-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be enlightened, to throw light (or any thing), to lighten, to illuminate.
$y$ باروشمات $y a r-u ̈ s h-m d q$ (v. recip.) to split together.

$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { باروغ } y a r-u g h \\ y a r-u q\end{array}\right\}$ (subs.) a split, a crack.
$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { باروغ yarv'gh } \\ \text { باروت yaru-'q }\end{array}\right\}$ (subs.) a ray of light, light generally.
باربلمانت yar-il-maq (v. pass.) to be split.
ياريم yar-im (subs.) half [from yar-maq "to split"].
باز yaz (subs.) spring, also summer. [See yashil.]
بازدوروات $y d z-d w r-m a q$ (v. caus.) to cause to write.
cilog yazz-ghur-maq (v. caus.) to canse to orr, to cause to be (legally) guilty, to bring in guilty, to convict.
بازلوت $y d z$-luq (adj.) adapted to summer, summer (clothes, \&c.).
يازمات yâz-máq (v. tr.) to write, [? connected with yarligh].
بازمات $y d z-m d q$ ( $v$. intr.) to err, to deviate (from the road or from one's duty).
gloj ydz-maq ( V . tr.) to unfold, to spread out.
alijg $y a z-u q$ (vl. subs.) an error, a deviation from rectitude, a $\sin [$ from $y d z-m a q]$.
يازعي $y d z i$ (subs.) the country (as opposed to the town) [? from $y d z$ summer, quasi "summer quarters," or else from $y a z-m d q$ to spread out, quasi " open country," "rase campagne" as opposed to the town].
cilole $y d z$-il-maq (v. pass.) to be written.
軍 $y d z$-il-maq (v. pass.) to be spread out.
country yazi-liq (subs.) a dweller in the country, a country-man. yasa-'t-maq ( v . caus.) to cause to make.

باسات $y a s d q$ (subs.) line of battle, formation of troops.
cilolul $y d s d-m d q$ (v. tr.) to make, to construct, to form, to form up (troops) ; also, to ornament, to adorn.
ydsd-'n-maq (v. refl.) to form up in line (of an army); to adorn one's self.
باسار ydsao (subs.) a line of battle, Kaz.
 or arranger of men.
( ydttâ-'n-châq (subs.) an elbow-cushion, a support for the elbows.
( $y$ باستانمات $y$ Asta-' $n-m d q$ (v. refl.) to support one's self on one's elbows, to sit in a half reclining position.
باستّوت yaftuq (subs.) a pillow (for the head), KAz.
ياسقانc $y$ alsqa $q$ (subs.) a slate [not used for roofing because there is no rain].
(ياسموت ydsmvq (subs.) a kind of pulse.

يال $y$ adsh (subs.) age (counted in years), years of age (e. g., man qirq yásh-da dur-man " I am forty years old ;" "besh yash-gha yelti "he reached five years of age"].
يا $y$ atsh (adj.) of tender age, young [e. g., yatsh bala "an in. fant," $y d_{s h}$ yigit " a young man"].
ياش yash (subs.) a tear.
باشار yatsh-ar (adj.) aged (so-and-so) [e. g., ollik yáshar adam " a man fifty years of age"].
يانغارتمات ydsh-ar-'t-mdq (v. caus.) to cause to weep.
s. s دانشارتمhash-ar-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become green.

S 3 بانشارمالmh-ar-mak (v. intr.) to sprout, to become green.
باشُامات ydsh-a-maq (v. intr.) to age, to grow older [applies equally at all ages].

باشلوت ydsh-luq (subs.) youth, early age.
© conceal.

(vatsh-ur-un-máq (v. refl.) to hide one's self, to conceal itself. يانشونمات $y$ atsh-un-maq (v. refl.) to hide one's self.

باششيت $y$ dshiq (adj.) lean, without fat (said only of meat).
باشَيل yadshil (adj.) green. [Possibly this is a passive form derived from a root having the meaning of 'becoming green' as connected with the growth of plants, and which would be the common origin of $y d s h$ 'early age', 'budding youth,' and of yash-ar-mak " to become green," (whose form shows that the syllable il in $y$ ashil is not of the essence of the root), ar being the verbal co-efficient of colour, as kok-ar-mak " to become blue," sarigh-ar-maq " to become yellow," özga-'r-mak " to become of different colour." See also qiz-ar-mak and qizil. This hypo-
R. B. Shaw- $A$ Vocabulary of the Language [Extra No. for thetical common root of $y d s h$ and $y d s h-i l$ is perhaps connected with that of $y d z$ "spring" (the season of growth). Compare also yàz-màq" to open out." Prof. Vambery (from the kudatku Bilik) gives the following comparison of the ages of man with the seasons of the jear.
$y d z=$ Spring, answers to childhood (which we have seen is called yâsh).
yai = Summer, answers to youth.
kös (kuz) $=$ Autumn (the reaping season), answers to full-grown manhood.
$q i s h=$ Winter, answers to old age.
Thus it appears (as might indeed be imagined) that the idea of comparing man's childhood with the season of the first growth of plants has long been familiar to the Turks, and they may have expressed this in the formation of their words for the same.]
باشيس $y$ adshin (subs.) lightning.
. i yâgh (subs.) grease, fat. [Distinguished into su-yághi " oil," tatliq yâgh." sweet oil," quyuruq yàghi lit. " tail fat" (the fat of the tail of the Dumba sheep), sarigh yagh " yellow grease," viz., " ghee or clarified butter," maskah yàgh " butter."]
ع ${ }^{\text {®اغ } y a g h a c h ~(s u b s .) ~ w o o d, ~ a ~ s t i c k . ~}$
alo yagh-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to rain, to water (from above), " arroser."
باغروU yaghrün (subs.) a shoulder-blade, Kaz. Kirar.
ياغرونجّ yaghriun-chi (subs.) one who divines by means of the shoulder-blades of sheep, Kaz. Kirgir.
ياغلاغو ydgh-la-ghu (subs.) a frying-pan, [from yagh 'grease'].
 greasy, to make itself greasy, to become greasy of itself.
باغغلامات yâgh-la-máq (v. tr.) to make greasy, to grease.
(for wiping the grease from one's hands) ; also, (adj.) greasy.
باغيـ yaghi (adj.) rebellious; also, warring, at war, $\mathbf{P}$.

ياغير ydghir (adj.) galled (by the saddle, \&c., said of a horse).
yaghi-liq (subs.) rebellion ; also, hostility, P. T.
عاغير yaghin (subs.) rain.
بات yak (subs.) the jaw-bone.
باقا y $y d q$ (subs.) a border, an edge, a collar (of a garment), [the other edges of a garment have a different name].
citol $y d q d$-la-maq (v. tr.) to border, to edge ; to move along the edge (of anything) ; to make a collar (to a garment); to seize by the collar, to collar.
؛ $y$ aq-tur-maq ( $\mathrm{\nabla}$. caus.) to cause to light (fire).
ciloghotur-maq (v. caus.) to cause (or allow) to be pleasant (to one's self), to approve, to be pleased with.
باقتحي yaqti (subs.) light, Kaz.
باقماتّ $y a d q-m d q$ ( v . tr.) to light, to set on fire.
باقماتّ $y d q-m d q$ ( v. intr.) to be agreeable, to please [governs $g h a$ ].
عاقيى $y d q-i n$ (adv.) near, close to [ $?$ at the edge ( $y a q a$ )].
ياقيلمات yáq-il-maq (v. pass.) to be lighted.
عاقينلاهاتى yaqin-la-maq (v. intr.) to become near, to approach [go. verns gha].
بال yal (subs.) a mane (of a horse).
بال yal (subs.) wages, pay, recompense for service.
בلاق yalaq (subs.) a plate for feeding dogs out of, [from their licking up the remainders].
©
عيالانغأ yalanghach (adj.) naked, bare [P from yala-maq].

yalang (adj.) half-clothed (said of a man insufficiently clothed in cold weather), bare, naked (said of a plain or mountain).
© بالالزمليتى yálang-liq (subs.) a bare place, an open plain. [(a sword).
yalao (subs.). See yaldq, Kız.
a $y$ albdr-maq (v. intr.) to beseech, to entreat, to act as a ' lick spittle' [? from yala maq].

بالْات yalpdq (adj.) wide (in superficial measurement), flat.
 rubbing up to make bright, or by displaying the bright object in the light).
:
 service, to render acceptable service.
 vices, to approve. [Governs 'din'.]
يالدبرامات yal-dir-a-maq. See yalturamaq.

alأغان yalghán (subs.) a lie, an untruth.
-ill yalghan-chi (subs.) a liar.
بالغوز yalghoz (adj.) alone.
بالغوزلئى yalghoz-liq (subs.) loneliness, the being alone.
بالغوز yalghoz-la-maq (v. tr.) to isolate, to cause to be alone.
يالغوزلوت yalghoz-luq (subs.) solitude, loneliness, isolation.
بالئر yálin (subs.) a flame.
ciongongingin-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to entreat (by withholding what is asked for), 'se faire prier.'
yalin-maq ( $\mathrm{\nabla}$. intr.) to beseech, to abase one's self in entreaties (governs gha of the person entreated, and wehsa of the petition) [? the refl. form of yala-maq ; see also ydbarmaq.]
clol $y A^{\prime} m d q$ (vl. subs.) a patch (sewn into a garment).
© a garment.
c elonam (adj.) bad, evil ; also, bad to beat, brave, adroit.
cinclole yamdn-la-mdq (v. intr.) to become bad, to take in bad part, to take it ill, to be offended; also, to die of a certain disease (of horses in which the breast swells).
بامانلين yaman-liq (subs.) evil, badness.
y yamghur (subs.) rain.
whan (subs.) a flank, a side. [Forms several adverbs, see Grammar.]
يانا yana (adv.). See yanak.
يانباشُ yadn-bash (subs.) the hip-bone [lit. 'side-head'].
 on one's hip.
, $y$ antdq (subs.) a thorny plant growing in desert places and eaten by camels.
e $y$ anji't-madq (v. caus.) to cause to pound up.
 (metaph.) to bring to nothing, to ruin.

باند|iatn-dash (subs.) a companion, lit. "a side-fellow" [conf. $q u r s d q$-dâsh].
[by side.
قانd|شمات $y d n$-dash-maq (v. intr.) to accompany, to be or go side yan-dvr-maq (v. caus.) to cause to burn, to burn (tr.).
© also, to cause to do again.
بارمات yangdq (subs.) a walnut.
بانعاق $y$ ang $q$ (subs.) the jaw-bone.

بانكغات yangghdq (subs.) a walnut.
© yangil-maq (v. tr.) to make a mistake.
بانكز yangzah (subs.) sort, kind, pattern, CHIN.
yang-ligh (adj.) equal, same [generally used with bir before it, = one and the same] (obsolete).
يانگليش yangl-ish (vl. subs.) a mistake [from yangilmaq].
gien $y d n-m a q$ (v. intr.) to burn, to consume (itself) by fire.
 one's mind, to give up [governs din]; also, its past participle in composition with another verb indicates repetition of the action of the latter, e. g., yân-ip qel-dim " I did it over again."
 باو ydo (subs. and adj.) an enemy ; also, hostile, Kaz. (2 yaroo (adj.) wild, not tamed.
ياوان yaroash (adj.) tame, docile, tractable.
(3du-chi (subs.) a go-between, or arranger of a marriage [the custom is for this person to wear one leg of his trousers loose over his riding boot while the other leg is tucked into the boot as usual ; this is the mark of the business that he has come upon] (? from ydu-maq).
citringaw-sh-maq (v. recip.) to approach one another, to approach together [from yau-maq].
ياوت ydu-' $q$ (adv.) near.

