# JOURNAL

OF THE

# ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

# VOL. XLVII.

PART I. (HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, &c.)

(Nos. I to IV.—1878: with 23 plates.)

EDITED BY

THE PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY.

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

## CALCUTTA:

PRINTED BY G. H. BOUSE, AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRE

ASIATIC SOCIETY'S ROOMS, 57, PARK STREET.

1878.

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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 Dubyan from the Race of Dahis: 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 Dubyan were slain at the Cistern of el-Haba'ah, and how 'Abs wandered 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 Đubyan, by name el-Ḥarith son of 'Auf son of Abû Ḥaritheh, of the house of Gheyo son of Murrah son of Sa'd, great in wealth and fame among the kindred of Fezarah. He said one day to his uncle's son, Kharijeh son of Sinan—"Thinkest thou that any whose daughter I asked in marriage would deny her to me?" "Yes," he answered; "Who?" said el-Ḥarith. "Aus son of Ḥaritheh son of La'm of Ṭayyi'," said Kharijeh. 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 Ḥaritheh in his own land; and they found him in his house. And when he saw el-Ḥarith son of 'Auf, he said—"Hail to thee, O Ḥarith:" "And to thee," said el-Ḥarith. "What has brought thee hither, O Ḥarith?" 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 speech?" He answered-"That was el-Hârith son of 'Auf son of Abû Hâritheh the Murrî, 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-Hârith 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-Harith, but he spoke nought to me by reason of the grief that was in him; and I said to him-'Here is Aus son of Haritheh 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 Harith! 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-Hårith 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-'O my daughter, this is el-Harith 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 see in me something to

displease him, and divorce me, and there befall me therein what thou knowest. He is not mine 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 spoken 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 honourable 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, O Harith, Buheyseh daughter of Aus.' 'I accept her,' said el-Hårith. 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-Harith. And when she was brought in to him, he stayed but a little space, and came forth to me; and I said—'Hast thou 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 thus before my father and my brethren? No, by God! this is not fitting!"' Then he commanded that the camels should be made ready, and we started 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 he joined me again; and I said—'Hast thou prospered?' 'No', he answered. 'Why?' said I. 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-Harith 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?' 'No,' said he. 'How was that?' I asked. He answered: 'I went in to her and said—"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?" I asked. She said-"Hast thou a light heart to wed women while the Arabs are slaying one another?" "What wouldst thou have me do?" I asked. She said-"Go forth to these thy kindred, and make peace between 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 Moḥammed son of 'Abd-el-'Azîz el-Jauharî.

<sup>2</sup> Now while 'Abs and Dubyan 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 Qatan, and near them were many tents of Đubyan. Now there was a man of Đubyan, Hoseyn son of Damdam by name, whose father Damdam had been slain in the war by 'Antarah son of Sheddad, and his brother Herim by Ward son of Habis, both of the house of Ghalib, of 'Abs; and Hoseyn 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-Hârith son of 'Auf son of Abû Hâritheh and his cousin Khârijeh son of Sinân had already taken upon themselves the burden of the price of blood, and 'Abs and Đubyan mixed freely together. And a man of 'Abs, of the house of Makhzûm, came to the tent of Hoseyn 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-Hârith son of 'Auf and Herim son of Sinan 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-Hârith's tent. And when el-Hârith 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-Harith 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 er-Rabî' 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 Omân, 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 Herim gained the more praise.

\* And Zuheyr made this song to tell of the noble deeds of el-Ḥârith and Khârijeh, and the rest of the house of Gheyō son of Murrah: for all shared in the peace-making, though the leaders therein were el-Hârith and Khârijeh.

# ١٥ ظَهُرُنَ مِنَ السُّرِبَانِ ثُمَّ جَزَعْنَهُ عَلَى كُلِّ قَيْنِيٍّ قَشِيبٍ وَمُفْآمِ

نَتُنْتَجُ لَكُمْ غِلْمَانَ أَشَامَ كُلُّهُمْ كُأَحْمَـ عَادٍ ثُمَّ تُرَضِعٌ فَتَغَطِّمٍ نَتُغَلِّلٌ لَكُمْ مَا لَا تُغِلُّ لِمَلْهَا قُرَى بِالْعِرَاقِ مِنْ قَفِيزٍ وَدِرْهُمِ

لَعُمْرِى لَغُمُ الْحَيِّ جَرَّ عَلَيْهِم بِمَا لَا يُواتِهِمْ حَصَيْنُ بَيْ ضَمْضَمِ وَمَ رَكَانَ طَوى كُشَّا عَلَى مُسْتَكِنَّةً قَلَّا هُ سَوَ أَبْدَاهَا رَلَامِ يَنَعَدَّمِ وَمَ رَكَانَ طَوى كُنْ الْقَصِي حَاجَتِي ثُمَّ أَنَقَي عَدُرِى بِأَلْف مِنْ رَرَائِي مُلْجَسِمِ وَتَالَ سَأَتَضِي حَاجَتِي ثُمَّ أَنَقِي عَدُرِى بِأَلْف مِنْ رَرَائِي مُلْجَسِمِ فَشَيْرَةً لَدُى حَيْثُ أَلْقَتْ رَحْلَهَا أُمَّ تَشْعَمِ فَشَعْمِ لَكُنَى السَّلَحِ مُعَذَّف لَهُ لِبَدُ أَظْفَارُهُ لَمْ تَقَلَّمُ لَكُنَى أَسُد شَاكِي السَّلَحِ مُعَذَّف لَهُ لِبَدُ أَظْفَارُهُ لَمْ تَقَلَّمُ لَكُنَى مَنْ يَظُلَمُ يُعَاقِبُ بِطُلْمِ فَرَبِعاً وَأَنْ لَا يُبَدُّ بِالظَّلَمِ بِطُلْمِ فَلَامِ مَنْ وَانِ لَا يَبْدُ بِالظَّلَمِ يَظَلِم يَطْلِمُ يَعَاقَبُ بِطُلْمِ فَرَقِعاً وَأَنْ لَا يُبِدُ بِالظَّلَمِ يَظْلِمِ عَلَيْهِ مَرْبِعاً وَأَنْ لَا يُبَدُّ بِالظَّلَمِ يَظْلِمِ عَلَيْهِ مِرْبِعاً وَأَنْ لَا يُبَدُّ بِالظَّلَمِ يَظْلِمِ عَلَيْهِ مَنْ يَعْلَمُ يُعَاقِبُ بِطُلْمَ فَي عَلَيْهِ مَرْبِعاً وَأَنْ لَا يُبَدِّ بِالظَّلَمِ يَظُلِمُ عَلَيْهِ مَنْ فَالْهُ وَانْ لَا يُبَدِّى بَالظَّلَمِ يَظُلِمُ فَالِمُ لَكُونَا فَالِهُ لَا يُعَالِمُ لَا يَعْلَمُ لَا يَعْلَمُ لَا يَعْلَمُ لَا يَعْلَمُ لَا وَلَوْ لَا يَبِدُ بِالظَّلَمِ عَلَيْهِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ اللَّهِ فَالْمُ لِكُونَا اللَّهُ إِلَى السَّلَامِ الْقَلْمُ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمِ اللَّهُ الْمُ لَا يَعْلَمُ الْمُؤْمِ الْمَالِي السَّلَامُ لَعْلَمُ لَا اللَّهُ الْمُعْلِمُ لَا اللّهُ الْمُ لَلْمُ لَعْلَمُ لَا لَهُ لَكُونُونَا لَا لَا لِمُعْلَمُ لَاللّهُ اللّهِ الْمُؤْمِ اللّهِ الْعَلْمُ لَا اللّهُ لَا يُعْلِمُ اللّهُ الْمُ الْمُؤْمِ اللّهُ الْمُؤْمِ اللّهُ لَلْمُ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُ لَا اللّهُ لَا اللّهُ الْمُؤْمِ ا

مع رَعُوا ظِمَّاهُمْ حَتَّى إِذَا تَمَ أَرْدُوا غِمَارًا تَفَرَى بِالسَّلَاحِ وَبِالدَّمِ فَقَضُوا مَنَايًا بَيْنَهُمْ ثُمَّ أَصْدُرُوا إِلَى كَلَا مُسْتَوْبَلٍ مُتَوَخَّمِ لَعَمْرُكَ مَا جَرَّتَ عَلَيْهِمْ رِمَاحُهُمْ دَمَ ابْسَنِ نَهِيكِ أَوْ قَتَيلِ المُثَلَّمِ وَلَا شَارَكَتْ فِي الْمُوتِ فِي دَمِ نَوْفَل وَلا وَهَبٍ مَسَنَّهَا وَلاَ ابْنِ المُخَسَرِمِ وَلاَ شَارَكَتْ فِي الْمُوتِ فِي دَمِ نَوْفَل وَلاَ وَهب مَسَنَّها وَلاَ ابْنِ المُخَسَرِمِ فَكُلا أَرَاهُمْ أَصَّبُوا يَعْقَلُونَ مُ صَحِيمات مَسالِ طَالِعات بِمَخْسِمِ فَكُلا أَرَاهُمْ أَصْبُوا يَعْقَلُونَ مُ صَحِيمات مَسالِ طَالِعات بِمَخْسِمِ فَكُلاً أَرَاهُمْ أَوْلَا يَعْصِمُ النَّاسَ أَمْرُهُم إِذًا طَرَقَتْ احْدَى اللَّيَالِي بِمُعْلَمِ كَوْلَامٍ فَلاَ ذُو الضِّغْنِ يُدْرِكُ تَبْلَهُ لَدَيْهِمْ وَلاَ الْجَانِي عَلَيْهِمْ بَعُمْلَمِ بَعُمْلَمِ مَنْ الْكَانِي بَعْصَامُ النَّاسُ أَمْرُهُمْ لَدَيْهِمْ وَلاَ الْجَانِي عَلَيْهِمْ بَعْمُ بَعُمْلَمِ وَلاَ الْجَانِي عَلَيْهِمْ بَعْمُ بَعْمَلِمْ وَلاَ الْجَانِي عَلَيْهِمْ بَعْمُ بَعْمُ لَا لَيْالِي عَلَيْهِمْ بَعْمُ النَّاسُ أَمْرُهُمْ لَدَيْهِمْ وَلاَ الْجَانِي عَلَيْهِمْ بَعُمْلَمْ بَعُمْلَمْ فَاللَّهُ فَلَا فُولُولُ الْجَانِي عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا الْجَانِي عَلَيْهِمْ بَعْمَامِ الْمَاسِ أَسْرَامُ فَلَا فُولَا لَكُولُولُ تَبْلُهُ لَدُيْهِمْ وَلاَ الْجَانِي عَلَيْهِمِ بَعْمُ بَعُمْلِ مِنْ الْمُعْلَى الْمُنْ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمِ الْمَالِي عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا الْمَالِعُونِ الْمَالِعُولِ الْمُؤْمِ الْعُلَالِي الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمِ اللْعَلَالِي عَلَيْهِمْ وَلا الْعَالَةُ عَلَيْهِمُ اللَّهُ الْمُؤْمُ اللَّهُ الْمُؤْمِ الْعَلَالِي الْمُؤْمِ الْعَلَيْمِ اللَّهُ الْمُؤْمِ اللَّهُ الْمُؤْمُ الْمُؤْمُ الْمُؤْمُ الْعُلِي الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمُ الْمُؤْمُ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمُ الْمُؤْمُ الْمُؤْمُ الْمُؤْمُ الْمُؤْمُ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمُ الْمُؤْمُ الْمُولِ الْمُؤْمُ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمُ الْمُؤْمِ الْمُؤْمُ الْمُؤْمُ

سُكُمْتُ تَكَالِيفَ الْحَيَاةِ وَمَنْ يَعِشْ ثَمَانِيسَ حَوْلًا لَا أَبَّا لَكَ يَسْلُمُ

وَأَعْلَمُ مَا فِي الْيَوْمِ وَالْآمْسِ تَبْلُهُ وَلِكُنَّنِي عَنْ عِلْم مَا فِي غَدِ عُسم يْ يِكُ ذَا فَضْلِ فَيَنْهَلْ بِفَضْلِهِ عَلَى قَرْمِهِ يُسْتَغَى عَنْهُ رَيُدْمَ يُوف لَا يُذْمَمُ وَمَنَ يَهِدُ قَلْبُهُ الَّي مُطْمَدًى يَغْتُرِبُ يَحْسَبُ عَلُواً صَدِيقَهُ وَلاَ يُعْفِهِكَ يُسُومًا مِنَ الذُّلُّ يَنْدُمُ خَالَهَا تَخْفي عَلَى النَّاسِ تُعْلَم يًا تُكُن عُنْدُ امْرِئ مِنْ خُليقَة لِسَانُ الْفَتَى نِصْفُ وَنِصْفُ فُوَّادُهُ ۚ فَلَمْ يَبْقَ إِلَّا صُورَةٌ اللَّحَــم وَالدَّمَ وَإِنَّ سَفَاهُ الشَّيْسِيخِ لا حِلْمَ بَعْدُهُ وَإِنَّ الْفَتِّي بَعْدَ السَّفَسَاهَةِ يَحْكُ

سَأَلْنَا فَأَعْطَيْتُمْ وَعُدْنَا وَعُدْنَا وَعُدْنَا وَعُدْنَا وَعُدْنَا وَعُدْنَا وَعُدْنَا وَمُن أَكَثَ رَالنَّسْآلَ يَسَوْمًا سَيُحْرَمِ

#### ARGUMENT.

In vv. 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 deserted pasture-grounds which the tribesmen 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, but she would not.

Then he turns to praise the two who made the peace and bore the burden of the price of blood (vv. 16—25). After that he exhorts the two tribes (vv. 26—33) to keep faithfully their pact of peace, and after 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 (vv. 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 herds, though themselves without blame (vv. 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.

T.

- 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?
- 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, O House—fair peace in the morn to thee!'
- 7 Look forth, O 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-Sûbân
  - —in them were the sweetness and grace of one nourished in wealth and ease.



- 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-Qanan and the rugged skirts thereof and in el-Qanan how many are foes and friends of mine!
- 15 At eve they left es-Sûbân: 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 round the 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 Gheyo, Murrah's son, when the kin had been rent in twain and its friendship sunk in blood.
  - 19 Ye healed 'Abs and Đubyan's breach when the twain were well-nigh spent,
    and between them the deadly perfume of Menshim was working hate.
  - 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

  Hoşeyn 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 heavy, till their thirst should grow anew.
- 42 But their lances—by thy life! were guilty of none that fell:

  Nehîk'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 blood—good 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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 wrong.



- 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.

### Notes to the Introduction.

- <sup>2</sup> This story is taken from the Aghanî, ix. pp. 149—150; it rests on the following isnad: -el-Hasan ibn 'Alt, who heard it from Mohammed ibn el-Qasim ibn Mahraweyh, who heard it from 'Abdallâh ibn Abî Sa'd, who heard it from Mohammed ibn Ishâq el-Museyyibî, who heard it from Ibrâhîm ibn Mohammed ibn 'Abd-el-'Azîz ibn Omar ibn 'Abd-er-Rahmân 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 el-Harith son of 'Auf of Dubyan, 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 Dubyan: but the great majority of the authorities recognize el-Harith as the leader in the peace; some join with him Khârijeh son of Sinân, his first cousin, and others Kharijeh's brother Herim. That two were foremost in the noble work is apparent from v. 18 of the Mo'allaqah, as also that they were of the house of Gheyo son of Murrah. 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 Zuheyr, this particular deed is never claimed for him. It is observable that, while two are spoken of in vv. 17-22 of the poem (where the dual number is used throughout), afterwards, when speaking of the second payment made necessary by the murder committed by Hoşeyn (vv. 42-44), Zuheyr uses the plural, as if many of the family of Gheyo had taken part in it.
- \* This tale rests on the authority of the famous Abû 'Obeydeh, and is also in the Aghânî (ix. pp. 148-9). It is told in substantially the same terms by et-Tebrîsî and Ibn Nubâteh. In el-Meydânî'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 curious fact is added that of the two hundred camels only one hundred were paid, for el-Islâm came 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 'Iqd el-Ferid of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, quoted by M. Fresnel (Journ. Asiatique, 3me 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-Meydânî, make peace between 'Abs and their own tribe of the Benû Tha'lebeh, who at first refused to join the rest of Đubyân in the engagement; but it is impossible to regard them as the two praised by Zuheyr if v. 18 is genuine, inasmuch as they were not of the line of Gheyō son of Murrah.

The name of the man who was slain by Hoşeyn son of Damdam is given by el-Meydânî and the Iqd as Tîjân. 'Antarah slew Damdam, Hoşeyn'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, Hoşeyn's brother, on the Day of el-Ya'muriyyeh, immediately after the slaying of the hostages by Hoöeyfeh (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 vv. 40—41, where the camels, (that is, the fighting men,) after a \$\frac{1}{4}im'\$, or period of thirst, are said to have been led down again to drink of the pools of Death. The \$\frac{1}{4}im'\$ was probably the truce during which peace was being arranged.

This parenthesis, telling of the end of Qeys son of Zuheyr, is founded on the testimony of Ibn el-Athîr, who is believed generally to follow Abû 'Obeydeh (Kâmil i. p. 434.), and et-Tebrîzî (Ḥamâseh, p. 223); it is vouched for by a poem by a man of 'Abs, Bishr son of Ubayy son of Ḥomâm, quoted in the Ḥamâseh, where it is said of the horses that ran in the Race of Dâḥis—

"They brought to pass—so God willed—the spilling of Malik's blood, and cast Qeys away forlorn an exile in far 'Oman."

\* 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 are mentioned in the 'Iqd (Journ. Asiat., Juillet 1837, p. 18) as having exerted themselves to establish peace between 'Abs and Dubyan, viz. Harmaleh son of el-Ash'ar and his son Hashim.

### Notes to the Mo'allagan.

The measure of the poem is the noble cadence called the Tavil, most loved of all by the ancient poets. Each homistich 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, v. 28, b, and v. 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 Vogler; the seventh stanza of that poem in particular is almost entirely in the Tawti. 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, but only (except in a few doubtful instances) at the commencement of a poem. It is matched by Browning's—
  - "Give it to me to use! I mix it with two in my thought."
- (2.) 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 long third syllable of the second foot for two short, as in  $\vee$ . 4,  $\alpha$  and b; so Browning—
  - "But here is the finger of God, a flash of the Will that can."
- - "That out of three sounds he frame, not a fourth sound, but a Star."

The text above given and translated is that of Arnold (Leipzig, 1850), with two slight amendments in the vocalization of v. 3 b and v. 59 b, and the substitution of law for in v. 54 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 agrees in the text and arrangement of the verses with ez-Zauzenî's, except in v. 59, 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 v. 49 and the arrangement of those which it retains. The following is the order of the verses in Ahlwardt's recension as compared with Arnold's, the numbers of the verses 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. vv. 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 vv. 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 über 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 *illifát*) is of frequent occurrence in the old poetry and offers no difficulty. Of the transposition of v. 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 v. 24 a.