بارمات $y d u-m a q$ ( V . intr.) to approach.
(subs.) summer, [rare at the present day except in camp].
يادات y ydydq (subs.) a footman ; also, (adv.) on foot, Kн.
باياو yaydo. The same, Kaz.
بايلات $y$ yai-laq (subs.) a summer pasture, an 'alp' (in the Swiss sense).
 and herds taken to their summer-pastures).
. $y d \bar{z}-m a q$ ( $\mathrm{\nabla} . \mathrm{tr}$.) to spread out, to extend. Same as yaz-maq.
$y d y-u l-m d q$ (v. pass.) to be spread out, to flood.
يتايلأ yett'-älan (num. subs.) a group of seven.
ئهر yet-mish (num.) seventy.
yet-mish-anchi (n. adj.) seventieth.
yet-'anchi (num. adj.) seventh.
yetti (num.) seven [yetti-yulduz or yetti-ughri (' the seven stars' or ' the seven thieves'), the name of the Great Bear among the Kazzaks, who say that this constellation is a gang of robbers ever circling round to watch their opportunity of carrying off the two horses (two
bright stars of Ursa Minor) called $A q b o ̂ z a t$ and Kök$\mathbf{b} \boldsymbol{6} \boldsymbol{z} \boldsymbol{d t}$ (' white-grey horse' and 'blue grey horse') which are picketted to a peg (the Pole-Star) round which they graze].
<compat>ᄅ<compat>ᅮ<compat>ᄅ yak (subs.) ice, $\mathbf{P}$.
ankh -tan (subs.) a pannier, a leather box forming one side of a baggage animal's load, [for P. yak-dAn].
يَنشَ $y$ yakhshi (adj. and adv.) good; well.
" yakhak (subs.) glazed chintz [? from yah, ice, P.].
 any liquid or viscous fluid which hardens with decrease of temperature), P. T.
يَذنيـ yakhni (subs.) cold meat.
y ed (subs.) a perfume, a pleasant smell.
[smell.
s yed-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to perceive a pleasant و yed-la-mak (v. tr.) to smell, to perceive a pleasant odour.
( $y$ ed-la-'n-mak (v. pass. and refl.) to be smelt, to smell (intr.) to give rise to a pleasant odour.
يليكــ yed-lik (adj.) pleasant smelling, odoriferous.
er yard (subs.) a wound.


. $\quad$ يراغليق $y a r A-$-'gh-liq (vil. adj.) pleasing [from yarâ-maq].
yaragh-liq (adj.) armed.

(v. recipe.) to remove to a distance from one another, to separate (tr. or intr.).

yuraq-liq (subs.) distance, far-ness.
يرامات yara-maq. See باراماق .
©
.
ce lola yighla-màq (v. intr.) to weep, to lament with tears.
(8) yoqa. See ياهِا

celongek-il-mdq (v. pass.) to be caused to fall, to be thrown down, to fall.

بكه yak-kah (adj. and adv.) alone ; only, P.
(يكرمات yigar-mak (v. tr.) to spin. [Also
(يلومابلا yigarm-aillan (num. subs.) a group of twenty.
yigarm'-anchi (num. adj.) twentieth.
צ yigarmak (num.) twenty.
بل yil (subs.) a year. [The solar year from ndo-roz to ndoroz (early spring) is called after the animals of the Tartar year-cycle. The lunar year is of course called by its number after the era of the Hijra.]
يلا yulan (subs.) a serpent, a snake.
.
ع
يلعي yulqi (subs.) horse-kind (used of horses generally without distinction of sex or age, like the English word 'mankind' for the children of men generally), bir top yulqi"a (mixed) herd of horses."
yulqi-chi (subs.) a keeper of a herd of horses.
كلئت yiliq (adj.) lukewarm, tepid.
. ايليت yilik (subs.) marrow. Also يليكـ
.يسليهلاماك yom-la-mak (v. tr.) to paste, to glue. Also.
Ki yanga (subs.) an elder brother's wife.
يانگليغ yang-ligh. See ينگليغ
ين yangi (adj.) new.
si yanah (adj. and adv.) other ; also, again.
yua (subs.) a leek.
( yud-'t-maq ( v . caus.) to cause (a child) to stop erying (by giving it something to amuse it), to hush.

(2yuAsh-liq (adj.) mildness, gentleness.
يوالدوز yuâlduz (subs.) a packing-needle.
( $y u A-$-n-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause (a child) to stop crying, to pacify, to soothe (a child).
(v. refl.) to pacify itself, to stop crying (of a child), to become hushed.
يولقا yupqa (adj.) thin (not used of men or animals).
عيویقالامات yupqa-la-maq (v. tr.) to make thin.

(subs.) a scarcity of grass on the pastures.

: يوتالمالو yütal-mak
: يوتكورمالوüt-kür-mak $\}$ (v. intr.) to cough.
Syiut-iir-mak (v. caus.) to cause to be lost, to lose [for يتورماك].
ghot-maq (v. tr.) to swallow.
يورا yurd (adv.) upright, standing, K Az.
: borak (subs.) heart (used without metaphor).
בوروت yürt (subs.) a country, one's home.
لورتا yurt-aul (subs.) a mounted troop of plunderers [from yurt-maq].
s يورتl yurt-ak (vil. subs. and adj.) a trot; trotting.
yurt-qan (subs.) a counterpane, a bed-covering stuffed with cotton.
يورتمات yurt-mAq (v. intr.) to trot.
s ${ }^{1 / 2}$ yür-dür-mak (v. caus.) to cause to proceed [from yür-maki].
يوزغا yurgha (subs.) an amble (pace of a horse).
يورغالاماتى yurgha-la-maq (v. intr.) to amble.
Slotorganak (v. tr.) to roll up, to wind, to fold.


log yurma (subs.) an ornamental stitch worked with a crochet by means of which loops of thread are brought through the stuff from behind, each loop being brought through the bight of the preceding one.
. $y$ dru-maq (v. tr.) to interpret (a dream).
. $y$ dr-maq (v. intr.) to walk, to progress, to proceed, [dt-ga min-ip yür-mak " to proceed on horseback"].
 proceed.
<وروما yürü-mak. See yür-mak, also mang-máq.
يو'وق yûrûq. See yâruyh, yaruq (in both senses).
يوزوركس yürü-' $k$ (vl. subs.) pace, gait, manner of walking.
زوز yüz (subs.) the cheek, the face; also, face or surface (of any object); also metaph., an-din ul yüz-i gha that side of it (viz., beyond it) ; fulán kelgan-ning bw-yūz-i$d a$ " since so-and-so came" (lit. " on this side of so-andso's coming'). $\quad B u$ (or $u l$ )-yüz-i $d a$ (or gha) is thus a compound post-position taking ning or din after the noun. [See grammar.]
يوز yüz (num.) a hundred.

, yüz-aïlan (num. subs.) a group of a hundred, 'une centaine.'
. $y u ̈ z-b A_{s} h i$ (subs.) a chief of a hundred, a centurion.
 confront ; also, to cause to face round (tr.)
 confront one another.
يوزلأشماكس yüz-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to face or confront one another.
بوزلا yüz-la-mak (v. tr.) to put in face of, to confront (tr.) ; also, to face round (a man or any object, \&c.).
yüz-la-mak (v. tr.) to bring up to the number of hundred.
yüz-la-'n-mak ( $\mathrm{\nabla}$. refl. and pass.) to face, to put one's self in face of ; also, to face (one's self) round, to turn one's face towards; also, to be confronted, to be faced round.
يوسوس yusun (subs.) institution, regulation, custom. [? from $y d s d-m d q$ for $y d s u n]$.
בوس yusun-luq (adj.) regular, customary.
yushur-maq. See yâhsur-maq.
بوشَوروس yushur-un. See yâhsurun.
: yoshah (subs.) a kind of red earth used as a colouring matter.
يوغ yogh (subs.) a yoke, P.
يوغ yogh (subs.) the axle of a water-wheel, whose prolongation forms also the axle of the upper mill-stone (revolving through a hole in the centre of the lower mill-stone), KH.
يوغان yoghan (adj.) thick, stout, fat ; also, large, big.
يوغازلاماتق yoghan-la-maq (v. tr.) to make thick, to thicken.
yoghan-la-'n-maq (v. refl. and pass.) to become thick or stout ; to be made thick, \&c.
yoghan-liq (subs.) thickness, stoutness.
( $y$ يوغوهي يوغورماتّ yughur-mdq (v. tr.) to mix, to compound (any substance with a liquid).
دوق yoq ( v . impers.) is not, there is not, not being, non-existent, non-existence, \&c.; also (interj.) no! [never used with a verb, like our word ' not,' to give it a negative sense ; the seeming exceptions being resolvable into compound tenses in which $y \circ q$ is used as the Participle of the verb of negation prefixed to an auxiliary verb: e. g., yoq-dur-man, yoq-idim (compare qelghan-dur-man, qel-ghan-idim) but never yoq bir-dim or yoq bira-man (not auxiliaries). Instead of these we always have the forms bir-ma-dim, bir-mai-man (" I gave not," "I give
not"). Again yoq-qelmáq means " to make non-existent," "to destroy", " to annihilate"! (it is not the negative of "to make," which would be qel-mas, but a compound verb). Here yoq is used as a verbal adjective (compare chung qelmaq "to make big"). Yoq-bolmdq =" to become non-existent", " to be destroyed or annihilated", (" not to become ..." would be bol-mas)]. Misc. Ex. ish-im yoq-qa ketti" my work came (went) to nothing ;" man yoq woaqt-da "at a time when I was not present", (lit. "I-not-being time in"); man-da yoq "I have not ..." (lit. ' there is not to me'). Finally wherever bar is used, yoq can be substituted for it, if it be desired to make the statement negative.

## يوتا yuqa. See yupqa, Kız.

(and yoqari (adv. and post-pos.) up, above; also, above, over. [See Grammar].
موقاريلا yoqari-lash (adj. and adv.) sloping upwards; upwards by a slope.
جوقاتماق yoq-at-maq (v. tr.) to make non-existent, to annihilate, to destroy ; also, to lose, [for yoq itmak].
يوقالمات yoq-al-maq (v. intr. and passive) to become non-existent, to be destroyed or annihilated, to disappear ; also, to be lost, [for yoq-bolmaq].
 (tr.), [with the particular illness as a nominative or subject, and din (from) and gha (to) of the persons].
, yoq-80 (interj.) a respectful form of yoq.
;وقسوز yuq-süz (adj.) of no account, mean, miserly.

ci
(يوقهاق yuq-maq (v. intr.) to stain, to leave a mark, to touch, to affect, to produce an effect, to profit; to infect, to attack (as does an illness) [governs gha].
. уük (subs.) baggage, a load, goods.
يوكان yugan (subs) a bridle.
. yiuk-la-mak (v. tr.) to load, to lade (with accusative of the object and gha of the carrier).
.
يوكورور yügür-maq (v. intr.) to run.
: yükün-dür-mak (v. caus.) to cause to sit in a kneeling position.
. yiukün-mak (v. intr.) to sit in a kneeling position [the universal ceremonious mode of sitting in Central Asia, first kneeling down and then sitting back on one's heels; the mode of sitting with the legs crossed in front of one (tailor-fashion) which is called char zanvs ('four knees'), is considered either familiar or disrespectful.]
بول yol (subs.) a road, a route, a way ; also the E. Turkistani name for the Chinese unit of road-measurement, a " $l i$ " [defined to be the distance at which the horns on a cow's head or the distinction between a man and a woman's face become indistinguishable !].
 and $y a v q-l a-m a q]$.
. yula-mak (v. tr.) to prop, to support, to shore up.
, yula-'n-mak (v. refl.) to support one's self, to lean.
يولبارس yulbars (subs.) a tiger.
.yol-dash (subs.) a companion on the road, a travelling companion.

jugilddïz (subs.) a star (including planets) ; quyuruq yulduz " a comet" (lit. ' a tail-star').
: yülghun (subs.) tamarisk.
 (any one).

جولمات yul-maq (v. tr.) to uproot, to pull out by the roots.
.yulun (subs.) the spinal chord.
yol-wq-mdq ( $\mathrm{\nabla}$. intr.) to meet by the way, to encounter, [governs $g h a$ ].


' Dhania' Hind.
( e yumala-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to roll about, to roll about (tr.).
yumala-maq (v. intr.) to roll about.
يومالات yumala-'q (vl. adj.) round, spherical.
جومالالقلاماق yumalaq-la-maq ( F . tr.) to make round.
هعُijumurtḳah (subs.) an egg, Kaz.
©
يومغاتٍ yumghdq (subs.) a ball of thread, \&c.
yum-maq ( $\mathrm{v} . \mathrm{tr}$. ) to close (one's eyes, mouth or hand).
. $\mathrm{y} u m-u q$ ( $\mathrm{vl} . \mathrm{adj}$.) closed (of the eyes, mouth or hand).
يومورمونى yumur-maq (v. caus.) to throw down, to overthrow (a wall or building).
(vl. adj.) ruinous, in a ruinous condition.
dern (subs.) wool, Kaz. K․


يونكول yungul (adj.) light (not heavy).

to whittle.
. $y$ 亿ونمات


يونوماق yunu-máq. See yani-mâq.
يورت yîuq. See $y$ âuq.

+

يميليكك yip-lik (subs.) a fine thread attached by leather-workers to the thicker thread with which their stitches are made, which fine thread is pushed through by means of a needle drawing the stouter thread with it.

يتيتيكـ yittik (adj.) sharp, acute.
ييتهـالو yet-mak (v. intr.) to arrive, to reach, to attain.
يتوش yet-mish (mum.) seventy. See.
يتي yeti (mum.) seven. See ييتى
بير yèr (subs.) ground, land, the earth; also, place, locality.
ييرات yeraq (adj. and adv.) distant, far.
s ser-la-mak (v. tr.) to put into the earth, to bury.
seshemak (v. tr.) to untie, to undo a knot.
s ييشنفهاy yesh-in-mak ( v . refl.) to untie one's self, to undress one's self. .
(subs.) an assemblage.
cinghein-maq (v. refl.) to collect themselves, to assemble; also, to collect one's self, to tuck in one's skirts (in sitting down).
ييكا yékan (subs) a water. rush.
(subs.) a young man; also, a soldier (cavalry).


يل gil. See.
يمل gil (subs.) wind, Gaz.
يـلان yulan. See
区 yel-pu-gu-'ch (subs.) a fan.

ييلمار yil-dam (adv.) quickly, fast.
yildiz (subs.) a root-filament.
بيليم selim (subs.) glue.

م y em (subs.) corn, cattle-feed.


## APPENDIX

то

## V OCABULARY.

mocem
TURKI NAMES OF BIRDS.
By J. Scully, Esq.
Late Medical Officer, Kdshghar Agency:
إيهـه قوبروت سا Achchah qoyruq sk. The Common Kite of Eastern Turkistan, Milvus melanotis.
الْ ارقار Aq áuqár. The White Heron, Horodias alba.
ات بابن ها Aq bash sá. The Marsh Harrier, Circus aruginosus.
ات قوه̂laq quchqách. The Tree Sparrow, Passer montanus.
Alá básh kurak aurdák. The Common Teal, Querquedula crecea.
الأهيكيـت Alá chikit. The Black-throated Wheatear, Saxicola
[الا سوقان Alá soqán. The White Stork, Ciconia alba. [deserti.

- الأغاز اوردالـ Alá gház aurdák. The Merganser, Mergus castor.

الأ غورالايلي Alá ghurálái. The Grey Shrike, Lanius Homeyori.
الا تارغه Alá qárgha. The Hooded Crow, Corvus cornix.
اورداكـ Aurdák. Equivalent to our word 'duck', but applied specially to the Mallard, Anas boschas.
ارقار Auqár. The Grey Heron, Ardea cinerea. See عقار.
Aulár. The name given to two species of Snow-cocks or Snow-pheasants, viz., Tetraogallus himalayensis and Tetraogallus tibetanus.
Ei qárloghách. The Common Swallow, Hirundo rustica. 27

الياغ سيز Ayágh siz. The name given to a Night-jar or Goatsucker, Caprimulgus arenicolor.
(ائلكو Aitalgu. The female of the 'Shunqár, Falco Hendersoni.
El Aisák. Name of a bird about the size of a Thrush.
Ili torghai. The Bokhara Lark, Melanocorypha torquata.
Báliqchi. The name of the Common and Lesser Terns, Sterna fluviatilis and Sternula minuta.
Bái qush. The Snowy Owl, Nyctea nivea.
بكري (A.) Bahri. The Peregrine Falcon, Falco peregrinus.
Bir toghrám. A small Wren, Troglodytes pallidus.
Burgut. The Golden Eagle, Aquila chrysaetus. See قراقوش
Boz aurdák. The Smew, Mergellus albellus.
Boz chikit. The Wheatear, Saxicola isabellina.
بوظ Boz sá. The Pale Harrier, Circus Swainsonii.
بوظ سوندركـ Boz sunduk. The Water Pipit, Anthus aquaticus.
Boz ghurálái. The Desert Shrike, Lanius arenarius.
Boz láchin. The name of a Falcon, Falco Tscherniaieoin
Baghitáq. The Large Sand Grouse, Pterocles arenarius.
. Bulbul. The-Barred Warbler, Nisoria undata. بلبل
بيدنג Baidina. The Common Quail, Coturnix communis. See
 Turtur Stoliczke.
Popshak torghai. The Crested Lark, Galerita magna.
Pur bash. The Mountain Finch, Montifringilla hama topygia.
Pur tumshuk qárgha. The Rook, Oorvus frugilegus.
Tágh tumuchuq. Swinhoe's Finch, Carpodacus mongolicus.
Tágh qárghási. The Alpine Chough, Pyrrhocorax alpinus.
 pestris.
"Tagh quchqáchi. The name given to several species of passerine birds found only in the mountains.
"أغ هویونيـي Tagh hupupi. The Bohemian Waxwing, Ampelis garrula.
ترانصي Taráchi. The Willow Sparrow, Passer salicicolus.
Tukhunák kárgha. The Jackdaw, Colaus monedula.
Tokhi. A Fowl. See قومتوخي. توخي
Toz. The Pea-fowl, Pavo cristatus.
Torghai. A Lark.
تورولغو Torulghu. The Turtle Dove, Turtur auritus.
تورومطلي Turumtai. The Merlin, Lithofalco asalon. In India this name is applied to a different species, viz., Hypotiorchis chicquera, the Red-headed Merlin.
Tokhmak sá. The Long-legged Buzzard, Buteo forox.

توموهوق Tumochuq. The name given to a species of Finch, Erythrospiza obsoleta.
جغلباي Jaghalbai. The Hobby, Hypotriorchis subbuteo.
جنك Jing jing. The Bearded Reedling, Calamophilus biarmicus.
جنا Jingsa. The Indian Bush-chat, Pratincola indica.
جيكما هوركـ Jigda chuk. The Black-throated Thrush, Planesticus atrogularis.
واسغسواوروال Cha sughsu aurdák. The Pintail Duck, Dafila acuta.
Chaghchi. The Indian Blue Throat, Cyanecula suecica.
c nicola.
Shaghundakk. The Bactrian Owlet, Athene bactriana.
© Chaman. The Lapwing, Vanellus cristatus.
چولانتُرغالي Chulán torghái. A small Lark, Alandula pispoletta. ororhynohws.

Chikit. A Wheatear, Saxicola.

Kharuna. The Water Hen, Gallinula chloropas. See قودש.
ack Zaghcha. The Andijani name for the Jackdaw. See "
;رغلهاتّ Zarghaldáq. The Andijani name for the Golden Oriole. See سوريا.
زغاراتّ Zagháráaq. The Green Sandpiper, Actitis ochrophws. زوزڭ Zungáq. Podoces humilis.

1 nsa. The name given to Buzzards, Harriers and Kites.
Sach. The Rose-coloured Starling, Pastor roseus.
سالوار Sálwár. The Cinercous Vulture, Vultur monachus.
سريغ سونلدركـ Sarigh sunduk. The Yellow-headed Wagtail, Bwdytes citreola.
© Sarigh quchqách. The Red-headed Bunting, Eucpiza luteola.
Saghizghán. The White-rumped Magpie, Pica bactriana.
سقوڤات Sokocháq. A Wood-pecker, Picus leucopterus.
Sun aurdák. The Mallard, Anas boschas.
سوريبا Sopiá. The Indian Oriole, Oriolus kundoo.
سورام Suram. A Wren Warbler, Rhopophilus pekinensis.
Soqan. A Stork, Ciconia.
سونلوركـ Sunduk. The Common Wagtail, Motacilla alba.
سيرام Sairám. The Marsh Pipit, Dorydalla Richardi.
Sháyáráq chulloq. The Indian Ringed Plover, AIgialites fluviatilis.
شونقار Shunqár. The Shunkar Falcon, Falco Hendersoni.

مايتورغايح Sai torghái. The Horned Lark, Otocoris penicillata. See . ثراقاش زورغاي.
-ماي بامغور- Sái yámghurchi. The Kentish Ring Plover, Algialophilus cantianus.

ase 'Akka. The Andijani name for the Magpie. See سغزغان. غl Gház. The Grey Lag Goose, Anser cinereus.
غج Ghiji. The Lammergeyer, Gypaetus barbatus.
Ghorki. The Brown-headed Gull, Xema brunneicephala.

Qárgha. A Crow.
© Qárloghách. A Swallow.

Qáqshál pichak. The Stilt, Himantopus intermedius.
Qapáq torghái. The Crested Lark, Galerida magna. See .
 قرا Qará chikit. A Wheatear, Saxicola Hendersoni.

قرا טا Qará sá. A Buzzard, Buteo japonicus.
قرا سوقر Qará soqan. The Black Stork, Oiconia nigra.
ز Qará gház. The Common Cormorant, Oraculus carbo. قرا قاشُنورغاكي Qará kásh torghái. The Horned Lark, Otocoris penicillata.
قرا تارغه Qaré qárgha. The Black Crow, Oorous culminatus.

Qara qush. The local name in Eastern Turkistan for the Golden Eagle, Aquila chrysaetus. See .
Qirghaul. The Yarkand Pheasant, Phasianus Shawi.
Qarghai. The Sparrow Hawk, Accipiter nisus.

Qizil básh aurdák. The Red-crested Pochard, Branta rufina.
Qizil tumshuq qárgha. The Red-billed Chough, Fregilus قارغه
قزيل كورزانال Qizil kurkánák. The Redstart, Ruticilla orythrogastra.
Qiláti sá. The female Hen-Harrier, Circus cyanews.
Qil yurgha. The Swiftfoot, Podoces Hendersoni.
Qum tokhisi. The Little Bustard, Otis tetrax.
Qum saghizghani. A name sometimes given to Podoces Hendersoni. See فل بورغه.
Qanak aurdák. The Shoveller, Spatula clypeata. قنالِّبي Qanáichi. The Reed Warbler, Acrocephalus arundinaceuse.
 in Hindustani.
Qush. Any large sized bird.
Qodái. The Swan, Cygnus olor.
Qodan. The Water Hen, Gallinula chloropus.
قوزغون Quzghun. The Tibetan Raven, Corous tibetanus.
Kirich qarloghách. A Swift, Oypselus pekinensis. Karak aurdák. The Blue-winged Teal, Querquedula circia.
Kaklik. The Chukor Partridge, Oaccabis chukor.
SKakkok. The Common Cuckoo, Cuculus canorus.
Kalkhát. The Andijani name for the Kite. كوركاناك Kurgánák. The Kestrel, Tinnunculus alaudarius.
Sوكتالغو Koktalghu. A Tree Warbler, Phyllopneuste rama.
Kok sá. The male Hen Harrier, Circus cyaneus.
Sok sunduk. A Wagtail, Motacilla personata.
Sok qárgha. The European Roller, Coracias garrula.
Kögan. The Indian Stock-pigeon, Palumbona Eversmanni.
Kul buqahsi. The Bittern, Botaurus stellaris. Köshkal. The Stock-pigeon, Columba anas.

كيیه Giya (? Girya). The Sea Eagle, Haliaetus leucoryphus.
(لأهئ Láchin. The Barbary Falcon, Falco barbarus.
Laglag. The White Stork, Ciconia alba. See الاسوقان لع
Mahramchi. The Common Snipe, Gallinago scolopacinus. Mashak yápáláq. The Long-eared Owl, Otus vulgaris.
 ميزان سا Mizan sá. The Kite, Milvus melanotis. ميik Maina. The Black-bird, Morula vulgaris. Watwáláq. The local Yarkandi name for the common Quail. See بيدنه.
هانگغوש Hangghut. The Brahminy Duck, Casarca rutila. Hüpüp. The Common Hoopoe, Upupa epops.
Hui qush. The Great Eagle Owl, Bubo maximus.
با, Yawa kabtar. The Blue Hill Pigeon, Oolumba rupestris. Yápáláq. The Short-eared Owl, Otus brachyotus. (Yár qárloghách. A Swift, Oypseluo acuticauda.
צامغغورهيي Yamghurchi. A name applied to several species of Waders. Yekan tokhisi. The Water Rail, Rallus aquaticus.