Of textual differences there are few of much importance; in v. 11 a, Ahlwardt reads li-s-sadiqi for li-l-lafif: in v. 14 b, wa man for wa kam: in v. 15 b, mufa"ami for wa muf'ami: in v. 20 b, mina-l-'amri for mina-l-qauli: in v. 22 a, wa gheyrihâ for huditumâ: in v. 25 b, ifâli-l-Muzennemi for ifâlin muzennemi (see note below on this verse): in v. 26 a, faman mublighu for alâ 'ablighi: in v. 27 a, tektumenna (wrongly) for tektumunna, and nufûsikum for şudûrikum (last better): in v. 31 b, tahmil for tuntej (last better): in v. 35 b, yetejemjemi for yetaqaddemi: in v. 37 a, tefza' buyûtun kethîretun for yufzi' buyûtan kethîretan (last preferable): in v. 40 a, ra'au mû ra'au min ţim'ihim thumma for ra'au ţim'ahum hattâ idâ temma, and b, tesîlu bir-rimâḥi for tefarrâ bis-silâḥi (last preferable metrically): in v. 43 a, shârakû fi-l-qaumi for shâraket fi-l-mauti: in v. 45 b, ţala'at for ţaraqet (last preferable, since the former unnecessarily repeats the ţâli'âtin of v. 44 b): in v. 46 a, tu-l-witri yudriku witrahu for tu-d-dighni yudriku teblahu: in v. 54 a, el-meniyyeti yelqahâ for el-menâyû yenelnahu, and b, râma for yerqa: in v. 53 a, yufdi for yuhâa: in v. 60, b, wa lau for wa in: in v. 59, for our reading Ahlwardt has the following—

wa man lam yezel yestahmilu-n-nasa nefsahu, wala yughniha yauman mina-d-dahri, yus'ami :

in v. 63 b, (Appendix p. 192,) yahlumu (right: see note below) for yahlumi: in v. 64 b, sayohramu for sayohrami (both are equally right grammatically, but the former would be an iqual if the verse really belongs to this poem).

The verses of the Mo'allaqah quoted in the Aghan' are the following :-

together on p. 146, Vol. ix, —vv. 1, 3, 4, 6, 56, 54 (in the last verse Ahlwardt's reading, not Arnold's, is given):

on p. 148, v. 18:



on p. 150, vv. 18, 25 (ifali-l-Muzennemi, in accordance with Abû 'Obeydeh's reading), 24:

on p. 154, v. 60 (with the story of this verse having been quoted by 'Othman son of 'Affan).

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 deviations 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 bear 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 l'Islamisme, and that by Rückert (which omits the teshbib) at pp. 147—150 of the first volume of his translation 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. El-Mutathellem (according to the Marâșid, el-Mutathellim) is a hill in the high land stretching East of the northern Ḥijâz, in the country of the Benû Murrah of Ghaṭafān; it is mentioned in 'Antarah's Mo'allaqah, v. 4, in connection with el-Hazn and eṣ-Ṣammān. Of ed-Darrâj no particular information is given in the Marâṣid.
- 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-Basrah, 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 collects; 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 Mâlik son of Bedr given in the Aghânî (xvi, p. 30)—

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

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 Lebid'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," arâm (for arâm), plural of ri'm. Ri'm is the white antelope (antilope leucoryx); though identical in form with the Hebrew r'êm (rêym), it is very doubtful whether the latter word means the same: the LXX translate it by μονόκερως (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 sabahah 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.
- vv. 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 Benû Asad, who were not always on the friendliest terms with the Benû Đubyān, among whom the poet lived.
- v. 12. Tassels of scarlet wool decorated the haudej in which ladies rode. "'Ish-riq seeds": habbu-l-fend; the exact nature of this plant with a scarlet seed or fruit is very doubtful: see Lane, s. vv. فني and فني
- v. 16. "The Holy House" is the Kabeh. 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 Hijaz and Tihameh 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 Mekkeh from about 70 B. C. to 200 A. D. They were expelled from Mekkeh and dispersed so that no memorial of them remained by an Azdite stock from el-Yemen called the Khuza'ah (C. de Perceval, Essai, i, 218. Aghani, 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-Jârûd, 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. (C. de Perceval). Qusayy, in the year 450 A. D. or thereabout, caused the building erected by the Jurhum to be demolished, and rebuilt the Kabeh 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," tdfs haulahu; the tawdf, 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. Duwdr.

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 Dátu-l-beyn means both enmity and friendship.

'Ashireh here means the stock of Baghid son of Reyth son of Ghatafan, the common father of 'Abs and Dubyan; 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 borne out by usage. In v. 24 'Abs and Dubyan are each called quum, 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 Dubyan (by peace), after that they had shared one with another 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 followed 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. (see C. de Perceval, Essai, i. 254. Ibn-el-Athîr, Kâmil, i. pp. 329-30.)

- v. 22. Ma'add was the forefather of all those Arabs (generally called musta'ribeh or insititious) who traced their descent from 'Adnan, whose son he was. The name is thus used to denote the Central stocks, settled for the most part in Nejd and el-Ḥijās, as opposed 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 Nizār is also used in the same way. Nizār 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 term used to designate the tribes of Nejd and the Ḥijiz.
- v. 25. "Slit-eared, of goodly breed": min 'ifdlin muzennemi. There are two ways of taking this phrase: the first is that here adopted, whereby muzennem is rendered as an adjective attached to 'ifdl, meaning "slit-eared." Camels of good breed had a slit 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, muzennemeh, to agree with 'ifdl; but the masculine is used by a poetic license. The other, resting on the authority of Abû 'Obeydeh, reads 'ifdli Muzennemi, "young camels (the offspring) of Muzennem" (or el-Muzennem): Muzennem, he says, being the name of a famous stallion-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 Hamâseh, p. 107, that the young camels (seven or eight months old) called 'ifâl (plural of 'afâl) were not given in payment of bloodwits. Perhaps there was an exception in the case of the better breeds. The passage, however, on which et-Tebrîzî makes this remark does not necessarily bear him out.

v. 26. "Tribesmen together leagued," el-Aḥlaf, plural of ḥif. The commentary says that these confederates were Ghatafan, Asad and Tayyi'; other authorities quoted by Lane (s. v. ḥilf) restrict the appellation to Asad and Ghatafan, Asad and Tayyi', or Fezarah (a branch of Đubyan) and Asad. Since Đubyan, a division of Ghatafan, is named separately from the Aḥlaf, 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 Đubyan and Temîm against 'Âmir and 'Abs; their presence at the oath-taking between the various branches of Ghatafan 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 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 mejzům imperfect from the apodosis of the conditional sentence in v. 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 when 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

<sup>•</sup> His words are—"Das Gedicht, Zohair XVI, wird man wegen 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 die echte, alte Idee aus, dass man von dem Zukünftigen nichts wisse." In the same note, H. von Kremer sees traces of Mohammedan recension in the name 'Abd-allâh 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-Simmeh, as well as to the tribe-fathers 'Abd-allâh ibn el-Azd (Ma'ârif, p. 54), 'Abd-allâh ibn Ghaṭafân (id. p. 39), and 'Abd-allâh ibn Ka'b and 'Abd-allâh ibn Kilâb, sub-divisions of 'Âmir ibn Sa'sa'ah (id. pp. 42 and 43), to be insufficiently vouched for.



ARIANS (DARDS) OF THE UPPER INDUS.

1. and 2. People of Dárchik Village. 3. A woman from Dáh. 4. A man from the Rüshen, or husbandman caste from Dáh. 5. A man from the Rüsmat or artisan caste from Dáh.

(The cups worn ure all black.)

J. Schaumburg Lith:

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el-Låt, el-Ozzà, Menåt, 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, Qevs 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 Ghassan, who were Christian, together with their people; and to the North-east was el-Hîreh, whose King, en-No mân Abû Qâbûs, had long been a Christian, and where Christianity had spread among the people long before his day. En-Nabighah of Dubyan, Zuheyr's famous contemporary, had dwelt long at the Courts both of el-Hîreh 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 'Okao Ques son of Sa'ideh had preached Christianity long before Zuheyr made this poem. And to 'Abs itself belonged one of the Hanifs, Khålid son of Sinån son of Gheyth (see Ibn Quteybeh, Ma'årif, p. 30). 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 vv. 31 and 32 it is personified as a woman, it seemed best to use in the translation the feminine pronoun in vv. 29 and 30.
- v. 31. "Skin," thifdl, 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)—



<sup>•</sup> En-Nåbighah, 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-No'mân was a Christian.

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

"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 'awan is said of a war the fury of which is perpetually renewed (see Hamaseh, p. 180). Again, ha'il, plural hiyal, is used of a war which lies long dormant; its meaning is a she-camel that does not conceive for two years, or some years, and it is therefore the opposite of kishaf. El-Harith son of 'Obad said of the War of Basûs after the slaying of his son Bujoyr by Muhelhil—

"The War of Wa'il has conceived at last, having long been barren."

v. 32. "Ahmar of 'Ad." According to the received story of the Muslims, it was to Thamud, not to 'Ad, that the prophet Salih 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 Salih! 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. vv. 74-76. The story is also told in Surah xi, vv. 64-71.) The leader in the slaving of the Camel was Qudar el-Ahmar, "Qudar the Red"; and thus "More unlucky than Ahmar of Thamûd," and "More unlucky than the Slayer of the She-camel," became proverbs. The people of Thamûd (-who are mentioned\* 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 valley on the road Northwards from the Hijaz into Syria. The race of 'Ad, on the contrary, were settled in the South of Arabia, in the Angaf, now a vast desert of sand: Ibn Quteybeh (Ma'Arif, p. 15) places them "in ed-Daww, and ed-Dahna, and 'Alij, and Yebrîn, and Webbâr, from 'Oman to Hadramaut and el-Yemen." To them 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 'Ad" instead of "Ahmar of Thamud": the first is the necessity of the rhythm, which would not permit him to say Thamûd; the second is that some of the genealogists say that Thamûd was a cousin of 'Ad, and after the destruction of the

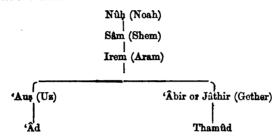


<sup>•</sup> In Mr. George Smith's "Assyria" ("Ancient History from the Monuments" Series), p. 100, Sargon, in 715 B. C., is related to have led an expedition into Arabia, "where he conquered the Thamudites and several other tribes, carrying them captive and placing them in the cities of Samaria."

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

Fatuntej lakum ghilmána, kullun ka'annahu Qudáru Thamúdin: thumma turdií fateffimi.

Moreover other poets also speak of Ahmar of 'Âd: e. g., Abû Jundab el-Huðalî, quoted by et-Tebrîzî 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-Islâm overspread the land.

If this verse is genuine, it would seem strongly to support 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 qafiz was a measure of capacity containing eight mekkûks or twelve sá's of el-'Irâq: one sá' of Baghdád is 6½ rifls, or pints: the qafiz is thus 64 pints. The word is originally Persian, kawizh (کویٹ).
- v. 37. "Though there in their midst the Vulture-mother had entered in," ledd heyths 'alget rahlaha' 'Ummu qash'ami: literally, "In that place where the Vulture-mother cast down her camel-saddle." "To cast down one's saddle" (as "to lay down one's staff" in v. 13) means to halt in a place. "The Vulture-mother" is a name of Death, or Calamity; qash'am means an old vulture, and is used in that sense in the last verse of 'Antarah's Mo'allagah.
- v. 38. "A bulwark for men in fight," muquataf: 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 \$\pi\in'\alpha\text{hm'}\alpha\text{hm}\text{: They pastured (their camels) for their \$\pi\in'\alpha\text{, 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 \$\pi\int\beta\beta\int\text{, as the weather gets colder, they pass two days without water, and come down on the fourth: this is called \$rib'\text{;}\$ then follow \$khims\$, sids, and so on to 'ishr, when the \$\pi\int\text{im'}\$ is eight days, and they are watered on the tenth. The camels are the warriors, and 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 anew": these words have been added in the translation to complete the sense; they follow from the description of the pasture (kela') as unwholesome, heavy (mustaubal), and indigestible (mutawakhkham): 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 (Ḥamâseh, 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 wahidin mina-l-'aqillin; it is, I think, equivalent to kulla wahidin mina-l-qatla: this follows from the hu in ya'qilanahu 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. hildl in lihayyin hildlin. 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 holulun (another plural of hall) occurs in a poem on p. 171; but it is used in a poem by 'Amr son of Kulthûm given in the Aghanî, vol. ix., p. 183—

Which seems to mean—

"Ho! carry my message to the sons of Jusham son of Bekr,

and Teghlib, (that they may know) as often as they come to the great tribe, How that the glorious warrior, the son of 'Amr,

on the morn of Nata \*\* bore himself stoutly in battle."

<sup>•</sup> For the vocalization of Nata' here given see the Marasid, s. v. It is a village of el-Yemameh belonging to the Benû Hanîfeh.

It may possibly 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 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 el-jāni '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 khaii', or outcast: for instance, el-Hārith son of Pālim, who slew Khālid son of Ja'far of 'Âmir while the latter was under the protection of en-No'mān son of el-Munōir, King of el-Hūreh, 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 upon 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 Aghânî relates (ix. 148), when he was seen by Mohammed, who said—"O God! grant me a refuge from his Devil!"—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 Ka'b 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-Islâm.
- v. 49. "Blind beast," 'ashwâ: 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—Rekiba fulânuni-l-'ashwâ, "Such an one rides the weak-eyed she-camel"; that is, he prosecutes his affair without due deliberation; and —Khabaṭa khabṭa-l-'ashwâ, "He trod with the careless tread of a weak-eyed she-camel" he acted at random.
- v. 50. If this verse is rightly placed next after v. 49, the rending by the teeth and the treading under 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. 53. I am far from satisfied with the translation given of this verse, in which, however, I have scrupulously followed the commentary. The doubtful words are muțma'innu-l-birri and yetejemjem; the former is explained as meaning birrum khâlişum, that is, "pure goodness"; and the latter as the same as yetaradded, that is, "he is disturbed, confounded, perplexed." But Lane renders muțma'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, &c—"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 (zij4j, plural of sujj) of their spears: if they meant war, they turned towards each other the points.
  - v. 57. The "cistern", hand, is a man's home and family.
- v. 60. This verse, the commentary tells us, was quoted by 'Othman son of 'Affan, the third Khalifeh.
- v. 62. This accords with the proverb—innama-l-mar'u bi'azghareyhi—"A man is accounted of according to his two smallest things"—his heart and his tongue.

vv. 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. 63, 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 marfû', not mejzûm—yahlumu, not yahlum: but to read it so would disturb the rhyme, and be a fault of the kind called iqud. 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 Agent.

(With one plate.)

The line which divides the Musalman 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  $Br \partial k - p \partial$  (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 Baltistán have become Musalman.

This tribe presents therefore, to the student of early institutions, the interesting sight of a people of pure Arian race, isolated in the semi-barbarous 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 Ladàk (Western Tibet) In a wild gorge through which the narrow Indus last winter (1876). 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 saucer 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 cloud, 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 Ladàk. These were unmis-

\* Although Dr. Leitner (in his Dardistán) states that the name Dard was not claimed by any of the race that he met, yet I have heard the Drás people of that tribe apply it to their parent stock in Astor under the form Dardé. They are also known to their Kashmírí neighbours by the name of Dard, and Dardw.



takeably of a different race. They were 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 caps, 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 Brokpas but by Musalman 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 Brokpas 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

\* Women are everywhere the most conservative of national customs.



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 Musalman Brokpa, 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 Brokpas of Dah-Hanu are nominally Buddhists, yet their real worship is that of local spirits or demons like the *Lhà-mo* (goddess) of Dah.\*

• In this, however, they are not singular; for the Tibetans of Ladàk also have a reverence for similar spirits of purely local influence called *Lhd* (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 Làmaïte hierarchy. An annual incarnation of one of these demons (a female) takes place at 8hè, a village of Ladàk, in the month of August; but though Làmas 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 Làmas are rarely to be seen in the crowds that witness



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,† he renews the branches of the "shukpa" (Juniperus excelsa) thick 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 Brokpas 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



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 mo is the Tibetan feminine affix, as bo is the masculine.

<sup>+</sup> The Sidh-posh Kdfirs (probably Dards) have also a custom of "going once a year to the top of a mountain as a religious exercise and putting a stone on a cairn" (Leitner's Dardistan, Vol. I, Part 3, p. 42).

<sup>‡</sup> This is also a Tibetan custom with this difference, that each Tibetan householder has a similar sacred bundle of *shukps* 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 Brokpas.

forty or fifty years ago, after a war between Shigar and Ladak, when their country was occupied by the Ladak army, the Lamas converted them. 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 Brokpas 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 Dah-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 small 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 Ladàkis; that is to say in little brick furnaces on the hill-sides. The upper part of the furnace is a short upright cylinder 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 broad-brimmed Làma'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 Bròkpàs 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 Rüshens, since there can only be one priest or Lhàbdak in each village.



Besides these there is a lower caste consisting, in the village of Dah, of only five families. They were originally blacksmiths, it is said, but no longer carry on the ancestral calling. They are called *Rūzmet* (Tib.) or *Gàrgyut.*\* Their women are not allowed to approach the cookinghearths of the higher caste, nor are the *Rūzmet* men, excepting after a purification similar to that of the *Rūshen* 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-versa (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 Dah, I was questioning a party of Bròkpas, 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 Rüsmet, but in three generations I can become Rüshen." This thought seemed to console the old man, much to the amusement of the others.

Polyandry is the rule in Dah-Hanu. As the Brokpas 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

\* These castes seem roughly to answer to three out of the four castes prevalent among the main body of the Dàrds: viz., 1st, Shin; 2nd, Yashkun (these two castes trade, cultivate land, or keep sheep); 3rd, Kramin (? derived from Krum=work) (are weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, artisans in fact); 4th, Dôm (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.]



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 purified with burning juniper. No Bròkpa 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 Ladàk.) 2nd. The Dàh group, consisting of Baldès, Phindur, Byéma, Sani, Dundir, and Dah villages. 3rd. The Garkhon group, consisting of Garkhon, Darchik (large village on west of Indus), Sanacha (ditto), Urdas, 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., Lalüsho (from whom the Lhábdaks or priests spring); Zoné, Dàkré, Gochaghé (these three are the ancestors of the Rüshen caste); Düsé, Gabüré, and Tukshüré (these are the fathers of the Rüzmet caste). The land of Dah 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 Dah 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 Dah) 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 Dah (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 Dah 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. the people always live during winter, for warmth or for company. Thev 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 Musalmans, and penetrated even to Ladak. Now all is peace under the common rule of our Feudatory, the Mahárájá of Kashmír.

So much for the (so-called) Buddhist  $Br \delta k p \delta s$ . But the villages of the same tribe which lie exposed to Musalman 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 Musalman  $Br \delta k p \delta s$ , while those of Dangel, Marul, Chulichan, and Singkarmon, are inhabited partly by Musalman (Shî'ah)  $Br \delta k p \delta s$ , and partly by Baltis (Tibetan Musalmans) 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 Lalung are also inhabited partly by Musalman  $Br \delta k p \delta s$  and partly by Musalman Tibetans from the adjoining district of Purik. These Musalman  $Br \delta k p \delta s$  on both roads speak the Dah dialect, and dress like the Dah people, and keep apart from the Tibetan Musalmans both in matter of marriage and in eating.



But they have no caste inequalities amongst them like their non-Musalman kinsmen, and generally they do not object to drinking milk, though at Tsirmo, there seems to be a relic of the  $Br \delta kp \hat{a}$  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 Dàh-Hanu *Bròkpàs*, as they are usually called), including both the Buddhist and the Musalmàn sections, is given hereafter.