## TURKI NAMES OF PLANTS.

By J. Scully, Esq.
1

الهِغ انار áchigh ánár.
انغَهي كوكي ikhchî kokî. Rape or Cole-seed, Brassica napus.
$\omega^{\text {Lu }}$ ládrásmán. Peganuin harmala. See gul ásmán.

ارٍ árpa. Barley, Hordeum distichum.
ارْه باديان árpa bádyán. Aniswm sativum.
اربه خان árpa khán.
ارْتيش artîsh. The Pencil Cedar, Juniperus excelsa.
ارمر árman. Wormwood, Artemisia vulgaris.
(زغان ázghán. A species of Rose, Rosa.
اغخاجه يوغوه aghácha yughuch. A Cucurbitaceous Plant.
افتاب áftáb parast. Sunflower, Helianthus anuus.
(فيور ŚSiun guli. Opium Poppy, Papaver somniferum.
اقارمن aq árman. A species of Wormwood, Artemisia.
ات الهـ áq álma. White Apple, Pyrus malus.
آ áq auzum. White Grape, Vitis vinifora.
ات باديان aq bádyán. Coriander, Ooriandrum satioum.
اق باش اوت áq básh aut. Celery, Apium graveoleus.
(aq piaz. A variety of Onion, Allium cepa.
ات تيكان áq tikán. Sea Buckthorn, Hippophaë rhamnoides.
أق تيكا áq tikán, A Shrub, Lycium ruthenicum.
ان جيكّه áq jigda. White Eleagnus.
ان كل عن عنر áq gul' anbar. A Centaurea.

ات قونات áq qonáq. The Great Millet, Holcus sorghum.
اتق لاله́ áq lála.
ات لوبيا aq lobiá. White Pulse, Dolichos lablab.
án lailí qazáq. White Opium Poppy, Papaver somniforum.
ات نبأت• aq nabát. A variety of Sweet Melon, Cucumis melo.
الأ كوكي ála koki.
(التونكل" áltun gul. "Golden Flower."
الêl álqát.
anmurt. The Pear. See Amurt.
d a álma. The Apple, Pyrus malus or Pyrus indica.
ألوبالو álo bálu.
الوحه álucha.

T ámurt. The Pear, Pyrus communis.
jlíáár. The Pomegranate, Punica granatum.
إناركِلى ánár guli. Pomegranate blossom.
ánjír. The Fig, Ficus carica.
انديجباناوزومي ándiján ánzumí.
نديجّان گُل ándiján gul.
اوجمهd áujma. The Mulberry, Morrss alba.
اوجون aujun.
اوروركـ áuruk. P The Plum.
árahdán. A Boragewort, Asperugo prooumbens.
اوزركــ áuzuk.
الوزور توروپ azun turup. Knol Kohl, Brassica oloracea caulo-rapa. اوسهة áusma.
áasun. The Wild Cabbage, Brassica oleracea.
áughri tikán. A Leguminous plant, Astragalus sp.
auljá. The Apricot. See Aulja.
اولجِه áulja. The Apricot, Prunus armeniaca.
آولهilá áwul munáq. A species of Spurge, Euphorbia lathyris.
اورئ áuidán. A species of Madder, Rubia sp.
ايتاوزوم (ait auzum.
إبغيمكلكي ait khmak paliki. See ait qoghūn.
ايتقوغوس ait qoghun. A variety of Sweet Melon, Cucumis melo.

ايركاكفوموشٌ airkák qomush.

ايك, aigar. Sweet Flag, Acorus calanus.

إيغفورماجئي áyigh qormáchi.

باجينقوغوس bajin qoghun. Chinese Melon.
باجئلا bájín gulf. A Larkspur, Delphinium incanum.
pádám. The Almond, Amygdalus communis.
ylà béqlá. A Bean, Faba sp.
بكنكان badingan. The Egg-Plant, Solanum melongena.
bughdáf. Common Wheat, Triticum vulgare.
بوغوار bukhwár. A Cruciferous plant.
بودوشقا⿻ $\quad$ budushqáq. Burweed, Xanthiusm strumarivm.
بورتسيـ burtsi. A Chenopod, Iwrotia ceratoides.
بورياوزوم bori áuzum. Bladder-Senna, Colutea arborescone.
بوريبوزهاقي borí porcháqi.
بوريسهسساقح bori samsáqi. A Broomrape, Orobanchesp.
بوريِيإورماقِ bori yápurmáqi.
بوغز bughaz. Corn.
بويه buya. A Leguminous plant, Sophora alopecuroides.
بلبـ، baida. Purple Medick or Lucerne, Medicago sativa.
بيـ سيمي baisai. The Turnip, Brassica rapa.

بيهي bíhí. The Quince, Pyrus cydonia.

páqa puti qomush. A species of Reed.

קالكـ palak. PRhinacanthus communis.
vatingan. The Egg-Apple plant, Solanum melongena.
.
نورها porcháq. Common Pea, Pisum sativum.
ز piaz. Onion, Allium cepa.
بيازكــ piázak.
ميزكس pizak. A Grass, Calamagrostis laxa.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { * } \\
& \text { تاتليغ انار tátligh ánár. } \\
& \text { tátligh shaftul. ? The Nectarine, Amygdnlus persica. } \\
& \text { تاج táj khoráz. See Taji gul. }
\end{aligned}
$$

تاجي
trí tárbuz. The Water Melon, Citrullus vulgaris.
tárbuzak. A Cucurbitaceous plant, Momordica Oharantia.
$\mathbb{C}^{\text {E }}$ tárghách.
tál.
تر turup. The Radish, Raphanus sativus.
ريغ tarigh. Millet, Panicum miliaceum.
.'تاك tamáku. Tobacco, Nicotiana tabacum.
توتوث̂اق tutushqáq. Burdock, Lappa major.
توخو مlاك tukhumák. A Leguminous plant, Sophora japonica.
توزغات tozgháq.
© toghách.
توغراغو toghraghu.
toghráq. A Poplar, Populus balsamifora.
توغرات" تيلي toghráq tílí.
توكليك اوت toklîk áut.
توكةتانانحي tuga tápáni.
tairak. The White Poplar, Populus alba.
تيرتّي سوگّ tairti sugat. The Weeping Willow, salix babylonica.
talba baida. White Melilot, Melilotus alba.

## C

جloú jámáqa. A Pondweed, Potamogeton natans. جانlلو jángdu. A small Bean.
جنسته janasta. The Plum, Prunus domestica.
زuwani. A species of Dill, Anethum Sowa.
جوخآركل jokhár gul.
jori qand. A variety of Sweet Melon.
جيغنل jîghda. A variety of Sweet Melon.
جhigda. A species of Oleaster, Eleagnus angustifolia.

## ๔

N chálang. See Chilang.
, Chámghur. The Turnip, Brassioa rapa.

حقییر اوجمه chaqir ánjma.

- chilang. Cabbage, Brassica oleracea.

چورجوس اوس chujun áut. A species of Millet, Panicum crus-galli.
چوجوש تر يغ chujun tarigh. A Fodder grass, Panicum glaucum.
: dulifera.

غ
जيغيرتمات chighírtmáq. A species of Iris, Iris soongarica.
טیֶּ chîlán. The Jujube, Zizyphus vulgaris.



ק̂ينى Sل chinnî gul. China Aster.

## خ

khán guli. French Marigold, Tagetes patula.
خطالي غيزه


خطلي كلَ khaṭai gul. China Aster, Callistephus chinensis. خوخأه khokhá. A Composite plant.
خوخه تيكان khokha tikén. A kind of Thistle, Onicus arvensis.
غوخه گل khokha gul. P Onicus arvensis.
خونكا khongán. Cucumber, Oucumis sativus.

## $\checkmark$

IV dáwá. Tamarisk, Tamarix sp. טاودر dáudar. French Bean, Phaseolus vulgaris. dodo. A species of Yam, Dioscorea deltoida.

## j

زاغوس zághun. Wild Nevew, Brassica campestris.
;ردكس zardak. The Carrot, Daucus carota.
vزij; zarangza. The Safflower Plant, Carthamus tinctorius.
;عفركل za'far gul. P Saffron plant, Orocus sativus.
زغير zighir. Flax, Linum usitatissimum.


سإِقسزگل sápaqsiz gul. = sapaqsi gul.
سסوركى supurzi: An Amaranth, Amaranthus blitum.
سخوركي supurgi. A species of Tamarisk, Tamarix elongata.
v
سريغ ازغان sarigh azghán. Yellow Rose, Rosa brunonii.
سريغ اوت sarigh áut. A grass found growing at high elevations.
sarigh buya. A Leguminous plant, Sophora sp.
( سريغ تلبه بيدلا officinalis.

## 

sarigh sabba, Pot Marigold, Calendula officinalis.
"marîgh sanbar gul. African Marigold, Tagetes erecta. سريغ سوگتـ sarigh sugat. "Yellow Willow."

sarigh gul. A Marigold, Calendula stellata.
سريغ هفرانــ sarigh hafaráng. Tropeolum.

marimsáq. ? Garlic, Allium sativum.
mamsáq piáz. A variety of Onion, Allium cepa.
sutlik aut. A species of Sow-thistle, Mulgedium tataricum.
ل سوسر sosun gul. A species of Iris.


شاتوّ shátut. A species of Mulberry, Morus loevigata.
J ${ }^{\text {a }}$ shál. The Rice plant, Oryza sativa.
a hháldîr buya.

شفتول shaftul. The Peach, Prunus persica. شألغوت shalghut.
LAnat shumshá. The Ferngreck, Trigonella fremum-gracum.
شوغ shokhla. A species of Night-shade, Solanum nigrum.
شور بوريه shum buya. A species of Broomrape, Phelipcea indica.

## $\varepsilon$

##  <br> عينالو 'ainálu.

## $\dot{8}$

غشه ghasha.

## ف

il fákhta aurughi. Cotton seeds, Gossypium herbaceum.
فالال fálák. Tribulus terrestris.
فياز fiáz. Onion, Allium cepa.
فرنRـ كلمي farang gulí.

## $\checkmark$

qápáq. The Gourd, Cucurbita pepo.
تالِاق تيرال qápáq tairák. "Gourd Poplar."
تارغه تامغاقّي qárgha tamgháqi. A Composite plant, Phomnopwe oriantalis.
quargha tamgháqi. A Figwort, Dodartia orientalis.
-قارغهتامغا $\}$ qárgha tamgháqi aut. A Leguminous plant, Oxytropis : 3 sophora.
قازغغهجيكدلاس qárgha jigdahsi. A species of Eleagnus.
قاغز اوت qághaz áut. Milk Thistle, Sonchus oleraceus.
qámchi gul. The Love-lies-bleeding Amaranth, Amaranthus candatus.
 qámgháq. A Saltwort, Salsola collina.

قإيور qáirum.
قرا ارمن qará árman.
qará áujma. A species of Mulberry, Morus atro-purpurea.
قرا اوروكس qará áuruk. Apricot, Prunus armeniaoa.

قرا شُوخ ${ }^{\text {قو }}$ qará shokhalá. A Night-shade, Solanum nigrum.
قرا كل qará gul. A species of Marsh Mallow, Althcea rosea.
ع qará yughách. A species of Ash, Fraxinus Moorcroftiana.
قزيل ازغان qazíl ázghán. Red Rose.


qizil turup. Red Radish, Raphanus sativus.
قزيل جنسته
قزيل جيامه qizil jigda. An Oleaster, Eleagnus parviflora.
تزيل خينه qizil khina. A variety of garden Balsam.
قزيل زردالك qizil zardák.
qizil gul. The Rose, Rosa macrophylla.
قزيل وله qixil lálá.
قزيِل ايلحيقزات qizíl laili qazáq. Red Opium Poppy, Papaver somniferum.
区 ๔ ${ }^{\text {قزيل }}$ qizil morch. Spur Pepper, Capsicum frutescens.
qizíl yulghun. Tamarisk, Tamarix gallica.
قلاقايَ qaláqái. P Amaranthus.
قوغون qoghun. Sweet Melon.
قوكوكي qo koki. A species of Sorrel, Rumex klotschianus.
qomush. A Reed, Arundo madagascariensis.
قوم qummi. The Melon, Cucumis melo.
قوناقَ qonáq. Maize or Indian-corn, Zea mays.
قون火火 qongán. Cucumber, Oucumis sativus.
quikoki. The Dock, Rumex aquaticus.
qiyáq áut. A species of grass, Calamagrostis Nepalensis.
qichi. Indian Mustard, Sinapis juneca.
 qaishlik turup. A Cruciferous plant.

d r káhloh. The Persimon, Diospyros kaki.
كبرايا kibráý. An Umbelliferous plant.
Skaram.
كر.نكـ kurmak.
8كر kakra.
كאوك אתكى kakkok koki. Sow-thistle, Sonchus sp.
Kakia. A Spurge, Euphorbia sp.
Kampa. A species of Wormwood, Artemisia sp.
كودل koda. Onion, Allium cepa.
كوده أمورق koda amurt. P A variety of Pear.
كوزكي بغلهانی kozgi bughdái.
كوكـ شوخا kok shokhllá. A species of Night-shade, Solanum nigrum.