It is a question how these Arian Dards (for Arians and Dards 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. Dardistan proper, or the country of the Dards\* (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. + 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 running south at first and then trending off to the east until it almost abuts against the settlements of the Dah-Hanu Brokpas on the Upper Indus. These Dàrds are Musalmans, as are also the main body of the Dàrd race in their own home. The Buddhist Brokpas 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, in explanation of the difference of religion, very justly supposes the Dah-Hanu Brokpds 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, Musalmans, would

- See Mr. Drew's excellent Race Map in his "Jummoo and Kashmir." To illustrate the present paper the whole of the lightly shaded region to the south, west and north of Gilgit up to the Muztagh mountains, should be painted of the same colour as Gilgit, for it is all the home of the Dards, though Mr. Drew's plan only permitted him to colour what lies within the Mahárájá of Kashmír's territories.
- † The isolated settlements of Dàrds in certain villages of Baltistan, are apparently of more recent origin and moreover do not bridge the chasm.
  - 1 Drew's "Jummoo and Kashmir", p. 430.
- § If we are to believe the Tarîkh-i-Rashîdî, this had not taken place at the time of its author, Mírzá 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.

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 Dards) does not easily resist the encroachments of one of the great dogmatic religions when thrown into unprotected contact with it.

Did the Dah-Hanu Brokpas 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 Dards, 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 via Astor, Déosaï, the Dras 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 Dah-Hanu people and the Dard communities (above mentioned) settled on or about the Dras river, are called by their Tibetan neighbours  $Br \partial k - p \partial k$  (often pronounced  $D \partial k - p \partial k$  with a disregard to the spelling peculiar to Tibetans and Englishmen).  $Br \partial k$  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  $Br \partial k - p \partial k$ , 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 Dràs Dàrds 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 Darèl; 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 Dras river into the Indus, approach very closely to, without mixing with, those of their unrecognised kinsmen of the Dah-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 Dras, are intermingled with Musalman Tibetans or Baltis. At Dras the former are Sunnis in religion while the latter are Shi'ahs, but lower down near the Indus both are Shi'ahs. The Dards 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 Dardistan, only divided by the river We have therefore a continuous chain of communi-Indus from Gilgit. ties 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 earlier, 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 Dard 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 Wàkhik or Gòijàl) amongst the Dàrds. See Drew's Jummoo and Kashmir, p. 457. The termination k of the word Wàkhik 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 Chilásis 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 Wàkhi Ghalchahs, called by Mr. Drew also Gòijàl, and the idea suggests itself that perhaps Gojàl 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: It is for the latter two consonants, viz., l, and l, l

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 d, like aw in pawn, as in some neighbouring dialects and languages.

The accented à to be pronounced as in father; unaccented a as in ordinary, oriental.



The accented  $\acute{e}$  as ey 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  $\partial$ , o and  $\dot{u}$ , u, there is a double-dotted  $\ddot{o}$ , pronounced as in German schön, and a double-dotted  $\ddot{u}$  as in German mühe or French tu.

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

Tch 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 ng in the word young, but never to the extent of allowing any distinct g to be heard as in English younger, hunger. Thus  $mo\tilde{n}$  "I" is pronounced exactly like the French mon "my." Again hans "I am" and byuns "I go" would be spelt in French hanse, biounsse. But hans (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. Dàh-Hanu Dialect. THE SUBSTANTIVE.

Singular.	Plural.
N. <i>es</i>	eia ewes eia-sa (before Trans. Verbs &c.)
G. éïa	éïan         of ewes           éïan-da         to ewes           éïan-za         ewes           éïan-zano         from ewes           éïan-süma         with ewes           éïan-ya         by ewes
N. à	oyo
N. gôt	gôti houses gôti-sa (before Trans. Verbs &c.)
G. gôtas	gôtin     of houses       gôtin-da     to houses       gotin-dze     houses       gotin-dono     from houses       gotin-ya     by houses

And so with g6 "a cow," Gen. g6s, and the other cases g6; g6l6 "a bull," Gen. g6los, other cases g6l6; biü "a boy," Gen. biüs, other cases biü. But Genitive of tchigà "a woman" is tchügoya while the Dat. is tchügéra, the Acc. tchigà-zé, the Abl. 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; gôt "a house", in the plural is goti and gotin; "cattle" (plural) is gōlé and gōlen; "women" is tshūgoyu, obl. tshūgoyun. Boda "fathers", obl. bodan; apshi "horses", obl. apshan.

ADJECTIVES do not seem to change for the gender.

#### PRONOUNS.

Singular.	Plural.
1st Po	erson.
N. moñ (with intrans. verbs) mi-sz or ma-sa (with transitive verbs in the Present and Future)	bà or beng  bà-sa with transitive verbs in the Prebeng-sa sent and Future  Tenses we
G. mi or mis	assü-ra to us assü-za us
Abl. mon-yone or mon-dea from me	assü-yono or assü-deo from us
Instr. mi-ya (with Past ) by me Tense of Trans. verbs.)	bà-ya or beng-ya by us
2nd I	Person.
N. të (with intransitive V.)  ti-se or tü-se (with transitive Verbs in Present and Fut.)  G. tiü	tsi  tsi-sa or tsü-sa (with trans. V. in Pres. and Fut.  tsi your  tsü-ra to you  tsü-yono from you  tsi-ya by you  erson.
N. so (fem. sa) or p'ho (with intve. V.) so-sa (with trans. V.) Pres. and Fut. G. tes or p'hos of him (do.) D. té-ra to him Acc. té-za (with Pres. Tenses) Abl. té-yono from him Instr. so-ya (with Past Tense of Trans. V.)	té or p'hé (with intr. V.)  té-sa (with tr. V.)  ten or p'héün of them ten-da or p'héün-da to them tén-za or p'héün-za them  tén- or p'héün-yono from them té- or p'hé-ya by them

#### THE VERB.

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The Intransitive Verb "to go".
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Byàsti = (in order) to go.

Bya-su = about to go.

Byunto = in going, or, whilst going.

 $Gyéto = gone \ or \ having gone. \ Bo - go \ (Imperative).$ 

#### INDICATIVE MOOD.

#### Present Future Tense.

Singular.	Plural.
1. moñ or mi by will go binis I go (fem.)	bà byenis we go or will go
2. tü { byuña thou goest binia do. (fem.)	tsi byeni ye go, &c.
3. {so byàlls he goes sa bini she goes	té byàn they go, &c.
	rist.
1. moñ byü I go	ba byüñ we go
2. tü byuñ thou goest	tsi byeni ye go
3. so byuñ he goes	té byeni they go
Past	Tense.
1. $mo\tilde{n} \begin{cases} g\ddot{v}s & \dots \text{ I went (m.)} \\ gy\dot{s}s & \dots \text{ ditto (fem.)} \end{cases}$	bà gyéüñs we went
2. $t\ddot{u} \begin{cases} go & \text{ thou wentest (m.)} \\ gy \dot{v}\ddot{u}a & \text{ditto (fem.)} \end{cases}$	tsi gyé or gyéüi ye went
3. \begin{cases} so go \tag{o}  \text{ he went} \\ sa gyani  \text{ she went} \end{cases}	té gyéani or gyéün they went
	t Tense.
1. mi gyéüs (? gyé-hüs)* I have (or had) gone	bà gyéüñs (? gyé-hüñs) we have gone
2. tü gyé-àstu thou hast gone	tsé gyé-àstin ye have gone
3. so gyé-àstu he has gone	té gyé-àstin they have gone
Future	Tense.
mon byuko I will go (the other	r persons of this tense are the same).

<sup>•</sup> See Past Tense of Auxiliary Verb "to be".

#### THE DEFECTIVE AUXILIARY "to be".

Present.	Past.
1. moñ or mi hdñs I am	moñ hüs I was
2. tü or ti hàñathou art	tü hüa (near) or àstu (far) thou wast
3. so háñhe is	so hüa or àstuhe was
1. bà or beng hàniswe are	bà hunswe were
2. tsi hàniye are	tsi hüi or àstinye were
3. té hànithey are	té hün or àstinthey were

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 e. g., us-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: Tàshis-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.

Kutyunto = in striking, or whilst striking.

Kutedho = having struck.

IMPERATIVE.

Kuti = strike.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

PRESENT FUTURE TRASE.

	Singular.	Plural.
1.	kutyuns I strike (masc.)  md-sa   number   kutinis ditto (fem.)	bà-sa kutyeniswe strike, &c.
2.	tü-sa (m.) &c.  kutyuña thou strikest (m.) &c.  kutinia ditto (f.)	tsű-sa kutyeniye strike, &c.
3.	so-sa kutyàlla he strikes &c.	té-sa kutyànthey strike,&c

#### AOBIST.

1.	mà-8a	kutyüI strike	bà-sa kutyüñwe strike
2.	tŭ-sa	kutyuñthou strikest	tsi-sa kutyeniye strike
8.	80- <b>8</b> 0	kutyuñhe strikes	té-sa kutyenithey strike

#### PAST TENSE.

	Instr.	Object.	Verb.	Engli	ish.
S.	1. mi-ya 2. ti-ya 3. so-ya	moñ bà	kutudhös (masc.) kutedhîs (fem.) kutedheñs	I was struck we were struck	by me by thee by him
Pl.	1. beng-ya 2. tsi-ya 8. teñ-ya	(the rea	st) kutet { thou, he, —wast, w	ye <i>or</i> they was <i>or</i> were struck	by us by you by them

#### PERFECT TENSE.

Singular.	Plural.
1. mà-sa kutyüsI have (or had) struck	_
<ol> <li>tü-sa kuté-àstu thou hast struck</li> <li>so-sa kuté-àstuhe has struck</li> </ol>	tsi-sa kuté-àstin ye 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.
- 1. má-sa kuti-su hüs... I was about to strike
  2. tü-sa kuti-su hüa ... thou &c.
  3. so-sa kuti-su hüa ... he &c.

  bà-sa kuti-su hüñs... we were about to strike

  to strike

#### CONDITIONAL MOOD.

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

#### PASSIVE.

1. mi kutellas I am or have been	beng kutellans we are or have
struck	been struck
2. tü kutella thou &c.	tsi kutellan ye &c.
	té kutellan they &c.

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. Ti-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 1st person (Singular or Plural), 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 = 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 1st Story in Forbes' Persian Grammar.

Aflatun-ra ek müsh-ya shunàt: Tü kishti-à-rü hatuk sar batö,
Plato-to a man-by it-was-asked: thou ship-to many years satest,
tsà-a-rū na-zito yé zit?

sea-to (wonderful) what was seen?

Aflatun-ya razit: tsò-a karang mi-ya nà-zito zit
Plato by it-was-said: of the sea this me-by wonderful was seen
snoñ tràlobo pà-'r nūpàdös.

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. Kishtià-ru is dative, from kishti-à obl. crude form of kishti (a foreign word). Tsòa is oblique of tso (the Tibetan word for "lake"). Nà-zito (lit. "not seen") is negative of Past Participle of following verb (to see); zit is Past tense transitive agreeing with its object yé "what" (i. e., not taking the termination in-os or one appropriated to the 1st persons sing. and plural); the instrumentative case of the agent, tü-ya, is understood. Razit is the same form as shundt, and so is zit which follows. Nupados 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 Brokpa verb means "to cause to arrive" (P. rasànidan). E. g. mi-ya dàk nüpàt "I delivered the post" (lit. 'by me the post was caused to arrive'). Thus mon....... mapados of the text, is literally: "I ..... was caused to arrive" or, as we should say: "I arrived." The full form would be: Kishti-ya mon napados (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 gai. 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.

#### Dán-Hanu Love Song.

Mi müshü Skishur qaniya kàskyé skyet-tò I young-man (pro. name mountain below if-I-look of place)

Bòs payül zi-chuñ; toto huñskyé skyet-tò
Father's home see makes; and above if-I-look
Numès payül zi-chuñ. Zü-lo Qodà nasib 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, O 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 3rd pers. sing. of the aorist of the verb "to do", answering to the typical form kutyuñ. Zu-lö is the Bròkpà form of the common Tibetan salutation jù or ju-lé, which is like the Hind. ji. Qodà (Khudà) and nasib 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 Imperative.

## II. Dràs Dialect. THE SUBSTANTIVE.

Singular.	Plural.
N. esh or eza ewe esh-sa (before transitive verbs, not in Past Tense)	ezé
G. ezo	ezo
Instr. ezu (before Trans. )  Verbs in Past tense) by a ewe	ezo-zaby ewes

N. ài		
Verbs not in Past Tense)  G. àio	N. àia she-goat	àie }
G. àio	ài-sa (before Trans.	àie-sa }sne-goats
D. & Loc. ài-reto, or at a she-goat  Acc. ài	Verbs not in Past Tense)	
Acc. ài		
Abl. ài-zo	D. & Loc. ài-reto, or at a she-goat	àio-reto, or at she-goats
Abl. ài-zo	Acc. àia she-goat	àioshe-goats
di-séi nàlà with a she-goat   Instr. dio (before by a she goat   Trans. verbs in Past Tense)    N. gòr a house gòr-sa (before Tr. v. not in Past Tense) G. gòr-o of a house (sometimes—ra) Acc. gòr or gòr-re a house (sometimes—ra) Acc. gòr or gòr-re a house (in some-no) Instr. gòr-i by a house (before Trans. gòr-sa iio-za by she goats gòri gori-za by she goats gòri gori-za by she goats  gòri gori-za by she goats  gòri gori-za by she goats  gòri gori-za bouses gòro-ra houses gòro-ra houses goro-za houses goro-za by she goats gòri gori-za by she goats gòri-za by she goats gòr		àio-zofrom she-goats
Trans. verbs in       Past Tense)         N. gòr		dio-sei-nalà with she-goats
N. gòr	• • •	àio-zaby she goats
N. gòṛ	Trans. verbs in	• ••
gòṛ-sa (before Tr. v. not in Past Tense)  G. gòṛ-o	Past Tense)	
Verbs in Past Tense)	gòṛ-sa (before Tr. v. not in Past Tense) G. gòṛ-o	gòro

### ADJECTIVES do not seem to change for Gender.

#### PRONOUNS.

N. moñ	bé
--------	----

N. tù	tsó (f. tsà) tsó-sa (before Tr. V. not in Past
tú-sa (before Tr. /	tsó-sa (before Tr.
v. not in Past thou	V. not in Past ( ye
Tense)	Tense)
G. tó (or túiñ?)of thee, thy	tsó (or tsòiñ?)of you
D. tù-reto thee	teó-reta yau
Acc. túthee	<i>tsó</i> you
Abl. tú-zofrom thee	tsó-30from you
túiñ-séi náláwith thee	tsó-séi náláwith you
Instr. tóby thee	tsò-za (tsá-za f.)by you

#### Pronouns Substantival and Adjectival.

#### Singular.

Plural.

N. nú or do or ánu or	
aiñ (fem. ni or á or ani)	this
núsa or anu-sa (f. ni-sa	مس ح
or ani-sa (before Tr. V. not in Past T.)	
G. niso or niséi, or	
ani-so, ani-sei	
D. nisé-re	to this
Acc. nisé-or àiñ	.this
Abl nisé-zo	.from this
Instr. nisi	.by this

ni or ani
ni-sa or ani-sa
(before Tr. V.
not Past T.)

nino or anino ....... of these

nino-ré or anino-ré ...to these nino or anino................these nino-zo or anino-zo ...from these nino-za 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)
rò-sa (f. ré-sa).
before Tr. V. not
in Past Tense
G. sò or aso (f. réso)...of that
also asé-séi
D. sé-ré or asé-ré .....to that
(f. résé-ré)
Acc. sè or asé or do...that
(f. résé)
Abl. sé-zo or asé-zo...from that
(f. resé-zo)
Instr. sési or dsi .....by that
(f. rési)

ré or pero (f. ra)
ré-sa (f. ra-sa) before Tr. V. not
Past Tense

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-za or perano-...by those
za (f. rano-za)

#### Relative Pronoun.

#### Personal Adjectival Pronouns.

N. ké or kési (?)	who	miàno	my own
G. késo	of whom	tàno	they own
D. késé-re	to whom	resano or tomo	his own
Acc. késé (?)	whom	assano	our own
Abl. késé-zo (?)	from whom	tsano	your own
Instr. <i>ké-si</i>	by whom	renano or tomo	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 so in Hindustani, but the other demonstrative pronouns are also used.

#### THE VERB "to be."

#### Present and Future.

		M.	F.	
8.	1.	moñ hànos or hañs	moñ hànis	I am or shall be
	2.	tu hàno or haoñ	tu hàni	thou art &c.
	3.	ro hàno or haoñ	ré hàni	he, she is &c.
Pl.	1.	bé hànis or hàñs	bé haiñ <b>s</b>	we are &c.
:	2.	tso hànet or hàñt	tsa haiñt	ye are &c.
1	В.	ré hàñ	ra hanié	they are &c.
			Past (Imperfect).	
8.	1.	moñ ásilós	moñ àsilyis	I was (lit. I was being)
2	2.	tu àsilo	tu àsilie	thou wast
8	<b>B</b> .	ro àsilo	ré àsilie	he, she was
<b>Pl.</b> 1	l.	bé àsili <b>s</b>	bé àsilyis	we were
2	2.	tso àsilet	tsa àsiliet	ye were
8	3.	ré àsile	ra àsilie	they were
			CONDITIONAL.	
			Past.	
8. 1	l.	moñ àsilòzto	moñ asilazto	if I were
2	2.	tu asiloto	tu asilato	if thou wert
6	3.	ro asilto	<b>r</b> é asilto	if he, she were
Pl. 1	L.	be asilezto	bé asilaseto	if we were
2	2.	tso asiletto	tsa asilateto	if ye were
8	3.	re asilto	rà asilato	if they were

#### THE IRREGULAR VERB "to become."

#### Present.

Infinitive and Supine: bono "to become," or, "in order to become." Imperative, bé "become."

	Masc.	Fem.	
S. 1.	moñ bòmos	moñ bomïs	I am becoming
2.	tu bé	tu be	thou art becoming
<b>3</b> .	ro beno	ré bene	he, she is becoming
Pl. 1.	bé bonas	bé bonas	we are becoming
2.	tso bat	tsa bat	ye are becoming
8.	ré bena	ra bena (?)	they are becoming
		Present Future.	
S. 1.	moñ bom	moñ bom	I become or shall become
2.	tu besh	tu besh	thou becomest &c.
2. 3.	ro bei	rė bei	he, she becomes &c.
Pl. 1.	bé bon	bé bon	we become &c.
2.	teo bat	tsa bâte	ye become &c.
2. 3.	ré ben	ra beni	•
3.	re oen	ru veni	they become &c.
		Imperfect.	
S. 1.	moñ bom-alos#	moñ bom-alîs	I was becoming
2.	tu biàlo (?)	tu biàle (?)	thou wast becoming
3.	ro biàlo (?)	re biàlie (?)	he, she was becoming
Pl. 1.	bé bòn-alés	be bon-aly is	we were becoming
2.	tso bialet (?)	tsa biàliet (?)	ye were becoming
8.	re beñ-ale	ra ben-alie	they were becoming
		Perfect.	
S. 1.	moñ bilos#	moñ bilies	I have become, i. e., I am
2.	tu bilo	tu biliesh	thou hast become, i. e.,
3.	ro bilo or bil	ré bili	he, she has become, i. e., is
Pl. 1.	bé biles	bé bilie <b>s</b>	we have become, i. e., are
2.	tso bilet	tsa bilieti	ye have become, i. e., are
3.	ré bilen	ra bilyen	they have become, i. c.,
			are
		Pluperfect.	
S. 1.	moñ bilalos	moñ bilalyis	I had become
2.	ta bilàlo	tu bilàlie	thou hadst become
3.	ro bilàlo	ré bilàlie	he, she had become
Pl. 1.	bé bilales	bé bilàlies	we had become
2.	tsa bilàlet	tsa bilàliet	ye had become
3.	ré bilàle	ra bilàlic	they had become

#### CONDITIONAL.

#### Present.

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

### THE INTRANSITIVE VERB "to go."

Infinitive and Supine: bozóno "to go" and "in order to go."