كوكس لوبيا
كوكنار koknár. The Field Poppy, Papaver rhceas.
كوكيا kokia. An Onagrad, Enothera mollissima.
كوبتهd kunjud. A Cruciferous plant.
كو kawa.
كمبز kaibaz. The Cotton plant, Gossypium herbaceum.
كيبزازاسكي kaibaz anasi. A plant of the Mallow family, Alutil avicenna.
كيك تيله kaik tîli. A Spurge, Euphorbia sp.

كيكي kaikia. Acroptilon picris.
كيندر kaindir. The Hemp Plant, Cannabis sativa.
كيوية kaivia. Fennel, Foeniculum vulgare.

نل gul ásmán. A Ruewort, Peganum harmala. غينג gul khinahsi. Garden Balsam, Impatiens balsamina, گل سوسر gul shsun. See Susun gul.
gul 'anbar. A species of Centaurea.
gul náfádán. A Larkspur, Delphinium sp.
gul nafsha. A species of Mallow.
© gurunj. Rice, Oryza sativa.
كيلاس gailás.
$\rfloor$
lobia. A Pulse, Dolichos lablab.
lola koki.
laili qazáq. The Poppy, Papaver.
\&ilo másh. The Bean, Phaseolus munga.
مالغور málghun.
dié majgán khîna. A species of Balsam.
مْتمل كل mukhmal gul.
مناقي manáqi.
منر mandar. An Asclepiad, Cynanchwm sp.
مودان گل mudán gul.
موندا munda.
U


ناشُوت nashwat. The Pear, Pyrus communis,
ن: nakhud.
nargas. A Narcissus.

## 8

U 5 hawá rang gul. A species of Mallow, Malva parvifiora.
رنا haft rang. Great Indian Cress, See Hafarang.
hafarang. The Great Indian Cress or Nasturtium, Iropeolum majus.
هhamshibar. Common Mallow, Malva sylvestris. هindostán gul. Gomphrena globosa.
مويِل موناكــ hawill monák. Euphorbia lathyris. See awul monaq.

## 4

 يازغي بغلآى yazghi bughdai. يانشيل عشت بيـهـات

عالثوز yálpuz. A species of Goosefoot, Chenopodium oulvaria, „امنا سوقس Jámghásut. Coriander, Coriandrum sativum.

بانتاق yántáq. The Camel Plant, Alhagi maurorum.
cilili yánggháq. The Walnut, Juglane regia.
باوابِيهر yáwá baida. Wild Lucerne.
ياوا S'لعنبر yáwá gul 'anbar. Wild Centaurea.
ع
يكـ توموشي yik qomushi. Goosefoot, Chenopodium album.
צی yakan. Reed-mace, Typha angustifolia.
عlele yurgámách. Bindweed, Convolvulus arvonsis.
يولغور yulghun. Tamarisk, Tamarix gallioa.
arore mumgháq sabut. Coriander.


[^0]:    - This paronthesis, telling of the end of Qeys son of Zuheyr, is founded on the testimony of Ibn el-Athîr, who is believed generally to follow Aba 'Obeydeh (Kamil i. p. 434.), and et-Tebrizî (Hamâseh, p. 223) ; it is vouched for by a poem by a man of 'Abs, Bishr son of Ubayy son of Homâm, quoted in the Hamêseh, where it is said of the horses that ran in the Race of Dahis-
    
    "They brought to pass-so God willed-the spilling of Malik's blood, and cast Qeys away forlorn an exile in far 'Omân."
    - This paragraph is mine, and expresses what seems to me the most probable view to take of the case. I should add that besides el-Harith, Herim, and Kharijeh, another pair of the house of Ghey ${ }^{\phi}$ are mentioned in the 'Iqd (Journ. Asiat., Juillet 1837, p. 18) as having exerted themselves to establish peace between 'Abs and Đubyân, viz. Harmaleh son of el-Ash'ar and his son Hashim.

[^1]:    - En-Nabighah, v. 22 sqq. For a discussion of this passage, see Noeldeke, Beiträge z. Kenntn. der Poes. d. alt. Araber, p. XI, and Ahlwardt, Bemerkungen über die Aechtheit d. alt. Arab. Gedichte, pp. 17-18 and 41. Noeldeke appears to overlook the tradition (unless he rejects it) that en-Nomân was a Christian.

[^2]:    - In Mr. George Smith's "Assyria" ("Ancient History from the Monuments" Series), p. 100, Sargon, in 716 B. C., is related to have led an expedition into Arabia, "where he conquered the Thamudites and several other tribee, carrying them captive and placing them in the cities of Samaria."

[^3]:    - For the vocalization of Natá here given see the Marasid, s. v. It is a village of el-Yemámeh belonging to the Bend Hanifeh.

[^4]:    - Although Dr. Leitner (in his Dardistan) states that the name Dard was not claimed by any of the race that he met, yet I have heard the Dres people of that tribe apply it to their parent stock in Astor under the form Darde. They are also known to their Kashmiri neighbours by the name of Dard, and Dardu.

[^5]:    - Women are everywhere the most conservative of national customs.

[^6]:    - In this, however, they are not singular; for the Tibetans of Ladak also have a reverence for similar spirits of purely local influence called Lha (cf. Lhd-sa "the city of gods"), a reverence which seems to be neither founded on the Buddhist dogmas, nor much countenanced by the more respectable members of the Lamaite hierarchy. An annual incarnation of one of these demons (a female) takes place at Bhe, a village of Ladak, in the month of August; but though Lamas are so plentiful in the country, it is to one of the lay members of a certain family that the honour of giving a temporary body to the deity belongs, while Lamas are rarely to be seen in the crowds that witness

[^7]:    the performance and consult the oracle. Perhaps this may be the remains of a form of local spirit worship which may have preceded Buddhism in these countries. I have already treated this subject elsewhere.

    - The affix $m 0$ is the Tibetan feminine affix, as $b o$ is the masculine.
    + The Sidh-pòsh Kdfirs (probably Dàrds) have also a custom of "going once a year to the top of a moantain as a religious exercise and putting a stone on a cairn" (Leitner's Dàrdistàn, Vol. I, Part 3, p. 42).
    $\ddagger$ This is also a Tibetan custom with this difference, that each Tibetan householder has a similar sacred bundle of shukpa branches and horns of animals on the flat roof of his own house. But these customs are mere survivals (superstitions) among the Tibetans, while they form the religion of the Brokpds.

[^8]:    - These castes seem roughly to answer to three oyt of the four castes prevalent among the main body of the Dards: viz., 1st, Shin; 2nd, Yashkun (these two castes trade, cultivate land, or keep sheep) ; 3rd, Kramin (? derived from Krum $=$ work) (are weavers, corpenters, blacksmiths, artisans in fact) ; 4th, Dom (are musicians and do low drudgery ; this caste seems absent from the Dàh-Hanu division of Dárds). [See Leitner's Dardistán, Vol. I, Part 3, p. 48, 2nd note, and Drew's Jummoo and Kashmir, p. 426.]

[^9]:    - See Mr. Drew's excellent Race Map in his "Jummoo and Kashmir." To illustrate the preeent paper the whole of the lightly shaded region to the south, west and north of Gilgit up to the Murtagh mountains, should be painted of the same colour as Gilgit, for it is all the home of the Dàrds, though Mr. Drew's plan only permitted him to colour what lies within the Maharaja of Kashmir's territories.
    + The isolated settlements of Dards in certain villages of Baltistan, are apparently of more recent origin and moreover do not bridge the chasm.
    $\ddagger$ Drew's "Jummoo and Kashmir", p. 430.
    § If we are to believe the TArikh-i-Rashîdi, this had not taken place at the time of its author, Mirsé Haidar's invasion of Dardistán, in the first half of the 16th century ; and, according to Mr. Drew, "Jummoo and Kashmir", page 429, does not seem to have been very completely effected so lately as 30 years ago.

[^10]:    - See Past Tense of Auxiliary Verb "to be".

[^11]:    - The numbers are those of the stories in the order given in Forbes' Persian Grammar.
    $\dagger$ Here the verb seems to be governed by the person of the Locative or Dative as in other cases it is by that of the Instrumentative. Normally one would think this
    

[^12]:    - Indian Antiquary, III. 26.

[^13]:    - Aute, Vol. V, p. 558.

[^14]:    * Journal, Bombay As. Soc., VII, p. 65.

[^15]:    - Journal, Bombay As. Soc., III, p. 73.

[^16]:    - Several itineraries which were obtained from native information are published in Dr. Leitner's Dardistan, and they have been combined together, with considerable ingenuity and very tolerable success, by Mr. Ravenstein, in a map published in the Geographical Magacine for August, 1875.

[^17]:    - The silver coins were described in Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, Part I, for 1875, p. 288. The coins now sent are five in number, viz., 2 gold coins, regarding which Dr. Rájendralála Mitra says:-"One of them, with the lion on the reverse, " belongs to Mahendra Gupta, or as given on the margin of the obverse, Sri Mahendra "Siña; and the other to Chandra Gupta. Both have been figured in Thomas's Prin"sep. The princes belong to the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian era."

    The three silver coins are-(1) a silver tánkah of Shams-uddin Ilyas Sháh of Bengal, as published by Thomas in his 'Initial Coinage of Bengal.'
    (2.) A silver tánkah, struck in 862 H., by Mahmúd Sháh I, of Bengal as figured in this Journal, for 1875, Pl. XI, No. 7. The reverse is the same as in Nos. 5 and 8, but the reading is still doubtful.
    (3.) $\Delta$ silver tánkah by the same king, of coarse manufacture, similar to Nos. 2 and 3, of PL. XI, loc. cit.

[^18]:    - That is to say: it is nothing strange that Radhé and Krishna should tako such mutual delight in one another, since.they are in fact one and are as inseparable as a wave and the water of which the wave is composed.
    $\dagger$ The first line is a question put to Krishna by one of Rádhá's maids, asking him if her mistress had promised him an interview. The second line is a remark which she turns and makes to one of hor own companions.

[^19]:    - Thus eclecticism, which after all is only natural growth directed by local circamstances, has for centuries past been the predominant characteristic of Mathura architecture. In most of the new works that I have taken in hand, and notably in the Catholic Church, which I had commenced and now have to leave unfinished, I have conformed to the genius loci and have ahewn my recognition of its principles, not by a servile imitation of older examples, but rather by boldly modifying them in accordance with special requirements and so devoloping novel combinations.
    + The grant has been sanctioned and the work is being carried on, under the supervision of the Executive Engineer in the Archæological Department, by the same local agency and the same body of stone-masons that I had collected and organized.

[^20]:    - The base, shown in this photograph, is more than a thousand years older and belonge to the Indo-Scythian period. It has been used simply as a socket in which to imbed the pillar and so raise the inscription above the ground.

[^21]:    - Sydlu, a woman's dopatta.
    † Jhagá, a man's dress.
    $\ddagger$ Adhbar, in the middle.
    § Bark, an ornament worn by women on the elbow.
    \|Suk, the planet Venus, which is regardod as auspicious.
    IT Chdlan, the same as the more common gauna.
    ** Jori, for zori, zabrdasti.
    $\dagger \dagger$ Jom, lust, passion.
    $\ddagger \ddagger$ Dyaus, the day-time.
    §§ Khadána, a clay pit.
    III Thera, fix, for thahra.
    ๆा Chonda, the knot of hair at the top of a woman's head.
    ** Gál katána, to have the cheek kissed.

[^22]:    - Bhaungara, a thicket.
    $\dagger$ Nára, a twisted string, izarr-band.
    $\ddagger$ Jhatak, a knot.
    § Any subdivision of a Jst clan is called a Pdl, and the town of Kosi is the centre of one such subdivision, which is known as the Denda Mál.

[^23]:    - Charan-Pahári is the name of a small detached rock, of the same character as the Bharatpur range, that crops up above the ground in the village of Little Bathen.

[^24]:    - The word following etasya begins with the letters pu the remainder being defaced, and was probably purvaye. This phrase etasya purvaye is of frequent occurrence in these inscriptions and is translated by Gen. Cunningham 'on this very date'. I do not think it can bear such a meaning. It might be literally rendered 'after this' ; but it is really an expletive, like the Hindi áge, or occasionally the Sanskrit tad-anantaram, with which an Indian letter generally begins-after the stereotyped complimentary exordium-and which in the absence of full stops and capital letters serves to indicate a transition to a new subject.

[^25]:    - Cf. however, Mr. Westmacott's article on the Pal Kings, in Vol. LIX of the Caleutta Review, on which I have drawn freely, and gratefully, while treating on tho present subject.

[^26]:    - The plan given is Buchanan's, and is very fairly accurate. The city is noted for containing within the inner walls three remarkably fine tanks.
    $\dagger$ The ditch and rampart are called in Rangpur the Kot ( कोट बच्चात् कह साष बापिया मृतिकार हचत् ्रकटा गE़ ) G. A. G.
    $\ddagger$ मय़ना मर्तिर कोटड. This lady is said to have founded several other important towns. Amongst names which still survive I may mention Mayaná talir hd! (मयุना तसीर जाए) and Mayand Gudi (मयना गुरुी)
    \& See verse 60 of the poem.

[^27]:    - I know of no religious teacher called Kanipa. There was a Kanapa, who was a teacher of the Jamgams sect of the S'aivas, (Mackenzie apud Wilson I. 227), who was of some celebrity, and it is just possible that his name may have been adopted by the Yogís, who were originally a Saiva, caste.
    $\dagger$ The above is the popular tradition I have gathered from oral accounts. The following summary of what is noticeable about Gorakshanáth and the Yogis is gathered principally from Wilson.

    The first teacher of Buddhism in Nipál, was Manju, who came from Maháchín and who made the valley of Khatmandu, formerly a lake, habitable by catting through the mountains with his scymitar. He taught a pure form of Buddhism, which became afterwards impregnated with Bráhmanical ideas through the invitation given by Narendra Deva, king of Nipál, to one Matsyendra Náth a teacher of the Páfupata form of the S'aiva religion. This was apparently about the 7th century A. D. This Matsyendra was in reality the Lokes'vara Padmapáni, who descended to the earth by command of the Ndi Buddha, and hid himself in the belly of a fish, in order to overhear Siva teach Parvatí the doctrine of the Yoga, and Wilson ahows that Padmapáni came either from the east or from the north of Bangál.

[^28]:    - The same system prevails to the present day in parts of Nipll, where the demand for land is not so great as it is in the more eettlod British territory. A plough is there, however, only considored as equivalent to eight bigas, the average rent for a plough of land being considerably below that corrent on this side of the frontier.
    $\dagger$ The text says $1 \frac{1}{2}$ budis of kdoris. A budi is five gandas or twenty. One budi of kéoris $=$ a pice. $1 \frac{1}{2}$ pice a month $=4$ anśs, 6 pie, per year per plough. In the light soil of Rangpur, one plough can easily cultivate fifteen bigas or five acres of land, so that the annual land-tax was, according to the toxt, loss than $8 \frac{2}{3}$ pies per biga, or tharf a penny farthing per acre.

[^29]:    - The Yogís of course see nothing extraordinary in this ludicrous idea. They say the events occurred in the Satya Yuga, when all things were possible. I asked a Yogi once why the child was presented to Mayane already seven months developed, and he explained that it was "to prevent excessive scandal," which might have occurred if the child had been born twenty-five months after his father's death !! This is straining at a grat, and swallowing a camel with a vengeance.
    + The description of this rite in the poem is curious enough : whether such conduct on the part of the relations was.common in the performance of it I do not know. I have been unable to identify Chand the merchant, who figures in this part of the poom with any other legend.
    $\ddagger$ I gather this from the last verse of the poem, from which it is evident that it was not till Gopi Chandra's return that the land revenue was reduced to its former level.
    $\$$ चर चरा, it is a short distance due east of the better known रामतः्य डुपामाfि Bángany Ṭupamári.

[^30]:    - In Buchanan, Hudna and Pudna.
    + Buchanan says that Gopí Chandra had a hundred wivea, but I can find no trace of this in any modern legend. The maid-servants may have been concubines, but not wives. They are the hundred damsels mentioned in verse 242. They are it is true called queens in verse 410,-but that is only part of the gross and puerile exaggeration displayed there, Aduná and Paduná being still kept separate.
    $\ddagger$ V. 241. The term Sannyásí should be noticed. It is the ordinary term for a Saiva mendicant, Vairágí usually representing a Vaishṇava one.

[^31]:    - Gopí Chandra is much lauded for his continence, but, as it appears that tho Hádi before leaving him made him a neuter, there is really little ground for credit.

[^32]:    11 यमे। The usual form for Nom. Sing. in Rangpuri. See my "Notes." Most of the irregular grammatical forms contained in this poem will be found therein, and hence I shall not usually draw attention to them here. || $P 1$ बीभेर बrfet =
    
     बच्यात् हृा करिया।

[^33]:     उद्रार॥

[^34]:    
    

[^35]:    

[^36]:    

[^37]:    
     बात ः

[^38]:    

[^39]:    
    

[^40]:    * It is worth noting how entirely the ideas of the author of the poem are circumscribed by the incidents of his village life. Every one, God or man, acts and lives as if he were a simple Rangpurt villager. This verse is an instance. When one ra'iyat goes out to see another, it is the village etiquette, to bawl out to him, "He ! so-and-so," while the visitor is yet a hundred yards or so from the house of him on whom he is about to call. If the latter is "at home," he goes outside his door, and greets the comer. This latter action is called "putting one's foot outside the door." Compare the English expression of "calling on a person."
    $\dagger$ By the Gangé, is meant the Brahmaputra. Sea note to v. 169.
    $\ddagger$ Lit. Dug a hole for the sacrificial post in the same.

[^41]:    - Sneezing is a sound of ill omen.
    + See note to $\mathrm{\nabla} .150$.

[^42]:    - Compare note on v. 21. All the houses of the peasantry in Rangpur are built of tatt(mat) walls. When a thief is caught in such a house, he attempte, usually successfully, to escape by bursting through these flimsy obstructions.

[^43]:    - The fact that a place, where three roads meet, is considered especially favourable for performing magical rites, is worth noticing. I need hardly draw attention to similar customs obtaining in Europe. In Tirhut,-it is customary, when a person is sick, to cast away at midnight at a place where three roads meet, an offering of some yellow cloth, a fowl, and some condiments, over which some charms have been recited. It is believed that the disease will then leave the sick man, and seise upon the wayfarer who first comes across the offering in the moming.

[^44]:    - It must be noted, that throughout this poem, the word Gange does not refer to the river commenly known as the Ganges. It always refors to the Brahmaputra.

[^45]:    - Lit. Died. A popular song makes Gopi Chandra charge his wives with intriguing with Khetuwf Lankes'var as a last resource for getting away. But this is not borne out by any copy of this poem which I have seen.

[^46]:    - I. e. That your heart contained nothing but cowardice and treachery.

[^47]:    - That is to say, "immediately." Chewing pán is such a mechanical and continuous action with a Rangpurí man or woman, that the phrase "to do a thing after eating pán', means to do it at once. Cf. vv. 398, 563 and 692.

[^48]:    - Lit. at a stroke.

[^49]:    * S'ani and Ketu of course mean ill-luck. If, however, by "Devi" is meant Durgá, she is certuinly not $S^{\prime}$ ani's sister.

[^50]:    - Lit. " a king over his bhat."
    $\dagger$ Lit. over the vessel.

[^51]:    - See note to v. 373.
    t A kind of blanket.
    $\ddagger$ See note to $\mathbf{v} .63$.

[^52]:    - i. e., if this concorneth thee.

[^53]:    - Lit. covered.

[^54]:    - Lit. coldneas.

[^55]:    - I. e., thy husband.
    + So explained to me. It means literally, "First one gave a blow, and then another gave the last blow."

[^56]:    - By cutting his nails and hair which he had allowed to grow.
    t This is most essentially a "Satya yuger kathá." What does it mean?
    $\ddagger$ Lit. At a bound.

[^57]:    - This is the usual heading of Buddhist books. In Pali it runs as follows: "Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammâ Sambuddhassa."
    $\dagger$ Or Buddha or the All Wise.
    $\ddagger$ Or to the Three Precious Things. The "Three Precious Things" are (in Pàli) Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, which are translated by Childars in his Khuddaka Pâtha as Buddha, the Law, and the Church.

[^58]:    - Or troubleth the water by shaking. + Or sitteth on his haunches as a lion. $\ddagger$ Or agati flower or the beautiful acacia flower.

[^59]:    - Or that the state of life changeth continually.
    + Or jack-fruit tree.
    $\ddagger$ Or dried up.
    § Or guardeth his nobility.
    $\|$ Or almug tree.
    - Or Mount Myin_mo or Mount Meru.

[^60]:    - Or Pôngnâ or the Brahmin. $\ddagger$ Or within thy body.
    $\dagger$ Or obey his will.
    §Or forest.

[^61]:    - Or the kingdom of death.

[^62]:    - Or the rice.
    + Or be the beginner or the original canse.

[^63]:    - Or goeth to the country of the spirits or of the Nàts.
    + Or habits.
    $\ddagger$ Or November.
    § Or in each state of life.
    || Or Nàta.
    T Or in each state of life.
    ** Or speaketh evil of him behind his back.

[^64]:    - He was the author of several other works.

[^65]:    * Rajaah Jaswant Singh died on the 3rd Oct. 1815, being succeeded by his brother Pítam Singh, who died 11th November, 1835-Kali Ráe, pp. 149, 150.
    $\dagger$ The Sirhpura Joint-Magistracy existed from 1816 to 1828, Gaz., N. W. P., IV. pp. 3, 4.

[^66]:    - Gazetteer, N. W. P. I, 554. On the Betwa, 142 miles S. E. of Agra.

[^67]:    * In the Fathpur district, on the Grand Trunk Road, some twenty-one miles northwest of Fathpur.
    t This date seems impossible, it is, however, that given in the " Lauḥ."
    $\ddagger$ The "Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán" (p. 32) says he had only twonty-five men. This is not consistent with the rewards conferred on him for his services and the number in the text is more likely to be correst, seeing that Muhammad Khán had been leading a predatory life with success for over twenty years.

[^68]:    - Gaz. N. W. P. I, 582. A town and parganah in tahsili Girwán of the Bánda district. The town is 11 m . from Bánda
    +Gaz. N. W. P. I, 545. $\Delta$ town and parganah in the Hamípur District. The town is 20 m . from Hamirpar.
    $\ddagger$ In the Gwaliar state, some 60 miles north of Sironj in the Tonk state, and about 55 m . west of Jhansi.
    § Gas. N. W. P. I, 433. A parganah, tahsil, and town in the district of Jalaun.
    | Kál Réo's "Fatehgaŗnámah," p. 117.
    $\boldsymbol{N}$

[^69]:    - 'See note on Khánzádahs. $\ddagger$ Note No. B. on the Bamṭelas. $\ddagger$ Kalí Rae, p. 120.

[^70]:    - Farrukhábád was sometimes styled Ahmadnagar Farrukhábad, as in the coin of Sháhjáhén II. struck there in 1174, H. (Proc. B. A. S., July, 1876, p. 188,) and in the Persian accounts of 1209 and 1210, Fusli (1801-1802) preserved in the Collector's office. It got the second name, I suppose, in Ahmad Khan's time (1750-1771).
    $\dagger$ This is really not so improbable as it sounds to us now, for so late as 1803 tigers were shot along the Ganges below Kanauj. See Major Thorn's "Memoir of the War in India."

[^71]:    - This was done by Mr. Newnham, Collector, in 1825.

[^72]:    - Siyar-ul Mutákharin 418 (Lakhnau Edition). † S-ul-M 422. $\ddagger$ S-ul-M. 433.