Imperative : bo or bozé "go."

Verbal Adjectives: bozensto "going", bozeta "having gone."

#### Present.

		Masc.	Fem.	English.
S.	1.	moñ bòzumus	moñ bozumis	I am going
	2.	tu bòzaoñ		thou art going
	3.	ro bòzon or bòzéuñ	re bozani	he, she is going
Pl.	1.	bé bòzunàs or bònàs	·	we are going
	2.	tso bòzàt	tsà bozàt	ye are going
3	3.	ré bòzena	ra bozéin	they are going
			Imperfect.	

S. 1.	moñ bòzum-alòs#	moñ bòzum-alis	I was going
2.	tu bòzalo	tu bòzalé	thou wast going
3.	ro bòzalo	re bòzalié	he, she was going
Pl. 1.	bé bònalès	bế bònaliés	we were going
2.	tso bòzalet	tsà bòzaliet	ye were going
3.	ré bòzenalé	ra bòzenalié	they were going

#### Present Future.

S.	1.	moñ bòzum		I go or shall go
	2.	tù bòzé		
	3.	ro bòzéi	ré bòzîë	

Pl. 1. bé bòzon (or bon?)

2.	tso bòzàt	tsà bozàté
3.	ré bòzen	ra bozeni

				Fu	ture.			
S.	1.	moñ bòzum bil	•••	•••		•••	I shall go &c.	
	2.	tu bò <u>z</u> é bil	•••	•••	•••	•••	thou wilt go	
	3.	ro bò <u>z</u> éi	•••	•••	•••	•••	he will go	
Pl.	1.	bé bò <u>z</u> on bil	•••	•••	•••	•••	we shall go	
	2.	tso bòzàt bil	•••	•••	•••	•••	ye will go	
	3.	ré bò <u>z</u> én bil	•••	•••	•••	•••	they will go	
				Compour	nd Fut	ure.		
S.	1.	moñ bòno háñs	•••	•••	•••	•••	I am to go	
	2.	tu bòno haoñ	•••	•••	•••	•••	thou art to go	
	8.	ro bòno haoñ	•••	•••	•••	•••	he is to go	
$\mathbf{Pl}$	1.	bé bòno hànis	•••	•••	•••	•••	we are to go	
	2.	tso bòno h <b>ànet</b>	•••	•••	•••	•••	ye are to go	
	8.	ré bòno hàñ	•••	•••	•••	•••	they are to go	
				P	ast.			
S.	1.	moñ gàs*		moñ g	yé <b>s</b>	1	went	
	2.	tu gà*		<b>tu</b> gyé		th	ou wentest	
	8.	ro gàu#	<b>r</b> é gyéë		he	he, she went		
$\mathbf{Pl}$	1.	bé gyè <b>s</b>	be gyéés		we went			
	2.	tso gyet		tsà gy	èti	•	ye went	
	8.	ré gyé		<b>r</b> a gyé	é	tl	ne <b>y went</b>	
			$\mathbf{P}$	erfect an	d Plup	erfect	•	
S.	1.	moñ gàlòs*		moñ g	àli <b>s</b>	I	have or had gone	
	2.	tu gàlo		tu gàl	ê	t	hou hast or hadst gone	
	8.	ro gålo		ré gàli	ié	b	e, she has or had gone	
$\mathbf{P}$	. 1.	bé gàli <b>s</b>		<b>bé gà</b> l		V	ve have or had gone	
	2.	tso gàle <b>t</b>		<b>t</b> sà gà	liet	у	e have <i>or</i> had gone	
	8.	ré gàlé		ra gàl	iê	t	hey have <i>or</i> had gone	
				Cond	ITIONA	L.		
				Presen	t Futu	ıre.		
S.		moñ bo <u>z</u> eto	•••	•••	•••	•••	if I go	
	2.	tu bo <u>z</u> eto	•••	•••	•••	•••	if thou goest	
	8.	ro bozeito	•••	•••	•••	•••	if he goes	
P	. 1.	bé bo <u>z</u> unto	•••	•••	•••	•••	if we go	
	2.	tso bozátto	•••	•••	•••	•••	if ye go	
	3.	rė bo <u>z</u> eñio	•••	•••	•••	•••	if they go	
				Pr	eterit.			
S.	1.	moñ gàlòsto		moñ gàld	àzto		if I had gone	
	2.	tu gàlòto		tu gàlàte			if thou hadst gone	
	8.	ro gielto		ré gielto	,		if he had gone	

1P1 1	bé gàlezto	bé galàseto	if we had gone
	tso gàletto	tsà galàteto	if ye had gone
	ré gielto	rà galàto	if they had gone
	Masc.	Fem.	English.
Pl. 1.	bé gàlezto	bé galàseto	if we had gone
	too gàletto	tsà galàteto	if ye had gone
	<del>r</del> é 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."):

	Masc.	$\mathbf{Fem.}$	Masc.	Fem.
S.	alôs	alis Pl	. alès	aliès
	alo		alet	aliet
	alo	alié	alè	aliè

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-àlòs, &c., would be an uncorrupted example. The stem and the auxiliary tense are both perfect, and the former does not vary with the persons.

In galos, galo, &c., the verb root (probably galo) 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, bilòs, &c., the initial vowel of the auxiliary has itself suffered alteration from the pressure of the verb-root before it.

In the root as (of àsilos "I was"), and the root bi or be (of bilos? bialòs, "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 ds, -d, -d.

If again we subdivide the auxiliary tense alòs, &c., into its root al and its terminations -òs, -o, -o, 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.	Terr	nn.	Present Tense.	Pr. Fut. Tense.	Cerr	nn. Pr	resent Tense.
bozum	òs		bòzumus.	bòẓon	ès		bòzonàs.
bozé	0		bozao (ñ).	bòẓàt	et		bòzàt.
bozéi	0	•••	bozéu (ñ).	bòẓen	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 -za (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 -sa as in the Dàh-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 = kutino "to strike" and "in order to strike." = kutiokuni "in striking."

Imperative: kuté "strike."

3. ro-sa kutiono haoñ

Verbal Adjectives: kutiensto "striking," kutéta and kutetato "having struck."

#### Present.

		Masc.	Fem.	English.
S.	1.	moñ-sa kutémus	moñ-sa kutémis	I am striking
	2.	tu-sa kutàoñ	tu-sa kutàñ (?)	thou art striking
	3.	ro-sa kuténo or kutéuñ	ré-sa kuténi	he, she is striking
$\mathbf{Pl}$ .	1.	bé-sa kutónàs	bé-sa kutònàs	we are striking
	2.	tso-sa kutiàt	tsà-sa kutiàt	ye are striking
	3.	ré-sa kuténa (or kuty-	rà-sa kutéiñ (?)	they are striking
		òna.		-
			Present Future.	
S.	1.	moñ-sa kutem	•••••	I strike or shall strike
	2.	tu-sa kutez or kuté	•••••	thou strikest or wilt strike
	3.	ro-sa kutéï	ré-sa kutîi	he, she strikes or will strike
Pl.	1.	be-sa kutòn	•••••	we strike or shall strike
	<b>2</b> .	tso-sa kutiàt	•••••	ye strike or will strike
	3.	ré-sa kuten	rà-sa kuteni	they strike or will strike
		$\mathbf{c}$	ompound Future.	
S.	1.	moñ-sa kutiòno hans	moñ-sa kutiòno	hànis I am to strike
	2.	tu-sa kutidno haoñ	tu-sa kutidno hà	ni thou art to strike

ré-sa kutiòno hàni

he, she is to strike

Pl. 1. bé-sa kutiàno hànis	bé-sa kutiòno haiñs	we are to strike
2. tso-sa kutiòno hànet	tsà-sa kutiòno haiñt	ye are to strike
3. ré-sa kutiòno hàñ	re-sa kutiòno hànié	they are to strike
	Imperfect.	

8. 1.	moñ-sa kutemàlòs	moñ-sa kutemàlîs	I was striking
2.	tu-sa kutàlo (kutàlòr)	tu-sa kutàlé	thou wast striking
3.	ro-sa kutélo	ré-sa kutélié	he, she was striking
Pl. 1	. bé-sa kutonàlés	bé-sa kutonàlyis	we were striking
2	. tso-sa kutiàlet	tsa-sa kutiàliet	ye were striking
3.	ré-sa kutenalé	rà-sa kutenalié	they were striking

### Past.

S.	1.	mi kutàs (in some verbs -òs)	mi kutiès	I struck
	2.	tò kutà(-o)	to kuté	thou struckest
	3.	se-si kutàu(-o)	re-si kutî	he, she struck
Pl.	1.	asso-za kutiès	asso-za kutiéës	we struck
	2.	tso-za kutiét	tsa-za kutièti	ye struck
	3.	reno-za kutié	rano-za kutieë	they struck

### Perfect and Pluperfect.

S.	1.	mi kutàlòs	mi kutàlis	I have or had struck
	2.	tò kutalo (kuté-àsilòr)	tò kutàli	thou hast or hadst struck
	8.	se-si kutàlo	re-si kutàli	he, she has or had struck
Pl.	1.	asso-zo kutiàlis	asso-za kutiàlyis (?)	we have or had struck
	2.	tso-za kutiàlet	tso-za kutiàliet (?)	ye have or had struck
	3.	reno-za kutiàlé	rano-za kutiàli	they have or had struck

#### CONDITIONAL.

Pres	ent.	Pa	st.	
S. 1. moñ-sa kuteto	if I strike	moñ-sa kutàlòzto	if I have or had	
			struck	
2. tu-sa kuteto	if thou strikest	tu-sa kutàlòto	if thou hast or	
			hadst struck	
8. ro-sa kutéito	if he strike	ro-sa kutilto	if he has or had struck	
Pl. 1. bé-sa kutunto	if we strike	bé-sa kutàlezto	if we have or had struck	
2. tso-sa kutiàtto	if ye strike	tso-sa kutàletto	if ye have or had struck	
3. re-sa kutento	if they strike	ré-sa kutilto	if they have or had struck	

mangàu

zek

### TRANSLATION OF STORIES FROM FORBES'

### PERSIAN GRAMMAR.

- 1.\* Ek-i kózálo Afratun-re: "Là bariri nawi-za (? ra) one (Instr.) had-asked Plato (Loc.) many years ship in (Loc.)
- 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.
- sara-zo kàtòs chupe-re, àiñ mi pàshàs 'ajàib. sea from came-out shore to this I (Instr.) saw wonderful.

paqîrek gàu grestok-o dàrr-ré di

- beggar went farmer's door to (?) something demanded nüsh. jawàb kàti: Gòr-ré chéï Inside from answer came-out (f.): House (Loc.) woman is not. Beggar (Instr.) tiki tòrik mangàlòs chéï ràiàu: mi mi né mangas. said: I (Instr.) bread piece had-demanded I (Instr.) (the) woman not demanded, moñ-re à iawab ladòs.+ 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 bòzalo. Zàko-za kozié: Ani-séi zok sabab hàni? having-wrapped used-to-go. People (Instr.) asked: this of what reason is (f.)? Hakîm-i ràjau: 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 bwaro krum lado. Ek dostek (mubarak)
    bubarek
    a man to big work (office) arrived. A friend congratulation
- t'hiòno àlo. Sé-si kòzàu: Tu koi bilo, ki àlo? So dòst in-order-to-make came. That (one) asked: Thou who art, why camest? His friend
- The numbers are those of the stories in the order given in Forbes' Persian Grammar.
- † 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 ought to be mon-re d jawab lado or mon d jawab ——

  me to this answer reached (3rd pers.)

  I this answer received (1st pers.)

sharmanda bilo, ràjàu: Tu-sa moñ suzân t'hé nüsh dà.
ashamed has-become, said: Thou (2nd nom.) me recognition makest is not ?

Moñ to purono dòst bilòs, moñ to mutro ròno àlòs; moñ parudòs
I thy old friend am I thy presence to weep came; I heard
tu shèiloñ t'hé.
thou blind makest (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-Hans.	Dràs.
man	műsh	manuzo
father	bò	bàbo
mother	λï	azé (cf. Gaddi Hindi ijjî)
son.	bi <b>ū</b>	push
daughter	moléï	dîh
girl	*******	molaï
child	sinà	balé
elder brother	bàyo	kàko
younger brother	rza	<b>z</b> à
wife or woman	tchig <b>à</b>	chéï
grandson	potro	potro
heart	hö	hio
stomach	krütpa (Tib.)	dér
head	shish	shîsh
eye	atchi	àché (K. ach)
ear	kàni	kon
<b>nose</b>	nutò	noto
tooth	dàni	doni
beard	rmaghrà	d <b>à</b> ï
breast	krö	kroö
waist	doko	dakhri
hand	hàth	hàt
foot	küti	pé
lower leg	kank <b>an</b>	kiñ (pl. kiñyi)
knee	kutò	kuto
thigh	patàli	patàlò

H

English.	Dàh-Hanu.	Dràs.
bone	àti	àti
hair	<b>ş</b> âkur	<b>zàk</b> u
mouth	uzi	Azi (K. ds)
lip	öti	azino = upper karino = lower
tongue	gip	<b>zî</b> p
chin	******	mulsuti <i>or</i> chamukhi
finger	güli	añguyé
name	ndñ	nòm
grass	ghàs	kash
road	pùn	pon
apricot	<b>z</b> ü	żnża
leaf	pani	paté
birch (tree)	rüsh (züsh)	<b>ž</b> oži
wheat	güm	gùm
barley	${f ghono}$	уд
field	*******	trèsh
cultivator	•••••	grestok;* grest (gròst Kashmir)
flower	pusho	pushi
COW	gô	gào
crow	qù	korkus
horse	$\mathbf{\hat{a}}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{s}\mathbf{h}$	åshp
dog	shüà	shuñ (Kashm. <i>hùn</i> )
cat	bülù	pushu
ram	churdi	karà
ewe	èï	esh
he-goat	mingyar	mugir ·
she-goat	à	àï
bull	gôlo	dòno
calf	bitok	batsar (watsir, K.)
lamb	run	urun (urnu, G. H.)
kid	ch <b>al</b>	chàl (chélu, G. H.)
cattle	gölé	dòni (dand, G. H.)
male	p'hòg (Tib.)	bîro
female	mòg (Tib.)	sonti
milk	düt	dud
cream	üsprîs	shamal
wool	pash	pash
bear	-	ish
frog	chüstrák	manòk

<sup>•</sup> ok or ek seems to be a termination and not a part of the word. Cf. dostek for dost.

7711	DM Hama	<b>7</b> 0
English.	<i>Dàh-Hanu.</i> sür <del>i</del>	Dràs.
sun star	turi	sur tàré
earth (ground)	pà	sum
moon		yùn ( <i>zùn</i> K.)
mountain	gyün rüng	qaniya
pasture (alp)	nirda	shiaï
rock	churr	chir
ravine	bàrr	shung
river	sin	sin
water-course, canal	gyàp	yàp
rain	charchü	mèg
8DOW	åŗu	hin (K. shin), azo (rain or snow)
avalanche		hinàl
ice	gañs (Tib.)	sòr
water	üà	wéī
year	sar	barir
month	muñs	moñs (màns K.)
day	dis	chag
spring (season)	bazun	bàzòno
summer	ulo	uwàlo
autumn	sharò	shàré
winter	yuno	yòno
to-day	<b>à</b> sh	àsh
yesterday	run	·
to-morrow	rutti	
the day before yes-	dòg-dis	•
terday		
night	ràt	rati
work	krüm	krum
bread	manili	tiki
village	bön	
house	gòt	ã <b>ợt</b>
the town of Dras	Hembabs (Tib.)	Hunmas
door	dàrr	darr
bow	ahà	dàhnu
artow	qùn	qòn (K. kàn)
iron	ching <b>àr</b>	chimir
smell	ghun	gon
big	bono	bwaro
little	80	chuno (chun Tib.)

English.	Dàh-Hanu.	Dràs.
old	*******	puròno*
new	nō	nào
wet	harîdho	azo
dry	shuko	shuko
black	kyono	kino
white	eno	abo
red	lodo	làlo
I	moñ ( <i>Gen</i> . miü)	moñ (Gen. mioñ, K. miòn)
₩e	bà or beng (obl. assü)	bé (obl. asso, K. as)
thou	tü	tù
ye	tsi (obl-tsü)	tso (K. tse)
this (masc.)	so (obl. té) (K. so)	nu (obl. nisé)
this (fem.)	88.	ni
these (m.)	té (obl. ten)	ni (obl. nino)
that (m.)	p'ho	ro ( <i>obl.</i> sé)
that (f.)	p'ha	ré (obl. résé)
those (m.)	<b>p'hé (<i>obl</i>. p'hé</b> ün)	ré or però (obl. reno)
those (f.)	•••••	rà (obl. rano)
who (relve.)	******	kési
who?	ko	kóï
what?	<b>y</b> é	<b>z</b> ok
beyond	beski	pàri
this side of	azü	wari
towards	suri, lokhshyé	wari
there yonder	pàri	pe <b>rà</b>
$\mathbf{with}$	süma <i>or</i> tsi-süma	séï-n <b>àlà</b>
thus	hang	
first (adv.)	yar	meza
there	potsi	
there is	là, (pl. làn) or bet	
much m.	••••••	lào
or {		
many ) f.	******	lài
very	••••••	là
I do	chü <i>or</i> tü	t'hiòno (to do)
I did	tet	t'hàs

<sup>•</sup> Pronounced also prono and pran; as in Pran-Dras, a village near Dras, called by Englishmen Panards, and sometimes wrongly derived from Payin "low." The name given by Moorcroft for the Dras lucerne grass, viz. prangos, is perhaps merely prankash "old grass," i. s. "hay;" as lucerne forms the winter fodder of the cattle in the state of hay.

	•	
English.	$m{D}$ àh- $m{H}$ anu.	Dràs.
strike	kuté	kuté (Inf. kutiòno and diòno)
died	mű	muñ ( <i>Inf</i> . miriòno)
broke	pitit	potàu
hear	qun-té (imp.)	paruzòno ( <i>Inf</i> .)
write	zbri-té (imp.)	likiòno ( <i>Inf</i> .)
drink	pi (imp.)	piòno ( <i>Inf.</i> )
eat	*******	ké (imp.) (K. khe.)
sleep (imp.)	δò	sò, (Inf. sòno)
sleep (subs.)	nish	nîsh
lick	li	
weave	bo (imp.)	wiono (Inf.)
cultivate, plough	bahé (imp.)	bàhn thiòno (Inf.)
give	dé	dé (Inf. diòno)
800	<b>zi</b>	pashé
look	skyé	trakié
towards	lokh-skyé	
downwards	ka-skye) $ko = down$	<b>).</b>
•	Astori)	
upwards	huñ-skyé (hùnn =	
•	above. Astori)	
lost	nut	noto
come (imp.)	y6	é (wolo K.)
came	ùlla =+ (	àlo
rise	öté	uté
dig	akü	okoé
I speak	razuñs ek	ràzem
one	dü	ek du
two three	trà	
four	chorr	tré chàr
five	puñsh	poñsh
aix nve	sha punsn	ponsn sh <b>à</b>
seven	sat sat	sàt
eight		àrt
nine	art nü	nàu
ten	dàsh	dàïs
eleven	kudish	akàï
twelve	budish	akai buài
thirteen	tröbish	
fourteen	chudish	tròñi (tro'i) chodéï
TAILINGETT	oundien	CHOREL

English.	Dàh-Hanu.	Dràs.
fifteen	pàndish	pazileñ
sixteeen	shöbish	shoñi (sho'i)
seventeen	satuñsh	satàï
eighteen	artuñsh	artàï
nineteen	künjà (? <i>for</i> ek-ün- bizà 20-1	kuni (? for ek-un-bi) (20-1)*
twenty	bi <b>zà</b>	bî
twenty-one	biza-ek	bî-ek
thirty	bizé-dàsh $(20+10)$	tŗi
forty	du-buzu ( $2 \times 20$ )	dü-bio (2×20)
fifty	$\begin{array}{c} \text{du-buzu-dash } (2 \times 20 \\ +10) \end{array}$	dübio ga dài (2×20+10)
sixty	tra-buzu $(3 \times 20)$	tré-bio (3×20)
seventy	tra-buzu-dàsh	tré-bio ga dàï
eighty	chàr-buzu	chàr-bio
ninety	chàr-buzu-dàsh	chàr-bio ga dàï
hundred	sho	shàl

# On Representations of Foreigners in the Ajantá Frescoes.—By Rájendralála Mitra, LL. D., C.I.E.

(With 4 plates.)

The Ajantá Pass first came to the notice of Europeans during the great battle of Asáyi, which broke down the Marhattá 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.† 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.‡ It is graphic and en-

These seem to retain a trace (k for sk) of the deducted unit itself, which Sanskrit
had lost (cf. únavinsati), but of which Pali seems to show the original presence,
(ekúnavisati).

<sup>+</sup> Transactions Rl. As. Soc., I, p. 557.

<sup>1</sup> 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. † 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 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 was expected 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 sculptures, and several drawings." In reporting on these Mr. Griffiths says:

• Vol. III, pp. 71ff.

† 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 curves 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 Ajantâ 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, elephant-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."† "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

• Indian Antiquary, III. 26.

† 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."+

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.";

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.

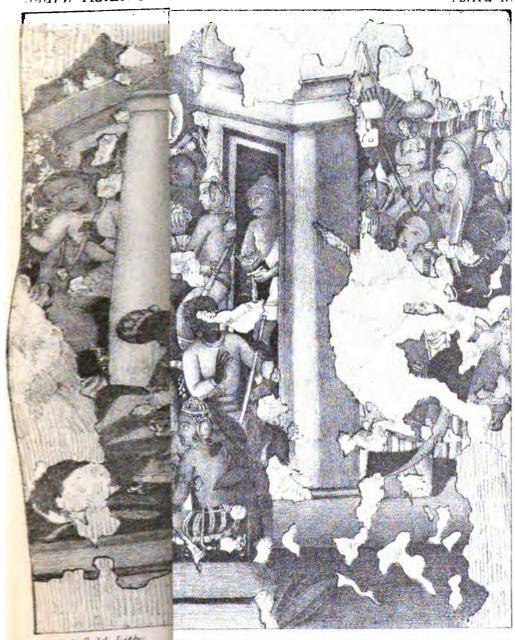
<sup>•</sup> Loc. cit., p. 27. † Ibid., p. 27. ‡ Ibid., p. 28.

A large number of the photographs 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 foreigners 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 one 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. Yes; 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 portraits—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 these 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.

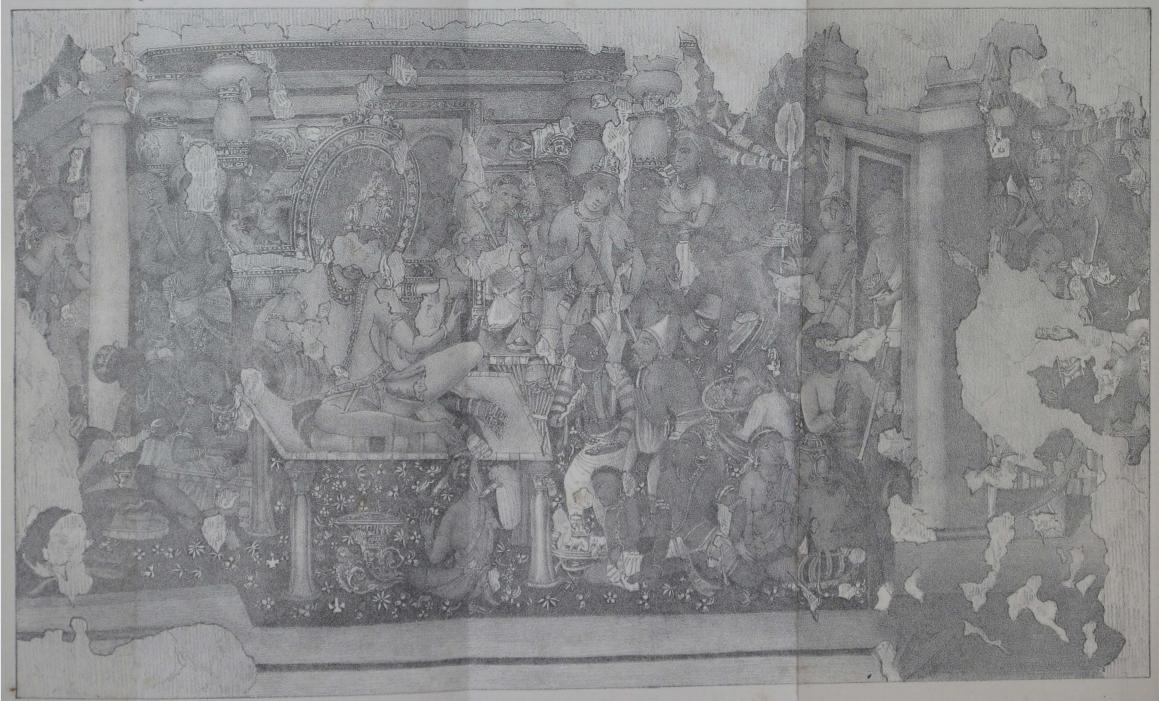
The first picture I have to notice is a court-scene on the south side of the cave No. I. In Messrs. Ralph and Grisley's paper it is thus described: "Here is a fair man of full age, dressed in a robe and cap, like some monk or abbot. Here is, next to him, a half-naked Brahman, copper-coloured, with shaven crown, and the single lock on his head. Here is a man presenting him with a scroll on which something is written. He is in a crowded court,—he has come to an audience." In the original this picture measures 15' × 6'-6". (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, having behind \* Ante, Vol. V, p. 558.





5. Sedgfield Lith

JANTÁ).



S. Sedgfield Lith

A PERSIAN EMBASSY 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 Bráhmanical 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 The third has a Persian helmet, 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 Sanskrit 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.



A BACTRIAN DOMESTIC SCENE FROM AJANTÁ.



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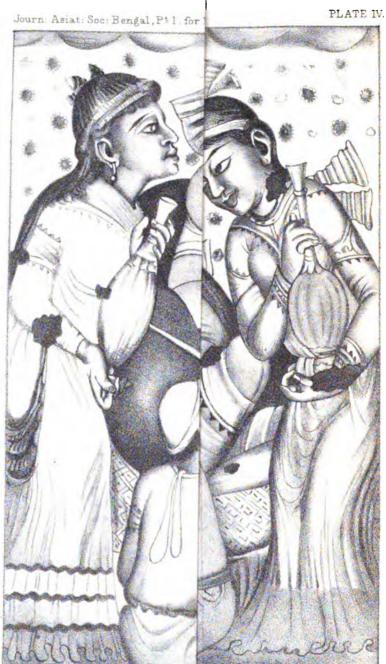




FIG:1 BACTRIAN



FIG: 2. INDIAN.

show them to be of large size, about 30 × 28 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 Qilpaq 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 iar 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 It is difficult, however, to determine what nationality they had The features, the cap and the turban of the principal figure, are in view. 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 Vindhyaşakti's country is mentioned in the Seoni copperplate; but the chief himself is not named there. Dr. Bhau Dáji identifies this Vindhyaşakti with a chief of the Kailakila Yavanas who, according to the Vishnu 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 Vindhyaşakti 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

\* Journal, Bombay As. Soc., VII, p. 65.



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 Vindhyaşakti. 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 Qilpaq 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.

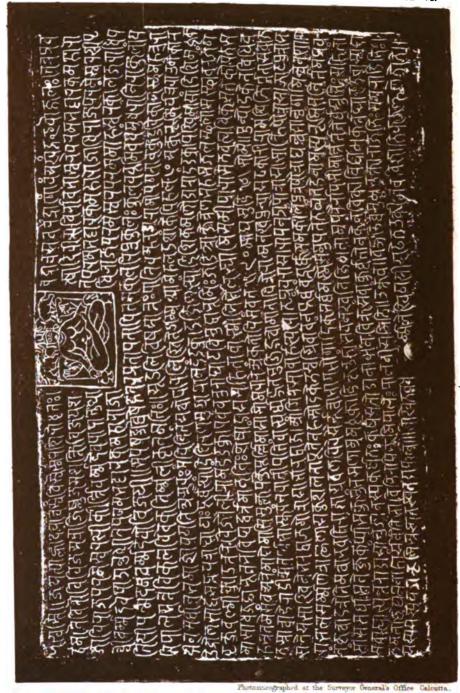


by no means such as to justify the assumption that they had been designed from foreign models. In the very affecting picture of the death of a lady of rank in Cave No. XVI, the bodices shown on some of the maid-servants engaged in grinding corn in hand-mills, are quite unlike the jackets of the Bactrian 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 mirzái 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 mirzái 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 The late Dr. Wilson of Bombay took them of the Ajantá Caves. 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.

\* Journal, Bombay As. Soc., III, p. 73.



A COPPER PLATE GRANT FROM BANDAH.

## A Copper-plate Grant from Bandá.—By RAJENDRALÁLA 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 Augasi of the Banda district. The plate measures 161 inches by 101, and is in an excellent state of preservation. (See plate VI.) It is a hammered one; very rough on the outer face, but moderately smooth 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, one of which is missing. If a second plate did once exist, it was intended only as a cover 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 Rájalakshmí with two elephants standing on expanded lotuses, and pouring water on her head. The writing is of the Kutila 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 Ramuradá, which is situated in the circle of Sudáli, to a Bráhmana named Gabhanta S'arman, the son of Játa, the grandson of Sátti, and great-grandson of Vapana, a member of the Vájasaneyi school of the Bháradvája gotra, having the threefold Pravara of Bharadvája, Angirasa, 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 Magha, 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 Kirtivarma 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'

<sup>•</sup> Vol. XII, pp. 359 et seq.

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 Rájgarh, 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.† 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 Lieutenant 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. Dhanga 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 Chandrartreya race A. D.,	<b>746</b>	771
II.	Vágyati or Vákpati, son of I,	771	<b>798</b>
III.	Víyaya, son of II,	898	823
IV.	Váhila or Ráhila, son of III,	823	848

<sup>•</sup> Journal, As. Soc., VIII, p. 169. † Ibid., XXXII, pp. 273f.

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

### Translation of an inscription 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, In that noble and flourishing dynasty, rendered resplendent by heroes like Jayasakti 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 Rámuradá within the district of Sudáli:-"Be it known unto you that, on Monday, on the day of the full moon, in the month of Magha, of the Samvat year eleven hundred and ninety (in figures 15th Sudi, Magh, 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 kuśa 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 Bráhmana Gabhanta Sarmá, son of Játa, grandson of Sátti, great-grandson of Bápan, of the Vájasaneya branch (Sákhá) of the Bharadvája gotra having Bharadvája, Angirasa and Várhaspatya 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 drongs 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 Bijauli: 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. 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 Augasi, Banda.

- ९। खिला। जयत्याङादयन्वित्रं विश्वेश्वरिप्रदेशितः। चन्द्रान्वयनरेन्द्रात्यां वंग्र-खन्द्र इवेडिज्वलः ॥ तत्र प्रव-
- २। र्ज्जमाने विद्योभि विजयमाजियाजयप्रसिविजयप्रस्थादिवीराविभीवभास्तरे परमभट्टारकमहारा-
- श्वाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकीिर्त्तवर्मादेवपादानुष्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि-राजपरमेश्वरश्रीए-
- श्वीवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमङ्खाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाङ्चि
   रकालञ्चराधिप-
- प् । तित्रीयुत्मदन ‡ वर्म्मदेवे। विजयो ॥ स एव दुर्व्धिष्ठतरप्रतापतापितसकल-रिपुकुकः कुलवधूमिव वसुन्धरां निराकुकां य-
  - · Probably Joari, Sorghaim joar.
  - † विश्वावि in the original.
- ‡ त्रीपतादन in the original. The q is obviously an incorrect writing for u and the u त should be vocalised.

1878.7

- रिपालयज्ञविकालविवेकिनिर्मालीक्वतमितः ॥ स्डिलिविषयान्तःपातिरमूरङा-यामोपगतान् कुटिनिकायस्यमञ्चलरा-
- ७। दीन् सर्वान् समाज्ञापयति खलु वः संविदितं यथोपरि लिखितेऽस्मिन् ग्रामे इलद्शाद्वेपि इल १०मत्कभूमिर्यत्र, वाउमेकार-
- र। दे(?) द्रोबसार्जसप्त यत्राघाटाः पूर्वस्यां दिश्चि रबसुबारामदख्कु । दिच-बस्यां दिश्चि कमाग्रेदायादख्कु । पश्चिमायां दिश्चि मधुक-
- श्चावख्यीका । उत्तरे विजीजीयामदखकु एवं चतुराघाटविश्रदा भूमिः जिल्ह्याचेत्रेब सङ् सजनस्थला सस्यावरजङ्ग-
- १०। मा साधमर्बभूतभविष्यदर्शमाननिःश्रेषादायसहिता चास्माभिभेषसामिस-मीपावासे नवत्यधिकश्रतेकापेतस-
- ११। इसतमे संवत्वरे माघे मासि शुक्कपचे पूर्विमायां सामवारे चाइतीपि संवत् ११८० माघसुदि १५ सोमे॥ पुर्खादकेन विधिव-
- १२। त् साला देवादीम् सन्तर्धः भारतारं भवानीपति चाभ्यर्ध जतसुजि जला मातापित्रोरात्ममस्य पुर्णाय ज्वारीयामविनिर्गताय वाज-
- १३। सनेयशाखिने भरदाजगोत्राय। भरदाज। चाक्तिरस। वार्षस्यत्य। द्र-प्रवराय। वायनप्रयोत्राय। सानियौत्राय। जाटपुत्राय।
- १८। गभनाधर्माबे त्रासाबाय कुण्यकतापूर्तेन एकोदकेन खिलावाचनपूर्वे चन्द्रार्क-समकातं पुत्रपौत्राद्यन्वयानुगामित्वेन सम-
- १५। जं छता दत्ति मला भवद्भिराचाश्रवनिविधे भूला भागभागादिकं सर्व-मसी ससुपनेत्र तदेवासुख भूमि सनिर्भमपत-
- १६। यां सस्वेतिने जुकार्ष्णासंकुसम्भण्णाध्यमधूकादिभृत्वां जवन(ग)खिनिधा-नामपरेरिप सीमान्तर्रातेर्वेकुभिः सिवतां
- १७। सवाज्ञाभ्यन्तराजायां भुझानस्य कर्षतः कर्षयते। दानाधमनविक्रयं वा कुर्व्वती न क्षेनिचत् काचिदाधा कर्त्तव्या उत चासमदा-
- १८। नमनाच्छेयमनाचार्यचेति भाविभिरपि भृतिपाषेः पाषनीयमिति ॥ उक्तच ॥ बङ्गभिर्वस्रधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः।
- ९८। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिक्तस्य तस्य तदा फर्जं ॥ विखितस्य धर्मानेखिना श्रोस्र-देन उत्कीर्वस्य विज्ञातिकाजस्यनेनेति ॥

Recent Trans-Frontier Explorations, communicated by Col. J. T. Walker, C. B., R. E., Surveyor-General of India.

#### (With a Map.)

During the year 1876, the Mullá, 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 to the 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 Nanga-Parbat, the well-known mountain whose height, 26,620 feet, is only exceeded by a very few of the great peaks of the Himálayas. 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 possesses 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.

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<sup>•</sup> Several itineraries which were obtained from native information are published in Dr. Leitner's Dardistán, and they have been combined together, with considerable ingenuity and very tolerable success, by Mr. Ravenstein, in a map published in the Geographical Magazine for August, 1875.





This work done, he proceeded, in accordance with his instructions, to Yásín, marching through the Gilghit Valley, but not surveying it, because the labours of the lamented Hayward, who was murdered at Yasin, already furnished us with a good map of that region. From Yasin 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 Yasin 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 Mullá struck on to his survey of the route from Jalálábád, vid 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 Yásín.

Returning to Sar Laspur, the Mullá 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 Chitrál, 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 Panjkorá, 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 Nawágái, he surveyed the road from there down to the British fort of Abazai.

Thus the explorations of the Mullá have added much to our know-ledge 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 Mullá'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 Inscriptions found in the Hamírpúr District, N. W. P.—By V. A. SMITH, B.A., B.C.S. With a Note by PRÁNNÁTH PANDIT, M.A., B.L.

In 1872, a peasant when ploughing in the lands of Mauza Nanyaurá, 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 Kírttí 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 Pála's reign and the accession of Kírttí 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 Bráhman. The donor is Rája Dhanga, and in accordance with the Khajuráho inscription, it is recorded that he was the son of Yaśo 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 kings.

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 Yaśodhara, 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 Gaharwár 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 Kurmí, and to be named after him.

Note.—Dhanga's name has been sometimes incorrectly written Banga, the mistake is evidently due to the similarity of the characters for  $b \in A$  and for  $dh \in A$  in Kutila writing.