[^73]:    - S-ul-M. 443

[^74]:    - The local M8S. say Agra, but I think this must be a mistake. For some disparaging remarks about Muhammad Khan in regard to this Allahábád appointment, see S-nl-M. 451, line 6 from end.
    + S-ul-M. p. 456.
    $\ddagger$ S-ul-M. p. 439.
    § Tod (Madras Reprint, 1873,) Vols. I, 636 and II, 81 gives the date about 1780 S., corresponding to July, 1723.

    I Muhammad Khan is not named in the list of Musalmann leaders in Tod, II, 80, but the same authority shows that Dhonkal, or the exterminator, was a nickname of Abhai Singh, son of Ajít Singh. The "Tarikh-i-Hindi" montions Muhammad Khán [Dowson's Elliot, VIII, 44.]

[^75]:    - In the Hamirpur District.
    + He died in Rabi 1133 H. (January 1721).
    $\ddagger$ In the Bánda District, 42 miles east of Bánda. Gas. N. W. P. I, 593.
    § The "Siyar-ul-Mutakharin," p. 452, says Daler Khán had 1000 men with him, of whom 700 or 800 were killed.
    | S.ul-M. p. $\mathbf{4 5 2 .}$

[^76]:    *The motto on his seal was "Az lutf i Muhammad Daler amadam." Hisam-ud.dín says he was uncle to the Ráná of Gohad living in 1758. If this be true, Daler Khán was a Ját, but the accepted story is that in the text.
    † Gaz. I, 27. In the Hamírpur District, 20 miles from Hamírpur. The tomb is one mile outside the town (Gas. I, 545) on the Hamírpur road. The date there given, 1730, seems to be a mistake.

[^77]:    - Aboat forty miles west of Ajmir, in Jodhpár territory.
    t See back, page 283.
    $\ddagger$ In the Cawnpar district, on the road to Kálpi, about six miles from the Jamna.
    § Mabáriz Khán, govornor of Haidarábád, was killed in battle with Asaf Jáh in October 1724. Elph. 615.

[^78]:    - The crossing took place, I am inclined to think, at Allahábád, or perhaps, at the Mau ferry, some 35 miles above that place.
    + Query, 22 miles west of Ríwah.
    $\ddagger$ Query, 10 miles north-east of Ríwah.
    § In Riwah, east of the Tons. Long. $81 \cdot 29$, Lat. 24.55.
    || Long. 81.291 Lat. 25.1. About 10 m . S. of Bargarh Railway Station, in the Riwah state.

    IT Long. 81.17 Lat 24.26, west of the Tons, in the Pannah state.

    * Long. $81^{\circ} 9$ Lat $25^{\circ} 21$ about seven miles S. of the Dabhaurah Railway Station.
    $\dagger \dagger$ Long. $81^{\circ} 1$ Lat $24^{\circ} 48$ about 7 m . east of the Jabalpur Railway.
    $\ddagger \ddagger$ There is one Ramnagar about 2 m . west of Kalinjar.
    §§ Long. $81^{\circ} 15$ Lat $24^{\circ} 59^{\prime}$.
    ||I|| Long. $81^{\circ} 7^{\circ}$ Lat. $25^{\circ}$.

[^79]:    - Mádhogarh, Long. $80^{\circ} 58^{\prime}$ Lat. $24^{\circ} 34^{\prime}$.
    + Mataundh, to the south-west of Banda, is suggested by Mr. Cadell.
    $\ddagger$ In the East of the Hamirpur district.
    § In the Banda district, the next parganah to Maudah on the east.
    1 Augasf, in the Banda district, the parganah next to Pailani on the east. Mr. Cadell tells me that the name is spelt Agwasi on a slab in the mosque at Augasi built by Bhah Kuli on the site of the Hindu fort.

    ๆ $A$ bout 10 miles south-west of Augasi.
    ** Bargarh, a station on the E. I. Railway (?)

[^80]:    - About 6 miles north-east of Mahoba.
    + Mándogarh, 22 miles west of Riwah.
    $\ddagger$ Possibly the Bijipur in Scindiah's territory, 52 miles south-west of Gwáliár. Thornton, 120.
    § Narwar, a town about 40 miles south of Gwáliár.
    \| Query. The Garh Kotah 25 miles east of Ságar. Thornton, 324.
    T The authority for these details is Khalifa Néim, son of Kali Miyan Jí, the teacher of the Nawáb's chelas, who told the author of the "Lauh-i-Tarikh."

[^81]:    * Musenagar, parganah Bhognipur, Cawnpur district, on the left bank of the Jamna some 13 or 14 miles east of Kálpi.
    t The tradition is that the Nawab's arrows bore a head of several fingers' breadth, a shot from his bow usually killed any one hit. Up to Shaukat Jang's time (18131823) there were several of these arrows in the Armoury, and Chaudhri 'Alim-ullah, bearer of the Fish standard, had several of them.

[^82]:    - In the south of the Hamirpur District.
    $\dagger$ Ten miles S. E. by E. from Mahoba.
    $\ddagger 16$ miles S. E. of Mahoba.
    § Mr. Cadell tells me that Sálhat is still a well-known jungle between Mahobr and Jaitpur.

[^83]:    - About 6 miles N. E. of Jaitpur.
    $t$ This I take to be Moorhari of the maps, 4 miles E. of Jaitpur.

[^84]:    - Hamírpur District about 24 miles N. E. of Ráth.
    + Rájah of Datiya ?
    $\ddagger$ Of Sahendah ?
    \$The Bhadsuriya family history will be noticed hereafter.
    || About 34 miles enst of Tarahwén, near the Jah balpur line.
    I Barhat $P$

[^85]:    *These details are confirmed by the author of the Hadkat-ul-Akálim, who got them, he says, from a book written by a man who was present throughout.

[^86]:    * In the Budáon District about 10 miles N. of Budáon.

[^87]:    - Parganah Jalálpur, Hamírpur District.
    t See article Ghord in Elliot's Supp. Glossary, p. 891.

[^88]:    - Bakhshi-ul Mamálik, Roshan-ud-Daula, Zafar Khán Bahádur, Rastam Jang.
    $\dagger$ p. 465.
    $\ddagger$ The Sharaif-i-Usmáni was written in 1188 H . by Ghulam Hasan, Sadiki, ulFarshúri, Bilgramí, poetically styled Samin.

[^89]:    - A favourite mistress of Muhammad Shah's, who was intrusted with his private signet. Seir Mutaqharin I, 264.
    † Unao district, about 30 miles $\mathbf{S}$. of Lakhnau.
    $\ddagger$ In the Lakhnau district, written generally Sasendi-it lies 16 miles S. of Lakhnau.
    § I fancy this is in the Faizabad district-soe Elliot's Supp. Glossary, p. 337.
    \| In the Sitápar district, 18 miles 8 . W. of Sitápur.
    I West of Delhi.
    - I have not traced this parganah.
    $\dagger \dagger$ This might be the Shergarh in the Mathura district.
    $\ddagger \ddagger$ Possibly this is the Thána Farida in the Aligarh district.
    §§ In the present district of Farrukhabsd.
    III In the Cawnpur district.
    IT In Rohilkhand.
    ** North of Delhi and west of the Jamna.
    t†t In the Mainpuri district.
    $\ddagger \ddagger \ddagger$ In the Allahábéd district.
    §§§ In the Allahábad district.

[^90]:    - Now in the Jhánsi district.
    $\dagger$ About 78 miles N. W. of Ujain.
    $\ddagger$ About 52 miles N. E. of Ujain.
    \& Lat. $24^{\circ} 37^{\prime}$; Long. $77^{\circ} 39^{\circ}$.
    | Lat. $24^{\circ} 48^{\prime}$; Long. $77^{\circ} 39^{\prime}$.
    TThe only other letter of his to Muhammad Khán preserved, of a date prior to this one, is a report of his fight with Ráo Bhím Háda of Kotah, Rajah Gaj Singh Narwari, Diláwar Khán, Sayyad Sher Khán, Bábar Khán, Dost Muhammad Khán and Farhat Khán. It took place on the 13th Sha'ban. The year 1796 S. ( 1719 A. D.) is given in Tod, II, 469.
    ** Dowson's Elliot, VII, 498. A pass half way betwean Aurangabed and Burhánpar.
    $\dagger \dagger$ This place is not traced.

[^91]:    - About 47 miles N. E. of Ujain and 14 miles S. E. of Sháhjahánpár. $t$ About 50 miles S. W. of Ujain.
    $\ddagger 20$ miles N. of Ujain and 38 miles W. of Shihjahannpúr.

[^92]:    - Query. The same as Indúr.
    $\dagger$ Or perhaps Mandloi-See No. 7 of Index to Vol. III, of Aitchison's Treaties, ed. 1876.
    $\ddagger$ On the north bank of the Tápti, 132 miles S. E. from Ujain. Thornton, 141.
    § About 28 miles S. W. of Ujuin.

[^93]:    - About 35 miles S. of Indúr and 40 miles S. E. of Dhár.
    + On the Tápti about 32 miles cast of Surát.

[^94]:    - Grant Duff, p. 225.
    $+\mathrm{p} .225$.
    $\ddagger$ On the coast, 55 miles S. of Surat.

[^95]:    - Chakaldah is about 110 miles S. E. of Ujain, on the right bank of the Narbada, Kalkli has not been traced.
    + There is a Jabwah 100 miles W. of Ujain.

[^96]:    - Or perhape Wámé Ráe Bhilán; or Mawási, the title generally given to the chiefs on the Narbada. (Maloolm's Cantral India, I., 516.)
    $\dagger$ There is a Rampura 40 miles N. E. of Mandeshwar.
    $\ddagger$ Near the Narbads about 60 miles 8. of Ujain.

[^97]:    - Apparently Hindu Singh of Chachendi in the Cawnpur district. He was ejected from his estate in the tenth year by Burhán-ul-Mulk and Rajah Gopal Singh Bhadau. riga. [Dowson's Elliot VIII. 46.]
    $\dagger$ Or Admiyda.
    $\ddagger$ Long. $76^{\circ}, 46^{\prime}$ and Lat. $24^{\circ}-32$ miles N. of Sarangpur and 66 miles $W$. of Sironj.
    § About 44 miles S. E. of Sironj.

[^98]:    - About 12 miles S. of Ujain.
    † There are several Rampurahs, I suppose this to be the one 56 miles N. W. of Sironj.
    $\ddagger 69$ miles E. of Sironj near Khimlása.
    § Mother of Muhammad Sháh.
    \| Killed in 1149 H. in fight with Baji Ráo outside Delhi. Grant Duff, p. 236.

[^99]:    - About 90 miles N. W. of Sironj.
    + $\Delta$ bout 68 miles N. of Sironj.
    $\ddagger$ About 44 miles S. of Gwáliár.

[^100]:    - Perhape the Chandoria of the Indian Atlas-Sheet 62 N. E. in Lat. $24^{\circ}, 691^{\prime}$ Long. $77^{\circ}, 35^{\prime}$ to the N. W. of Sarke Nau.
    + Perhaps the Bhadaura of the Indian Atlas-Sheet, 52, N. E. Lat. $24^{\circ}, 48^{\prime}$; Long. $77^{\circ}, 27 \frac{1}{2}^{\prime}$, about 18 miles N. of G6nah.
    $\ddagger$ Sowi, or Sowli.
    \& I cannot find this Fath Singh in Crant Duff, is it another name for Baji Ráo ?

[^101]:    - In the Cownpur district.

[^102]:    - His full titles are Warir-ul-Mamálik, Jamdat-ul-Mulk, 'Itimád-ud-daula, Kamr. nd-dín Khán, Chín, Naqpat Jang.
    $\dagger$ In the Fathpur district, about 11 miles 8 . W. of Fathpur, and ahout 8 miles from the left bank of the Jamna.

[^103]:    *That of the " Sa'adat-i-Jáwed" in Dowson's Elliot, VIII, 842. See also Elliot, VIII, 50, and Supp. Glossary, p. s26. From the Hadikat-ul-Akalim, Second Clime, art. Itáwah, we learn that the Wazir had hurried to Dehli, to thwart a combination between Khán Daurán, Burhán-ul-Mulk, and Mubariz-ul-Mulk.

[^104]:    - The first is, I suppose, our Cawnpore, the other places are in the Cawnpar district. There is, however, a kasbah Khánpar just south of Aurúyah.
    $\dagger$ Lat. $\mathbf{2 6}^{\circ}, \mathbf{2}^{\prime}$. Long. $\mathbf{7 7}^{\circ}, \mathbf{2 8}^{\prime}$, fifty-two miles S. W. of Gwáliár.
    $\ddagger$ Twelve miles S. of Gwáliár.
    \& Fourteen miles N. W. of Gwaliár.