# No. 1. NANYAUBÁ COPPER-PLATE. Nágarí Transcript.

ॐ सन्ति। परमभद्दारकमणाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरत्रीविद्याधरदेवपादानुभातपरम-भद्दारकमणाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरत्रीविजयपालदेवपादानुभातपरमभद्दारकमणाराजाधि-राजपरमेश्वरपरममाण्यप्रतीकार्शकराधिपतित्रीमदेववर्यद्दः कुमली (1)। प्रतापानल-कवित्रताणिखदिक्षकवालः। च्युपामाज्ञणनिष्ठतारातिविनितावैधयदानदीणामुदः। य सत्येन यधितिरं विजयते लाजेन चन्पाधिपं जासीयोंच सचे।द्धिं प्रमृतया देवं सचीवसमा। क्षेत्रापि मनोभवं पड़तया ग्रामं सवाचस्त्रति तसान्वैविश्वदेखुषामधवत्तैः वि कीतितैः स्माइकै: (2)॥ वृद्धिमान् धार्मिकः ग्रूरः चत्यवादी जितेन्द्रियः । क्रतका चळानानन्दळ(न)ना शासदर्शनः ॥ इत्यमनेकम्बमब्रमसंक्रतमरीरः । निःचारसन्दरतरास्रोककद्लीमर्भविधना-बारमंसारमाबस्य (3) सम्मत १९०० वैशासमाने प्रस्तपत्र हतीयायां नेामदिने सुरवास-समावाये राजपरावसायां रक्षमास्वसम्ब कठवेपामनिवासि मक्तमकनपदान् त्रास्त्रोतः त्तराम राजपुर्याच वेषयति (4)। चालीयमातुः राजीशीमुनमदेवाः साम्बसरीके। जले विधिवत्ताला देवमन्यपूर्णान् विद्वन् सद्भैतिसाद्केन समार्थ रवेरचे दला भनवन भवानीपति समस्य यवावत् अतम् जि जला च (5) । मातापिनीरातानच पृथायमोक्ति-इबरे (6)। उद्यारी भइपामिनिर्वताय (7) मारहास्रवायाय संवित्स वार्षसाय भार-हाज विप्रवराय यज्भेद्माचिने नाचाच चिनिमयने भहरकापनाय जयकर नपने वेद्वे-ब्गिपारमाथ पटकका भिरताय सुभी जाय पाने। यमसाभिः सञ्जलस्थालः (8) साममञ्जः (9) सबर्भावरपावादः (10) सब्देखवादकः (11) सकोदक्ववकाकरः (12) सवननिधावः (13) चतराबाढिवग्रदः(14) सवीमाद्यवपृतिवेशचरपर्य्यकः(15) पूर्वदत्तदेवहाञ्चव वर्ष्णितः(16) चाचनलेन प्रदत्तः। तङ्गविद्वराज्ञानवक्षिकेदैर्भूता (17) चमल्यमानभानकर्ण्डरक द्वा-हायादिकम्चितान्चितं(18) १ स्त्रापनेतयं । चचन्द्रः के चित्युद्धि यावत् सपुनेपी वसनत्या भनक्त भोजेन वा प्रयन्ति चन्यस वा ददात विक्रीचात छपत छपापयत वा न कैरपि-भाविभाक्त्रभिः परिपन्त्रिभभवितयं (19) । वक्तभि वंद्यभा भुक्ता राज्यभिः स्वराहिभिः । यस्य वसा वदा भूमिसास तसा तदा फस्नम्॥ (20) भूमि वः प्रतिस्टकाति वस भूसि प्रयक्ति। उसी ते। प्रवक्षांकी नियतं सर्वगामिनै। (21) प्रसं भद्रासनं क्यं बराखाः बरवादनाः। भूमिदानस्य चिन्हानि फर्सं सर्गः पुरन्दर ॥ (22) सदत्तां परदत्तां वा ये। चरेत वसुन्थरां। च विद्वायां क्रांस भूना पित्रांसः सच सक्तति ॥ (23) सर्वसेवं वासेवां भूमेरप्रेकमंग् लम्। परश्ररकमायाति यावदाभूतसंग्रवम् ॥ (24) मंत्रसंग्राचीः

चीमहेवचनादेवः ।

#### Translation.

Om Svasti. The supreme master, Mahárája Adhirája, the supreme lord Srí Vidyádhara Deva, whose feet were adored by the supreme master Mahárája Adhirája, supreme lord, Srí Vijaya Pála Deva, whose feet were adored by the supreme master, Maháraja Adhirája, supreme lord, the devout follower of Mahesvara, the lord of Kálinjara, Srí Deva Varmma Deva ——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 Yudhisthira; by munificence, the lord of Champá i. e., Karna; by depth, the great ocean; by sovereignty, the god beloved

of Sachi, i. e., Indra; by beauty too, over Manobhava; by eloquence, over Sukra with Váchaspati; 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 quali-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 Baisákha, Samvat 1107 — — — — — - (25) in Rájapurávastá, informs the principal inhabitants, of whom Bráhmans are the foremost, of the village Kathadau attached to Ranamaulla, and all Royal officers. On the anniversary of the death of my mother, Sri Bhuvana Devi, Queen, having bathed in water according to sacred precept, having satisted the Manes of ancestors with kusa, sesamum and water, after satisfying gods and men, having presented an Arghya to the Sun, having duly worshipped the god, the lord of Bhavání, 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 Abhimanyu, son of Bhatta Ellá, grandson of Jayavara, originally an inhabitant of Takarí Bhatta Gráma; a member of the Bháradwája 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 conveyed) all the rents in kind, taxes, 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. NANYAURÁ COPPER-PLATE. Nágarí Transliteration.

कों सिंखा वासीत्कस्पतदः [कस्ती] प्रकथिनासानन्दकन्दः सतां सिवाकां नयना-स्तम्परवल्यात्यनाकेतुःपरः । वेतुः वद्भरवारिधेर्धमयतसेक्वाकाच्डामिकः त्रीत्रक्षेद्रमृते-कोंचीयसि क्रमे बीचपेंदेवे।च्यः ॥ प्रचल्डमण्डमायस्य करकान्तमचीस्तः। निदायमा-अरुकोर प्रतापा यस्य दस्मनः॥ अरितिमिरनिकरम्लुभिद्रिकरिकर्यन्त्रभेदनकुठारः तच्चीलतालयातस्वत्राकातीयशावर्षा॥ यस्रेन्द्कुन्दश्रुभेष यश्रमा भवसीक्रताः। कुलाचस्र-मुद्धाः सेवा जाताः किञ्चरयापिताम् ॥ तस्य त्रीधन्नदेवे।भूत्युनः पात्रं ज्ञयत्रियः। असंख्य-एंख्रविद्यातः खद्वधारापराक्रमः ॥ चित्रं यदरिनारीलां इदये विरदानलः । चजव-मञ्पानीयिधित्रमानोपि वर्दते॥ भन्नोनःप्रिकालकेष् सुरमजीवासु कव्यपदः काठिन्धं क्रचया भेवाः क्रटिसता चन्द्रे कसङ्कास्तिः। स्त्रितं कविवाचि कौरववने मिनेद्य हेविता यश्चित्रेकमचीपते। कदलिकाकाण्डेम् निस्तारता॥ परमभटः रकमचाराजाधि-राजपरने सरत्री त्री वर्ष देवपादा मुखात परम में हारक मचारा जा विराजपर में सरत्री योगावर्षी-देवपादामधातपरमभद्वारकम्बाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकासंजराधिपतिश्रीधंगदेवः । ए-म्बल्यरपुर्वे प्रमुप्याग्रद्धिके कार्त्तिकपार्थां रविदिने वर्व सम्बत १०४५ कार्त्तिक-सहि १५ रवी चरेवान(?)काणिकायां मैं चिकेययच्यासप्रवेशीक्रतमख्खे । रोचिकीचट-यामध्यक्ये परिवक्षाच्यमे । भारदावासमानाय निप्रवराय भारदावा चांतिरस वार्षसात्य बाजसनेयशासिने तर्कायिकाविनिर्मातसूर्यासरायामाभिजनाय सङ्गीयशासराय सङ् कयकुमारस्ताय जनरवाचप्रतिवदं च गक्त्यालं चिमलोग्नत सावमधूकं ससारीवरप्रव्यातः चतुःशीमापर्थानां। चन्नीनामधेयमामम्। दृद्ये पृष्णयमशोकातापित्रे।रचातानः। यामप्रास्य चरितः स ददी धर्मावतासः। दलादिदेश तनत्यान जनाञ्चनपद्प्रियः। भागभागिदर-खादिप्रदानैः सुखनास्त्रताम् । चौ तथा स्मृतिकारैः । वक्रमि वसुधा मुक्ता राजिभः समरादिकिः। यस्य यस्य बदा मुसिखास तस्य तदा फलम्। भूमि यः प्रतिग्रहाति यस भूमिं प्रयक्ति । अभी ते। पुराकको है। नियती सर्गगमिनी ॥ गामेका सुवर्धमेकं भूमेरप्रेकमङ्ख्यम् । चरत्ररकमार्याति यावदाभूतमंग्रदम् ॥ ददं त्रीधद्वदेवस्य ग्रापनं श्रीसुनार्व्यात । प्रतापतापितारातिचन्नस्य क्रसवर्णिनः ॥ त्रीधंग।

Translation of the Inscription of the Nanyaurá Copper-plate, No. 2.

Om. It is well. Srí Harsha Deva, the king, of the great family of Srí Brahmendra Muni, was [as] the kalpa vriksha the root of joy to well-wishers, the water of immortality for the eyes of good friends, a very ketu 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)

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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 [Nymphæa 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 Rohini, 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 Bháradwája gotra, and the threefold pravara of Bháradwája, Angirasa and Várhaspatya, belonging to the Vajasaneya sákhá, to him originally an inhabitant of Turkáyiká residing in the village of Durbáhara, named Rudra Srí Yasodhara, 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 Sasaroshara-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 Srí 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 Bábu Prannáth 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 Asiatic Researches, Vol. XII, and the Ujjayini 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.

- (1.) Compare स च परसमहारकमही म ऋषिराजपरसे सर जीवासदेवपादानु-धात, &c. in J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, pp. 491, 492. Also स च परसमहारकसचा (राजा)? धिराजपरसमाचे सरिवजम्जोपार्जित त्रीका खडुकाधिपत्य त्रोचन्द्रदेवपादानुधात &c. in J. A. S. B., Vol. X, pp. 99, 100.
- (2.) Compare the partly decyphered sloka तेजाभिरसकरः कदस्या श्रीदादिनः in the 9th line of the *Dhavala* Inscription, J. A. S. B., Vol. X, p. 820.
- (3.) Compare तेनेदं विशुवधन्नान्नाका शासतं। J. A. S. B., Vol. VIII, p. 297. The sloka पंपारकासारतां हड्डा तथा हि। वाताविधनमिदं, &c. in J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 379.
- (4.) Compare समस्राजपुरवान् त्राह्मशेतरान् प्रतिनिवासिपद्वस्ख्यनपदा-दीं स्व वोधयति । J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 379. राष्ट्रपति विषयपति पासकूसाधिका-रिकस्थतरादीन् समनुवेधयति । 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. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100.
- (5.) Compare साला भगवनं भवानीपितसम्बर्ण। J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 879. नर्भेदायां विधिवत् साला जीनन्यसदेवं समस्यर्थ। J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492. निम्हारास्त्रां जन्नायां साला विधिवन्यन्यदेवमुनिमनुज्ययुत्तिप्रस्त्रम्यां स्विप्रेयन्य विधिवन्यन्यदेवमुनिमनुज्ययुत्तिप्रस्त्रम्यां विधिवन्यन्य प्रदेशियन्य प्रद

- (6.) Compare मातापियाराकामच पुचायशेषिष्टवरे। J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 379. चाकाना घर्यायुर्वस्विकरियार्थिवटवरे र्वामृत दितार्थमाकान्यदार। J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 729. मातापियाराकानच पुचायशेषिटवरे । J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492. मातापियाराकानच पुचायशेषिटवरे। J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100.
- (7.) The phrase मुझाबद्यसाविकिताय 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 वोबसभीविकित to the donee's name in the copper-plate grant of Karka II (Ṣaka 784) J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 297. The etymological signification of the word विकित 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 translated into "mango trees and honey" (p. 486). Compare समस्वास्त्राविद्य- 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). सम्ब signifies the tree Bassia latifolia, and is never so far as I am aware used as a synonym for सम, honey.
- (10.) Compare समतीबर seemingly a mistake for समतीबर 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." जबर according to Wilson signifies saline soil. The phrase समतीबर: 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 বন্ধবদাৰে: in J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492. বন্ধাৰত: in J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100.
- (13) Compare सनिधिः से।पनिधिः in Pravara Sena's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p 729. सननपर्वतः in Ajaya Siñha's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492; and सनिदित्तपनिधानः in Jayachandra's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100.
- (14.) Compare খনুবাৰাটেনা in the copper-plate grant of Karka II. J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 298. খনুবাৰাটেনিটা: in Ajaya Siñha's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492 and উল্লেখনুবাৰাটেনিটা: 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 খনু:ৰাজ্তিবিটাৰ. which synonymous expression also occurs in Arjuna's copper-plate grant, J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 879.
- (15.) Compare ভ্রামেশ্যার: in Ajaya Siñha's copper-plate grant. J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 492. ত্র্যাব্রিনাশ্যেশ্যাল: 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. Compare पूर्वप्रद्तादेवदायत्रकादायरचिता in J. A. S. B. Vol. VIII, p. 298. देवत्राद्याय-स्क्रियजेम् Vol. V, p. 379.

(17.) Compare আল্লাবিষ্ট্রীপুরা in J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 879. আল্লাবি-

धेबीभूब in J. A. S. B. Vol. X, p. 100.

(18.) Compare यथा दीयमानमामभागकरिएसादिकं. 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 यथादीयमानकरकर्पूर्यक्षप्रस्तिनियनानियनसम्भा 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 चाचन्द्रादित्यकासीयः &c. in J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 729. यचन्द्राका चैवसरित्यनेतसम्बासीनः &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. Vol. 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 धराचा is a mistake for बरामाः, 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:

## सद्ताम्परदत्तां वा ये। इरेत वसुअराम्।

मनां शतसद्वस्य दन्तुर्देरति दुष्कृतमिति ॥ J. A. S. B. Vol. V, p. 729.

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

## The Antiquities of Bagurá (Bogra).—By H. BEVERIDGE, 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 Bhímjangal, still runs alongside of the western bank, and the ancient mound and fortification of Mahásthán continues to overhang the sacred bathing-place at Síla-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 Karatoyá is still remarkable for the demarcation which it makes between two distinct kinds of soil. On the west, Bagurá 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 Karatoyá, however, all is sand and alluvium, and the rvots 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 Párvati.

I find also that there is the same tradition in Bagurá as in Maiman-singh 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 Karatoyá 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 leaving the country or taking merchandise abroad.

By the Hindus Bagurá is popularly identified with the country of king Virat, where the five Pándavas remained hidden for a year. Bagurá, they tell us, was the Dakshina Go-grih or southern cow-house (Scotticè byre) of king Virat, the northern one being in Ghorághát, 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. 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 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. 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 Parasuráma 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 Sultán, and probably it is this circumstance which has done most to perpetuate his fame. Muhammad Sháh Sultán 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 head of the ship which brought the fagir. 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 Parasurám was probably a bigoted tyrant, and Ismá'il of Rangpúr. 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 Sila Devi has its origin in a mispronunciation. The original name of the place is Siladwip, i. e., the mound of stones, 'dwip' 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 Deví's Ghát, only two old trees. The sacred part of the river extends over 2½ 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 gháts. 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 Mahásthán having been confirmed in 1666 by the Governor of Dháká. 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 Sultán Mahá-suwár's Astán. The word 'ástán' suggests to me the idea that Mahásthán may after all be a Muhammadan name meaning the Great Astán. 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-

# • مير سيد سلطان محمود ماهي سوار •

مقرر شد که متصدیان مهمات حال و استقبال و چودهریان و قانون گریان پرگنه سیلبرس سرکار بازوها بدانند چون بعرض رسید که بموجب فرمان والاشان و اسناد حکام سابق خادمی آستانهٔ مقدسهٔ سلطان العارفین حضرت . . . . و خارج جمع مستان گرد و زمین در پیج ندی مشموله پرگنه مذکور بسید محمد طاهر و سید عبد الرحمان و سید محمد رضا با فرزندان بلا مشارکت غیرے مقرر است می باید که مشار الیهم را خادم روضهٔ منوره دانسته مستان گرد و اراضی مسطور را بمومی الیهم وا گذارند که در ورثهٔ خودها رسیده نزر و نیاز آستانهٔ مقدسه و واصلات آنرا خرچ خانقالا واردان و صادران و صرف معشیت خودها نموده بدعاگرئی دوام دولت اشتفال میداشته باشند و درین باب قدغن دانند و تحریر بتاریخ ۷ شهر جمادی الاول سنه ۳۰ جلوس مطابق سنه ۲۰ و هجری قلمی شد فقط و

پادشا**ہ** عالمگیر غاز*ي* کوکلتاس مظفر جنگ بہادر 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 bighas apparently) was admitted to belong to the lakhirajdars. The dispute was only about 300 bighas of chur-land which had formed between Mahasthan 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. Sila Devi's Ghat 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 Mahasthan was made.

#### Translation.

It has been ordered that the Mutasaddis of all present and future matters of government, and the Chaudhurís, and Kánúngos of Pargana Sílbaris in Sirkár Bázúhá should bear in mind that, inasmuch as it has come to the knowledge of government that according to the farmans and sanads, granted by former rulers, the service of the sacred shrine of the king of saints, Hazrat ...... and income of Mastingarh 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 Sayvid Muhammad 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 themselves 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 Jumáda I, of the 30th year of the present reign, corresponding to the year of the Hijra 1096.

(Signed) Muzaffar Jang Bahádur, foster-brother (kokultásk) of 'Klamgir Pádsháhi-Ghází.

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 for Secondly, Muzaffar Husain Kokultásh (also called Fidáí Khán A'zam Kokah, kokah being the same as kokultásh) was governor of Bengal from the middle of 1088 H., [A. D. 1677] i. e., the 20th year of 'Klamgír, to the 9th (or 12th) Rabí' II, 1089 (i. e., the 21st year of 'Klamgír), when he died at Dhá-há.

But the 7th Jumáda I, 1096 [1685, A. D.] falls in the 28th year of 'Klamgír, whose 30th year commences with the 1st Ramazán 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 may be seen in sansds 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. Bardankútí 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-kund, or well of life, and the tradition is, that Parasurám for a long time got the better of Sháh Sultán, 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. 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 Bagurá, 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 Bagurá. It appears to have been an early settlement of the Gosáins, 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 jogí 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-párá, 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.

• 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 "Siñha; and the other to Chandra Gupta. Both have been figured in Thomas's Pringep. The princes belong to the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian era."

The three silver coins are—(1) a silver tankah of Shams-uddin Ilyas Shah of Bengal, as published by Thomas in his 'Initial Coinage of Bengal.'

- (2.) A silver tánkah, struck in 862 H., by Mahmud 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.) A silver tánkak by the same king, of coarse manufacture, similar to Nos. 2 and 3, of Pl. XI, loc. cit.

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#### ERRATA.

Page 114, 1. 40, for Plate XIII read Plate XVIII. " 117, 1, 30, for 13 118, 1. 16, ,, 13 18. ,, 118, 1. 31, ,, 14 19. ,, 118, 1. 40, ,, 15 20. " 118, 1. 41, " 13 18. .,, 130, 1. 9, ,, XIX " XXI. For 11 read 14 Plates.

One of my inchoate projects was the computation of a series of normal 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

# **JOURNAL**

OF THE

# ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.-HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.-1878.

Mathurá Notes.—By F. S. GROWSE, M. A. OXON., B. C. S. (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 few 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 into 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. Gosdin Hari Vans of Brindaban, 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 Swami 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 Das, 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 series, 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 Gosáins 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 Chaurási Pada, which is their great authority, and to illustrate their doctrine, translates a passage from the Brahma Vaivarta Purána, which is rather the standard of the Vallabhacháris, a different sect, who have their head quarters at Gokul.

The founder of the Rádhá Vallabhis was by name Hari Vans. father, Vyása, was a Gaur Bráhman 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, Gopinath, are still at Deva-ban. After settling his daughter in marriage he determined to abandon the world and lead the life of an With this resolution he set out alone on the road to Brindaban. and had reached Charthaval, near Hodal, when there met him a Brahman. 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 Nimbáraks, 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 Málá, which is as follows:

# ा मूच ॥

श्रीहरिवंधगुर्धारेभजनकी रीति सहत के जा जानि है। श्रीराधाचरणप्रधान हरें श्रीत सहत खपानी। कुंजके कि दंपति तहां की करत बवानी। सर्वसुमहाप्रसाद प्रसिधिता के श्रीधकारी। विधि निषेध नहि हास श्रमन्य खत्कठ न्रतधारी।। श्रीव्यासस्त्रम पथ श्रमुंबरें सार्रे भर्षे पहिचानि है। श्रीहरिवंसगुर्धारेभजनकी रीति सक्तत के जानि है।

Translation of the text of Nábha Ji.

"The Gosáin Sri Hari Vans: who can understand all at once his method of devotion? with whom the feet of blessed Rádhá 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 Vyása'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 Dás, the same sentiment is expanded and a reference made to the legend of the Bráhman and his two daughters.

# । रोका ।

श्रीज्की रीति काज सावनिमें एक जाने राधाई प्रधान माने पार्के कृष्ण धारये। निपट विकट भाव होत न सुभाव बैसौ उनदीकी क्यादृष्टि नैंजुिकहं पाईये। विधि चै। निषेध केंद्र डारे प्रानणारे हिंथें जियें निज दास निस दिन वहै गाईचे। सचढ चरित्र सव रसिक विचित्र नीकें जानत प्रसिद्ध कहा कि की सुनाईये॥ चाये पह त्यांगि राग वन्त्री प्रिया प्रीतम से विप्र वडभाग इतिमाजा दर्द जांनियें। तेरी जभय सता बाइटेवा लेवा नाम मेरे। खनका जा वंस प्रसंस जन मांनियें n ताची दार चेवा विसार निज भगतनिकी श्रगतनिकी गति से। प्रसिद्ध पहिचांनियें। मांनि प्रिय बात यह गद्धी सुब खद्धी सव कहा। कैंचे जात यह मनमें न मांनिसे ॥ राधिकावसभसास श्राज्ञा या रमास दर् चेवा मे। प्रकास भी विचास कुंजधासकी। बाई विखार सुषसार दृगक्प पियो दियो रिमक जिन सियो पिछ वामका ॥ निषि दिन गांन रस माध्रीका पान जर श्रंतर सिर्हांग एक काम खांमाखामका।

# गुन से अनूप किं कैंसे के सक्ष्य कहें सहै मन माद जैसे श्रोर नही नामका ॥

#### Translation.

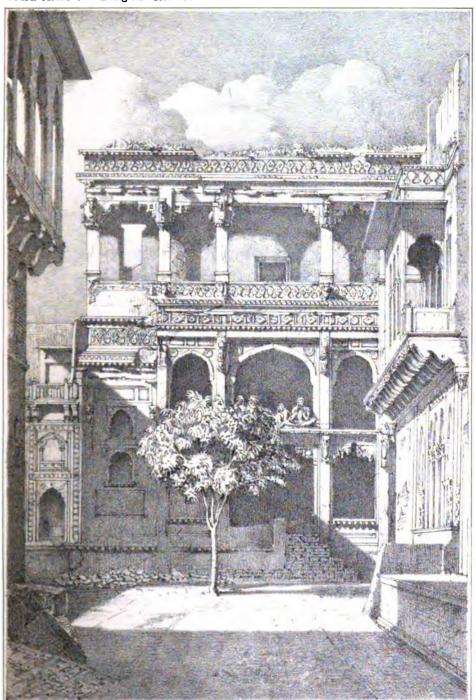
"Would you know the one point in a thousand of Sri Hit Ji's ways? he adored Rádhá first and after her Krishna. A most strange and unnatural fashion, that none could even faintly comprehend save by his favour. He obliterated all distinction between obligation and dispensation; his Beloved was in his heart; 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. Rádhá'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 Syámá 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 Rádhá Mohan, which is still in the possession of his descendants. The former was the ancestor of the present Gosáins of the temple of Rádhá Vallabh, the chief shrine of the sect. This was built by one of his disciples, a Káyath named Sundar Dás 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-

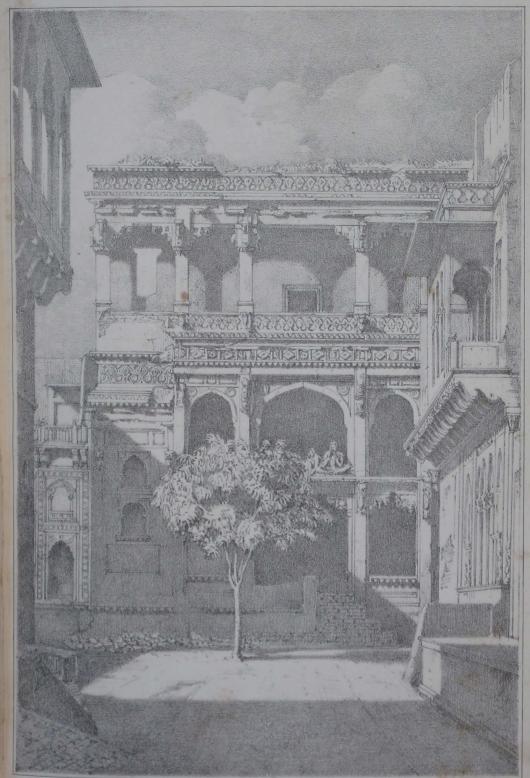
panying photograph, is in three stages, the upper and lower Hindu, and the one between them purely Muhammadan in character. The interior is a fine vaulted hall (63 ft. × 20 ft.) with a double tier of openings north and south; those in the lower story having brackets and architraves and those above being Muhammadan arches, as in the middle story of the front. These latter open into a 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 Some of the carved panels of the stone that leads to the upper gallery. 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 Gobind 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 Gosáins 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, Manohar Ballabh, Sundar Lál and the infant son of Kanhaiya Lál.

Hari Vans was himself the author of two poems; the one, the Chaurási Pada, or '84 Stanzas,' in Hindi, the other the Rádhá Sudhá 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.



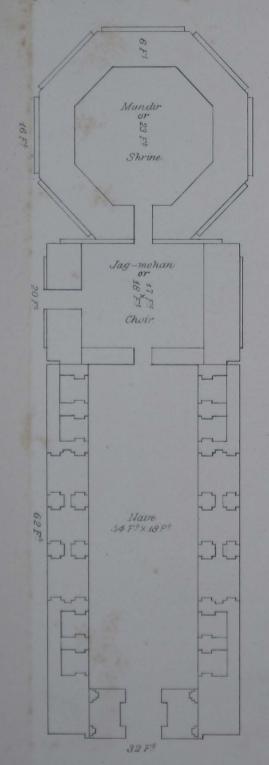
S. Sudgfield Little.

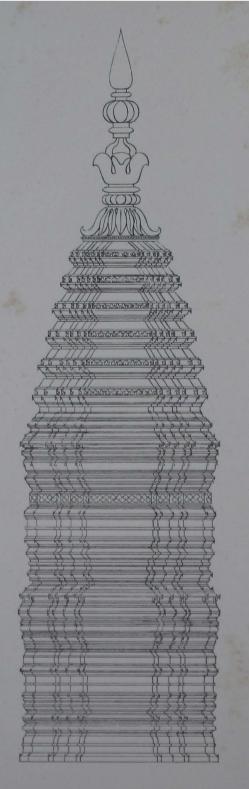
Calcutta

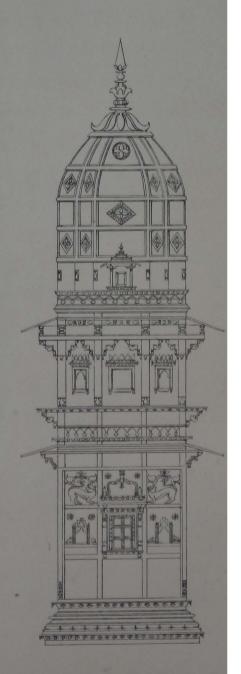


S. Sedafield Lith;

Caloutto







GROUND PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF RESTORED ELEVATION OF THE SIKHARA OVER THE JAG-MOHAN.

RÁDHÁ BALLABH AT BRINDÁBAN.

TEMPLE OF GOBIND DEVA, BRINDÁBAN.

RESTORED ELEVATION OF THE SATI BURJ, MATHURA

# श्वव राधासुधानिधिर्त्तिस्वते ॥ ॥ श्वोकः ॥

यसाः कदापि वसनायसस्रेसनात्यभयातिधन्यपवनेन स्नतार्थमानी । योगीऋदर्गमगतिर्मधृद्धदेनोऽपि तस्या ननोऽस्य ष्ट्रपभानुभुवे। दिग्रेऽपि ॥९॥ त्रद्वोत्तरादिस्रद्क्रस्पदारविन्दश्रीमत्परागपरमाह्नुतवैभवाषाः । वर्वार्थयार्र्यवर्षिकपार्द्रहृष्टेख्नका नमाऽस्त द्वभानुभुवा मिष्ये ॥ २ ॥ यो ब्रह्मस्ट्रस्टकनारदभीमसुख्यैराजिकतो न सहसा पुरुषस्य तस्य । यद्योवश्रीकरचपूर्णमननात्रकिं तं राधिकाचरचरेणुमदं खरामि ॥ ३ ॥ षाधाय मुईनि यदापुरदारगायः कान्तं पदं प्रियगुणैरपि पिष्कमौक्षेः । भावात्मवेन भवतां रसकामधेनुं तं राधिकाचरखरेजुमदं सारामि ॥ ८ ॥ दिवापमोदरससारनिजाङ्गसङ्गपीयूववीचिनिचयैरभिषेचयनी । कन्दर्णकाटियरमृष्कितनन्दस्रमुसस्रीविनी जयति कापि निसुस्रदेवी ॥ ५॥ नबः प्रतिचयचनत्वत्रचाद्वीचावावद्यमोद्दनमदामध्रांक्रभक्ति । राधाननं हि मधुराङ्गकानिधानमाविभेविकति करा रसिम्भुवारम्॥ ६॥ यत्किक्ररीषु वज्जमः खलु कालुवाणी नित्यं परस्य पुरुषस्य जिस्राच्छमीलेः। तस्याः कदा रसनिधेर्रवभागुजायास्तके सिकुञ्चभवनाङ्गनमार्जनी स्थाम्॥७॥ वृत्रानि सर्वेमस्तामपदाय दूरादृन्दाटवीमनुसर प्रखयेन चेतः। यत्तारणीव्रतसुभावसुधारसीयं राधाभिधानमिष् दिव्यनिधानमित् ॥ ८॥ बेनापि नागरवरेण पदे निपत्य सम्प्रार्थितेकपरिरक्षरचात्ववायाः। सभूविभक्नमतिरक्ननिधे: कदा ते श्रीराधिके निद्द नदीति गिरः ऋषोमि ॥८॥ यत्पादपद्मनखचन्द्रमणिक्कराया विस्कृक्तितं किमपि गोपवभूव्यदर्भि । पूर्णानुरागरससागरसारमूर्त्तः सा राधिका मि कदापि इ.पां करेात॥ १०॥ धन्त्रभमानरस्वारिनिधेस्तरङ्गेरङ्गेरिव प्रणयक्षेत्रसविक्षेत्रपायाः ।

तखाः कदानु भविता मयि पुष्यदृष्टिर्वन्दाटवीनवनिकुञ्जयदाधिदेखाः॥११॥ वृन्दावनेश्वरि तवैव पदारिवन्दं प्रेमास्त्रतैकमकरन्द्रसौघपूणें। इद्यर्पितं मधुपतेः स्वरतापसुगं निवापयत्परमधीतसमात्रयामि॥ १२॥ राधाकरावचितपद्मववद्मरीके राधापदाङ्गविख्यमाधुरस्त्रसीके। राधायग्रोसुखरमत्तखगावलीके राधाविद्यारविपिने रमतां मने। से ॥ १३॥ क्रकाम्टतं चल विगाढुमितीरिताइं तावसाइल रजनी सिंख यावदेति। इत्यं विषय द्वभानुस्ते षि अस्ये मानं कदा रसदके सिकदम्बातं॥ १८॥ पादाङ्गुचीनिहितदृष्टिमपचिषणुं दूरादुदीच्य रिषकेन्द्रसुखेन्दुविम्नं। वीचे चलत्यदगतिं चरिताभिरामां झङ्कारनूपुरवतीं वत कर्ष्टिं राधाम्॥ १५ ॥ चळागरं रसिकगागरसङ्गरङ्गेः खुद्धोदरे ज्ञतवती मु सुदारजन्याम् । सुखापिता हि मधुनैव सुभाजिता लं राधे कदा खिपिव मत्करसासिता हु:॥१६ वैदग्धासिन्भुरनुरागरसैकसिन्भुर्वात्यखसिन्भुरतिसान्द्रक्रपैकसिन्धुः । सावण्यसिन्धुरम्बद्धविद्धपिन्धुः त्रीराधिका स्तुरतः मे इदि नेस्तिम्धुः॥१०॥ दृष्ट्वेव चन्यकस्तेव चमत्कताङ्गी वेणुध्वनि क च नित्रम्य च विद्वसाङ्गी। सा म्यामसुन्दरगुणैरनुगीयमानै: प्रीता परिव्यजतु मां द्रवभानुपुची॥ १८॥ त्रीराधिके सुरतरिङ्गिनितम्बभागे काञ्चीकलापकलदंशकलानुलापैः । मञ्चीरिविश्चितमधुवतगुञ्चिताष्ट्रिपद्धेर्हः विविरयस रसक्टाभिः॥१८॥ श्रीराधिके सुरतरिङ्गिणिदियके सिकक्कोसमासिनि समददनारिवन्दे । म्यामान्तरामुनिधियङ्गमतीत्रवेगिन्यावर्त्तनाभिइचिरे मम यन्त्रिधेहि॥ १०॥ यत्प्रेमियन्धुमकरन्द्रयौषधारायारामजस्मभितः स्वदात्रितेषु । श्रीराधिके तव कदा चरणारविन्द्गीविन्दजीवनधर्गं श्रिरसा वद्दामि॥ २१॥ यक्षेततुञ्चमनु तुञ्चरमन्दगामिन्यादाय दिव्यम्ददुचन्दनगन्धमान्यम्। लां कामके बिरभवेन कदा चलमीं राधे नु यामि पदवी मुपद्र्ययमी॥ १२॥

गता किसन्दत्तनयाविजनावतारसुदर्त्तयनयस्त्तमङ्गमनङ्गजीवम् ।
श्रीराधिके तव कदा नवनागरेन्द्रं पद्यामि मग्ननयनं स्थितसुचनीपे ॥ २३ ॥
सत्प्रेमराश्चिरदे विकसस्तरोजं स्वानन्द्रिक्षन्त्र्यस्तिन्धुविवर्द्धनेन्दुम् ।
तच्छीसुखं कुटिखकुन्तसरङ्गजुष्टं श्रीराधिके तव कदा नु विखे कियि ॥ २८ ॥
सावस्त्रसारसस्यकेषारे कादस्थारमधुरच्चविद्धपद्यारे ।
वैद्य्यासारस्तिकेसिविद्याससारे राधाभिधे मम मनोऽखिससारसारे ॥ २५ ॥
श्रह्णतानन्दस्तेभस्रेश्वाचा रससुधानिधिः ।
स्रवे।ऽयं कर्णकसग्नैर्य्देशिता पीयतां सुधाः ॥ १७०॥

इति श्रीयन्दावनेश्वरीचरणक्यामाचिकृश्वितश्रीदितहरिवंश्वगोखामिना विरचिता श्रीराधारससुधानिधिः सम्पूर्णम् ॥०॥

The Hindi poem, the *Chaurási Pada*, is much more popular and most of the Gosáins 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-nirúpana* 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 prolixity, while real difficulties are generally skipped. I subjoin the text and a translation of the first 12 stanzas.

# श्रव श्रीहितहरिवंशक्ततवाणी खिखते॥ राग विभास॥

वाद वार पारौ कर वार में सि भावें भावें में हि वार वार वार करें पारे। में कों ता भावती ठौर पारे के नेंनिन में पारौ भया चार नेरे नेंनिन तारे॥ मेरें ता तन मनप्राणक तें प्रीतम प्रिय

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श्रुपने केटिक प्राप्त प्रीतम के सी इरे। जै श्रीहितहरिवंश इंग्रहंबिनी संवित्त गैर कहा कैंग करें असतरंगन न्यारे॥

# 11 7 11

पारे वेखी भामिनी श्राजु नीकी जामिनी भेट नवीन केखेंगें दासिनी॥ कोंदन रिवकराद री मार्द तायों जुमानु करें चैयी कींन कामिनी॥ जै श्रीदितदरिवंश श्रवन सुनत पारी राधिका रवनयें मिखी गजगामिनी॥

# H S N

प्रातममें दोज रस संपट सुरत जुद्ध जैजुत श्रितिपूस । श्रमवारिज घन विंदु वदनपर भूषन श्रंगद्दि श्रंग विकूस ॥ कहु रह्यो तिसक सिथस श्रसकावसि वदनकमस माने। श्रसिभूस । जैश्रीदितहरिवंश मदनरंग रंगि रहे नैंन वेंन कटि सिथस दुकूस ॥

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श्राज तो जुनती तेरी वदन श्रानंद भर्गी पियने संगमने स्वत सुवर्षेन ।
श्रालय विलत वेख सुरंगरंगे कपोल विधिकत श्रदण जनीदे देख नैंन ॥
दिचर तिलक लेस किरत जुसम नेस सिर सीमंत भूषित मानों तें न ।
कर्षण करि उदार राषत कडू न सार दसन वसन लागत जन देंन ॥
काहेकीं दुरित भीर पखटे प्रीतम चीर वसकिये छांम सिषै सत मैंन ।
गिलत उरिस माल सिधल किंकिनीजाल जैशी हितहरिवंश लताग्रह सैंन ॥

## 1 Y 1

त्राजु प्रभात सतामंदिरमें सुष वरवत त्रित स्रव मुनस वर । गारखांम त्रभिराम रंगरगंभरे सटिक सटिक पण धरत त्रवनि पर ॥ कुच कुमकुम रंजित मासावसि सुरतनाथ श्रीसाम धामधर । प्रया प्रेमके चंक चलंकत चित्रत चतुरसिरोमणि निजु कर । दंपति चित्र चनुराग सुदित कल गाग करत मन दरत परस्पर ॥ के श्रीदितद्दिवंध प्रसंघ पराधन गाइन चलि सुर देत मधुरतर ॥

# 11 € 11

कींन चतुर जुवती प्रिया जाहि मिसत सास चारहे हैंन।
दुरवित कींच दुरै सुनि प्यारे रंगमें नहीं चैंनमें नैंन।
छर नवचंद विराने पट फटपटेचे वैंन।
की श्रीहितहरिवंद रिवंक राधापति प्रमधित मैंन।

# ॥ ७॥ राग विचा**र**च ॥

श्वाज निकुं जमंजुमें वेखन नक्खिन होर ननीन किहोरी।
श्वित श्रमुपम श्रमुराग परस्पर सुनि श्वभ्रत श्वतख पर जारी।
विद्रम फिटक विविधि निर्मित भर नक्कपूरपराग न छोरी।
कोमख किह्यख्य में न सुपेसक तापर खाम निवेतित गेरी।।
मिथुन हासि परिहासि परायन पीक कपोल कमल पर होरी।
गौर स्थाम भुज कलह मनेहर नीनी वंभन नेएक डोरी॥
हरिखर सुकर विखेकि श्रमुनपा विश्वम विकल मानजुत भोरी।
चितुक सुचाह प्रखेदि प्रवाधित पिय प्रतिविंव जनाद निहारी॥
नेति नेति वचनास्तत सुनि सुनि लिखताहिक देवत दुरिचोरी।
जै श्रीहितहरिवंध करत करभूनन प्रनय केाप मालाविक तोरी॥