[^105]:    - Grant Duff, 234, 235.
    $\dagger$ Dowson's Elliot, VIII. 64, 65, 56.
    $\ddagger$ Bon of the former Subahdár, Nawáb Shuja'-ud-daula. He had been ousted by 'Ali Wardi Khán Mahábat Jang.

[^106]:    - Both dates are taken from the "Tabsirat-un-Nácirín."
    † Dow, II, 438, ed. 1803.
    $\ddagger$ Miftłh-ut-tawárikh, p. 489.
    § 'Amád-us-Sa'dat, p. 50.
    || In the Mirzapur district, on the left bank of the Ganges.
    I Both in the Mirzapur district.

[^107]:    - On the left bank of the Ganges, in parganah Kewail.
    $\dagger$ Hadikat-ul-Akállm Iklím II, art. Arail, and Iklím III, art. Bilgrim, Account of Shekh Din Muhammad.

[^108]:    - Pír Muhammad Khawás is named as the authority for this story.
    $\dagger$ A village close to Kamálganj, on the Cawnpur road, 8 miles south of Farrukhebad.
    $\ddagger$ The following are the names of various kinds of arrows then in use: 1. Lais, it tears the flesh: a single arrow costs as much as a gold coin. 2. Kalandina. 3. Kohar-tarásh. 4. Ghorá, with a head three fingers broad; it makes a wound like a

[^109]:    spear. 6. Nukta, without head, it inflicts a blow but no wound. 6. Thith. 7. An-kri-dár, with a bent head like a saddle-maker's needle. 8. Nawoak, this is a kind of pipe of steel like a flute (phngi) attached to the bow. In this district Biroli Chand Thok, in parganah Shamsabid East, is celebrated for its bows and arrown.

[^110]:    - In the Bareli district.
    + Life of Hafiz Rahmat Khán, pp. 16, 17.

[^111]:    - Both in the Manipuri district.
    † On the Burhganga, 27 miles N. of Eta and about 60 miles N. W. of Farrukhfbad.
    $\ddagger$ Nineteen miles N. of Eta and about 8 miles S. W. of Soron.
    § Similar honours were paid in the time of the late Nawáb of Rampur to the tree "Samar-bihisht" in a village just east of Tháns Bhowan in the Muzaffarnagar district. This tree has an entry in the khewaf or Proprietary Record all to itself. I think the Nawáb paid Rs. 300 for the tree.

[^112]:    " Another "Tarikh" is "Dakhl-ul-jinnat wálá."

    + Káli Rfe, p. 68.
    $\ddagger$ See Kali Ráe, p. 127, for a description of what is evidently the same Gaja as that referred to in the text.

[^113]:    - Káli Ráe, p. 127.
    + It lies outaide the Kádiri gate, east of the city, between it and Fatehgarh cantonment.
    $\ddagger$ Half a mile from the Ganga gate, at the N. E. corner of the city.

[^114]:    * Just outside the Mau gate.

[^115]:    - Only one or two other chelas founded any ganj, and the fact will be mentioned undor each man's name.

[^116]:    - Gaz. N. W. P. IV, p. 218.
    † Gaz. N. W. P. IV, p. 110.

[^117]:    - Thornton, 645. In Scindiah's territory and the chief place of a parganah. It $\mathrm{l}_{\text {eg }} 350$ miles S. W. of Gwaliár and 80 miles N. W. from Ujain.

[^118]:    - Káli Ráe, p. 120.

[^119]:    - The MS. says ncar K ádirganj, which is in the Ftá District near the Ganges, some 45 miles N. W. of Farrukhálád (Gaz. IV, 151) while the place meant is in the Tarái betwoen the Burh Ganga and the Ganges, four or five miles west of Kampil, nine or ten miles from Kádirganj, and some 35 miles N. W. of Farrukhábád. There is good shooting there still, but no tigers.

[^120]:    - On the Sai about 20 milee S. E. of Rae Bareli in $\Delta u d h$.

[^121]:    - For notices of Jalála and the Raushánis see Blochmann's "Ain-i-Axbari," Val. I, pp. 340, 345, 356, 361, 397, 403, 411, 469.
    + Elphinstone, p. 608.
    $\ddagger$ Mr. Blochmann's " Ain-i-Akbari," Vol. I, p. 897.
    $f^{\prime}$ 'Ain I, 389.

[^122]:    - By the "Tarkira-ul-Umra" this would seem to be the son of Raja Basí of Man in the Nurpfir State in the hills. See also Proc. B. A. S., 1872, p. 157.
    + Or rather, I should say, his cousin Mirxá Khán son of Núr-ud-din.

[^123]:    - A town on the north or left bank of the Godiveri, 145 miles N. of Haidarabad. Thornton, 682.
    $\dagger$ In the "Ma'asir-ul-Umra" Shamedbod is quite distinct, and so is Mam, but I cannot read the word which follows.

[^124]:    - Námríp in the MS. of Maasir-ul-Umrá and Tazkira-ul-Umra.
    + Ma'asir-i.'Alamgiri, p. 249.
    $\ddagger$ Gaz. N. W. P. IV. 197, and Proc. B. A. S., for 1874, p. 104.

[^125]:    - In parganah Azimnagar of the Eta district. Gaz. IV. 180.
    + Seventeen miles from Farrukhábád on the Mainpuri road.
    $\ddagger$ Káli Rée, p. 114.
    2 A

[^126]:    - The MS. has chilh, a falcon, in place of which I suggest chitah.

[^127]:    - Daryábád is 43 miles E. of Lakhnau.
    + Panni is the name of a tribe of Pathanc.

[^128]:    - Scott's Farishta II, 218. The Life of H. R. K. p. 20, gives 1155 H. which would be before the death of Muhammad Khan, although in the same passage Káim Khán is spoken of as the reigning Nawab. The Persian text mentions the 27th year, which fell in 1157 and 1158 H .
    $\dagger$ The author of the Hadikat-ul-Akálim who was in Naval Ráe's army, conffrms the fact of 'Ali Muhammad Khan's presentation through Ḳáim Khán.
    $\ddagger$ Life of H. R. K. pp, 20 to 28.

[^129]:    - For the name see 'Amad-us-Sa'dat, p. 44, line 15, where a doabt is suggested, but the despatch of some farmán is proved by the statements of Hisam-ud-din, an eyewitness.
    t In the Bareli district, twenty-one miles S, W. of Bareli.

[^130]:    - On the Grand Trunk Road in the Cawnpur district, some twenty-one miles north west of Cawnpur. I supposed this Gangá Singh to be the same as the one mentioned with the other Rájahs afterwards, but he does not appear in Mr. Wright's MS. list. The Shiúrájpúr Rajahs were Chándels, and the Ráj was founded by Shic Ráj Deo, who is said to have migrated from Kanauj about 1336 A. D.
    $\dagger$ Now in the Cawnpur district.
    $\ddagger$ The Life of H. R. K. says Sayyad Ahmad, alias Sháhji Miyán, was sent, and tho 'Amád-us-Sa'dat, p. 44, tells us he was Sayyad Ma'zum'e futher.
    §'Amád-us-Sa'dat, p. 45, says 40,000 foot and 7000 horse.

[^131]:    - Or " moder charge of a European," Mata'na-i-farangi.
    $\dagger$ There seems some conflict as to the correct year of Káim Khan's death. In the MS. of Hisim-ud-din, the 3rd year ( $1163-4 \mathrm{H}$.) has been written first, then crossed ont, and the flgure 1 substituted. His poetical táríkhs yield 1161, 1162, and 1163, H. The only other contemporary authority I know for 1162 H . is the Tabsirat-un-Názirin, from which probably the author of the Miftdh, p. 497, copied that year. The Fatehgarh Náma, a modern work has the same year. On the other hand, the Khixána 'Amirah, the Siyar' ul.Muta'kharin and the Tárich-i-Muaafari all agree in naming Ahmad Sháh's first year (1161 H.) The Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, Wali-ullah, the Lauh-i-Tárikh, and Dow, all follow the above and fix the year 1161 H . The Ma'asir-ul-Omra, without naming the year, leads one to infer that it was 1161 H ., while the Akhbdr-i-Muhabbat in one place has 1161 H . and in another 1163 H . The year 1163 H. cannot be admitted, as then the date of Naval Ráe's death, which is not disputed, would fall before instead of after Kaim Khan's death. I would decide in favour of 1161 H . as having the most evidence in its favour. The date I make out to be the 12th Zi'l Hajj, though some books give the 10th, and some the 16th of that month.

[^132]:    - Wali-ullah and the Siyar-ul-Muta'kharin give the date, 15th Zi'l Hajj.
    + The brothers with their number in the list of Muhammad Khan's sons (p. 350862) were Ahmad Khán, No. 2,'Abd-un-nabi Khán, No. 6, Husain Khán, No. 7, Fakhruddin Khán, No. 8, Murtazza Khán, No. 4, Imám Khán, No. 11, Bahádur Khán, No. 15, Hádidád Khán, No. 14, Isma'il Khán, No. 9, Karím-dád Khán, No. 10, Khúda-bandah Khán, No. 12, 8hádi Khán, No. 16, Mansar'Ali Khán, No. 18, Manarvar Khán, No, 18.

[^133]:    - Died 7th Safar 1184 H. (2nd June 1770).
    + The Siyar-ul-Muta'kharin, the 'Amád-us-Sa'dat, and the Lauh-i-Tárikh.
    $\ddagger$ Life of H. R. K. and Sháh Hisám-ud-din
    Uneven land, full of ravines.

[^134]:    - A bágh just outside the Kádiri gate of Farrukhabád is called after this man Ráns Bágh Narkasse.
    † An unlikely language for a Hindu to know, but thus in Hisam-ud-din's MS.

[^135]:    - The Gulistdn-i-Rahmat describes in some detail the finding of the body; but the Hadikat-ul-Akálím says it was never found. Reports spread of Ḳáim Jang's being still alive, and Shekh Allahyar once saw a man who obtained notoriety for several years by giving himself out to be Kaim Jang.
    t The battle of Dauri will be found in "Siyar-ul-Muta'kharin, III. 874, "'Amodd ws Sa'dat," p. 44, line 15 to p. 45, line 17, "Khizána Amira" (Lucknow edition) p. 80 and "Life of H. R. K." pp. 29-32. I follow Hisám nd-din almost entirely.

[^136]:    - Journal, As. Soc. XVII, p. 493.

[^137]:    - dute XLI, pt. I, p. 310.

[^138]:    - Ante, XLI, pt. I., p. $810 . \quad \dagger$ Loc. cit. $\ddagger$ Ante XLV.

[^139]:    - As. Reeearcheg, IX, p. 434.

[^140]:    * Ante, XLIV, p. 188.
    $\dagger$ Loc. cit.

[^141]:    - Loc, oit. † Ante, Vol. XXXIV. i Ante, XLIV, pp. 1 f. § Ante, V, p. 659.

[^142]:    - Ante, Vol. XXXIV, p. 139.
    $\dagger$ Ante, p. 138.

[^143]:    - Ante, XLIV, pt. I, p. 13.

[^144]:    - The words in the original are Deyam me anga-rájan; and the word anga may be taken as an interjection $=0$, or an adjective meaning chief, great or principal, or a noun, the name of a country including the western part of Bengal. In the last two cases the word rajan should change into rája to be in Samása, the first is therefore the right meaning. But it has probably been used as a double entendre.

[^145]:    - Bábu Prannáth Pandit's paper on the Chittagong plate (ante XLIII, pp. 318f) and Mr. Westmacott's papor on the Tarpandighi plate, (ante XLIV, pp. 1f) contain many interesting notes on the mcanings of these official titles.

[^146]:    - There is the same distinction in the Tibetan and Burmese languages. In the former yod-pa or dug-pa means "to exist", "to be found at a place," while ain-pa is the mere means of connecting the attribute with its subject [Jaeschke's Tibetan Gram. § 39]. Again in Burmese sht-tht is the real verb substantive denoting conarete existence, while 'pyi(s)-thl is a copula denoting connection of some sort between a subject and an attribute : thus myin shl-thl ="thers is a horse," while myii 'pyi(s)-tht m " (it) is a horse."