## 1 5 1

र्त्यातंची श्रहण तेरे मैंन मिलन री। श्रालमजुत इतरात रगमगे भए निविजागर मिलन मिलन री। विधल पलकमें जठत गोलकगति विधयों मेाइन म्हग सकत चिल न री। जै श्रीइतइरिवंत्र इंसकलगामिन संक्षम देत भंवरिनी ऋलीन री॥

## 11311

वनी राधा मेाँ इनकी जारी।
इंद्र नीखमणि स्थाम मने एर सातकुंभ तन गोरी॥
भाख विसास तिखक इरि कामिनि चिकुरचंद विचरोरी।
गज नाइक प्रभु चास गयंदनि नित ट्रिक्शनु किसे रि।।
गीस निचेश्व जुनति मेरिन पटपीत ऋष सिर कोरी।
शै श्री इतहरिवंश रिक राधापति सु रत रग मैं वोरी॥

# 11 60 H

त्राजु नागरीकिकोर भावती विचित्र जार कहा कहीं त्रंग त्रंग परममाधुरी। करत केलि कंठ मेलि वाइदंड गंड गंड परस सरस रासकास मंडली जुरी है स्थामसंदरी विहार वांसरी स्टदंग तार मधुर घोष नूपुरादि किंकिनी जुरी। के त्री देवति हरिवंग त्रालि निर्तनी सुगंध चालि वारि फेरिदेति प्राण देह सौं दरी॥

11 88 11

मंजुल कल कुंजरेय राधाहरि विश्वर्येश्व राकानभ कुमदवंधु श्वरद जामिनी। स्थामसद्ति कनकश्चंग विहरत मिस्रि एकसंग नीरद मनी नीस मध्य समत दामिनी। यसन पीत नव दुकूस अनुपम अनुरागमूस सौरभज़त सीत अनिस मंदगामिनी। किंग्रस्थयदसरित सैंन वेश्वत पिय चाटु वेंन मान सिंदत प्रतिपद प्रतिकूस कामिनी॥ नेश्वनमन मयत मार परसत सुच नीवी द्वार वेपयजुत नेति नेति वदत भामिनी। नरवादन प्रभुसनेसि वक्त विधि भर भरत सेसि सौरतरसद्भपनदी जगतपावनी॥

11 53 11

पखिर राधिके सुजान तेरे हित सुवनिधान
रास रच्यो खाम तट किंद्रनंदिनी ।
निर्तत जुगवतीसमूद रागरंग ऋतिकत्वद्द
वाजत रसमूख मुरिखका ऋगंदिगी ॥
वंधीवट निकट जंद्रां परमरमणभुमि तंद्रां
सक्खसुषद मख्य वद्दै वायु मंदिनी ।
जाती देषदिवकास कानन ऋतिसय सुवास
राकानिस सरदमास विमक्ष चांदिनी ॥
गरवाद्दन प्रभु निद्दार खोचनभिर घोषनारि
नषसिष सौँदर्य काम दुषनिकंदिगी ।
विखयक भुज सीव मेखि भामिनि सुपिसंधु सेखि
नव निकुंज स्थाम केखि जगतवंदिनी ॥

Translation of the first twelve Stanzas of the Chaurási 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 Beloved'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.†
- 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 Syám, 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.
- That is to say: it is nothing strange that Rádhá and Krishna should take 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.
- † 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 her own companions.

- 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!) Rádhá's amorous lord has been mad with love.
- VII. "To-day the lusty swain and blooming dame are sporting in their pleasant bower. O 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 honeyed voice, as again and again she cries 'Nay, nay,' Lalitá and the others take a furtive peep (Rejoice, Sri Hit Hari Vans!) till toesing 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!) O damsel voluptuous in motion as the swan, your eyes deceive even the wasps and bees.
- IX. "Rádhá and Mohan are such 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.
- K. "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.
  - \* Abhat, not created, self-produced, divine.

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 Syám 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 Gosáins, 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 suduruha, 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. Vyás was so struck by this procedure that he then and there enrolled himself as his disciple, and in a short space of time conceived



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 social excommunication he was 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-dasá; 2, Baidgyán; 3, Man-siksha; 4, Brindaban-sat; 5, Bhakt-námávali; 6, Brihadbaman 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, Ras-muktávali; 19, Ras-hirávali; 20, Ras-ratnávali; 21, Premávali; 22, Sri Priyá Jí kí námávali; 23, Rahasya-manjari; 24, Sukhmanjari; 25, Rati-manjari; 26, Neh-manjari; 27, Ban-bihár; 28, Ras-bihár; 29, Rang-hulás; 30, Rang-bihár; 31, Rang-binod; 32, Anand-dasa; 33, Rahasya-latá; 34, Anand-latá; 35, Anurág-latá; 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-báni and the Ballabh-rasik ki báni; the Guru-pratáp, by Dámodar Dás; the Hari-nám-mahimá, by Dámodar Swámi; the Sri Rúp Lál Ji ka ashtáka, by Hit Ballabh; and the Hari-nám-beli, the Sri Lál Ji badhai and the Sri 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 I, 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 Aurangzíb 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 Mathurá 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 Rám-dasa 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 versa. 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 Brindsban 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 might 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 Aurangzib 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 Strachev 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.

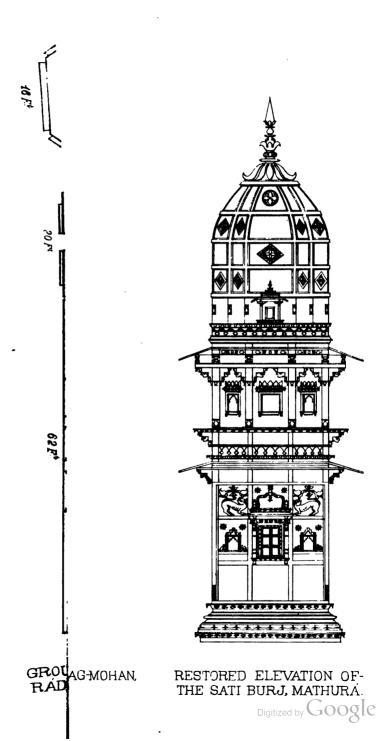
Its restoration was commenced in September 1873, and has been carried on under my supervision, without any professional assistance, up to the present time. The cost was estimated, in the D. P. W., at Rs. 1,32,387, but for the comparatively modest sum of Rs. 38,365 I have been able to accomplish almost 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.

#### 5. The Sati Burj at Mathurá.

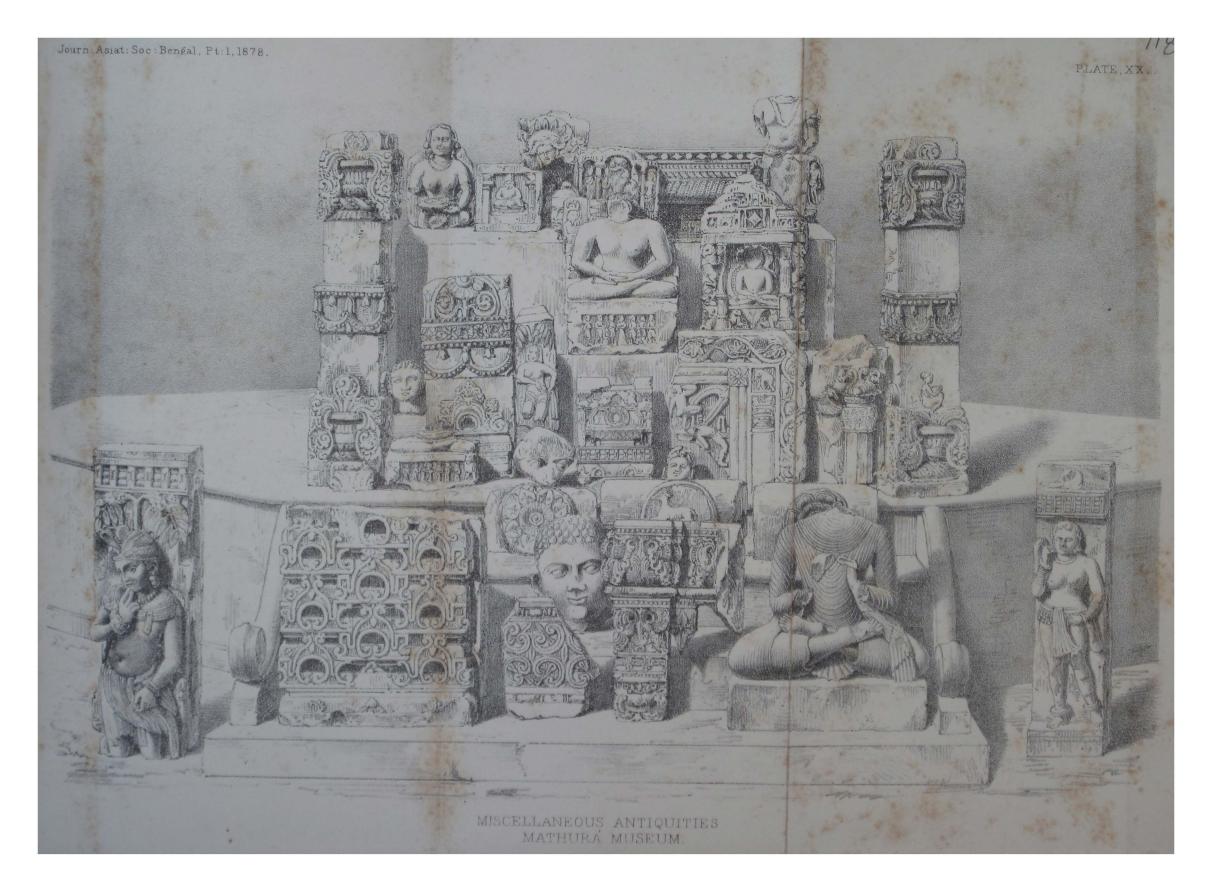
This is a slender quadrangular tower of red sandstone which stands on the bank of the Jamuná, at the very heart of the modern city. It commemorates the Queen of Maharájá Bihár Mall of Jaypur, and was erected by her son, the Maharájá Bhagawán Dás, in the year 1570 A. D. The upper part, which had been 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 Maharájá 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.

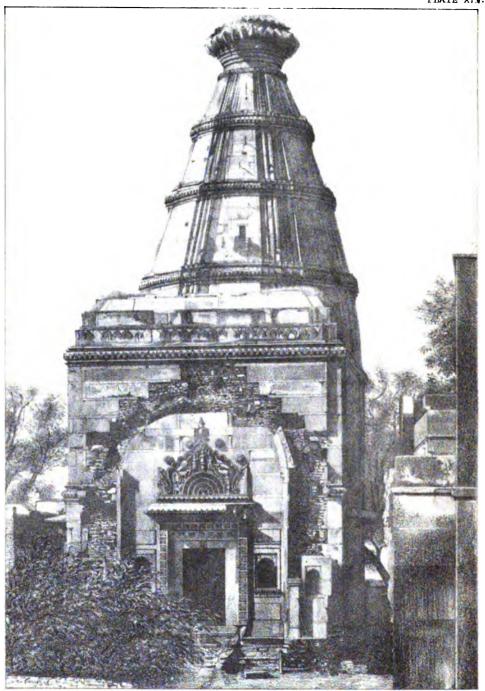
- Thus eclecticism, which after all is only natural growth directed by local circumstances, has for centuries past been the predominant characteristic of Mathurá architecture. In most of the new works that I have taken in hand, and notably in the Catholic Church, which I had commenced and now have to leave unfinished, I have conformed to the genius loci and have shewn 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 developing novel combinations.
- † The grant has been sanctioned and the work is being carried on, under the supervision of the Executive Engineer in the Archeological Department, by the same local agency and the same body of stone-masons that I had collected and organized.





Dal Dal





TEMPLE OF JUGAL KISHOR AT BRINDABAN  $^\prime$  From a Photograph.

#### 6. Mediæval 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 Muhammadans 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 Mathurá. 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 mediæval 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 India 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 renaissance, 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



<sup>•</sup> The base, shown in this photograph, is more than a thousand years older and belongs 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.

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 string-course of any building, will at once draw a design, in which are reproduced all the peculiarities of the old models.

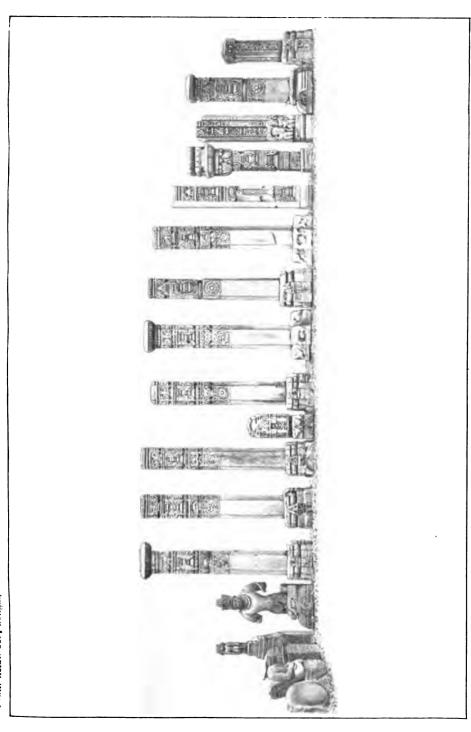
F 117 }

#### 7. Miscellaneous Antiquities, Mathurá Museum.

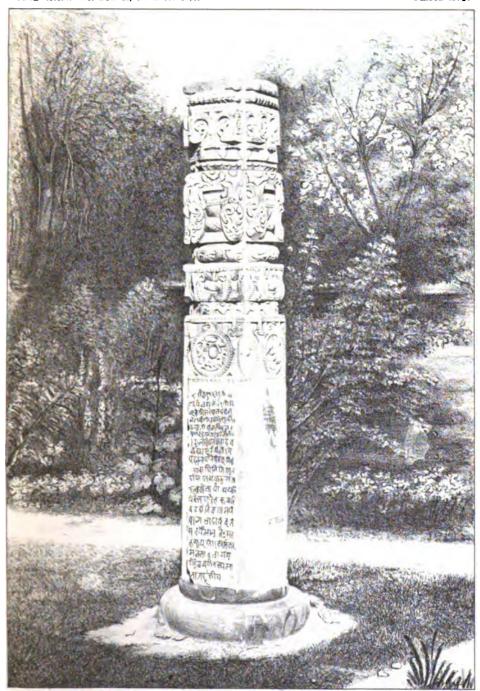
Plate No. 13 shews two Buddhist rails of early character. The one giving the representation of a stupa, to which I have already referred, was brought from the khera of Jaysinhpura, a village on the road between Mathurá and Brindaban. The other I dug out of one of the Chauwára mounds, where I found also 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 architecture of the period. The upper group represents a sacred tree, enclosed in a railing, with two devotees 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 dánam, 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-Seythian 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.

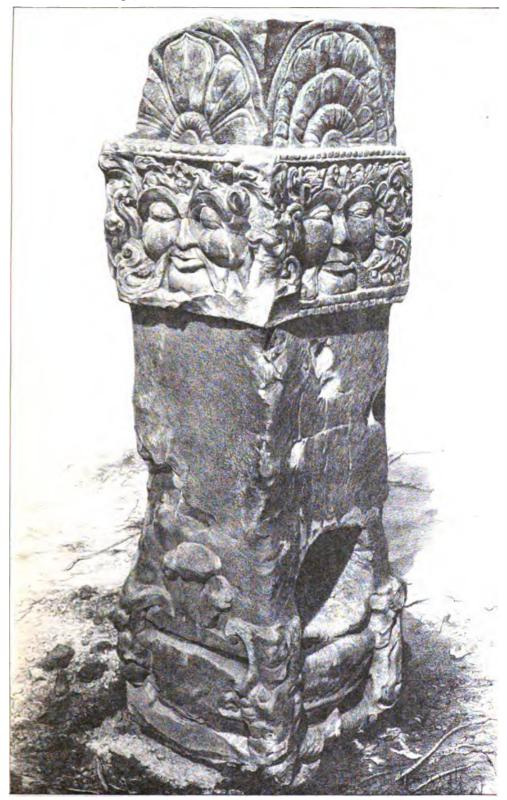


MEDIAVAL HINDU PILLARS, FROM SAHÁR. (From a Photograph.)



INSCRIBED PILLAG FROM SAMÁN (From a Protectable)





PILLAR WITH GROTESQUE MASK, FROM ALLAHABAD.

( From a Photograph. )

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 Kankáli 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 Shah. 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 characteristic 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 archæological 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 Chhátá 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, Barsána, the Rangíla 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,

Crispum sub crotalo 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







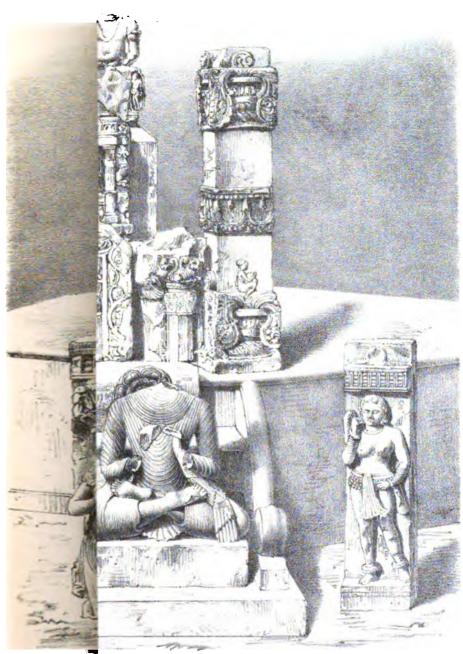
BUDDHIST RAILS, MATHURA.



TOTALIS BAH FROM THE TUTTERSVAR TILA, MATHURA



PLATE, XX.



Journ . Asia

S. Sedgheld Lun

the men from the neighbouring village of Nand-gánw and the Barsána ladies, the wives of the Gosáins 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 unfrequently 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 sálá, applied to every person and thing in Barsána. That town being the reputed home of Rádhá, the bride, its people are styled her brothers; while the Nand-gánw men account themselves the brothers of Krishna the bridegroom.

# श्रीभांडवधाई बरसांनेकी।

सव सारे बरसांनेवारे रावसवारे सारे।
जगन्नाथके नाती सारे वे बरसांनेवारे॥
स्वानियां चार कटारे सारे के बरसांनेवारे।
डोंम ढड़ेरे सबसी सारे चार पत्तरावारे॥
वाग वगीचा सबसी सारे सारे सींचनवारे।
विरकत चार गुद्दिया सारे संवे सुतनावारे॥
वावाजी भानें। खरिसारे प्रेंम सरावरवारे।
खाट खटोखा सबसी सारे चौका चूल्हे सारे॥
प्रदक्षायत महस्वायत सारे सारे खंभितहारे।
प्रगवारे पिक्वारे सारे गैस गिरारे सारे॥

Feb. 23rd, Nand-gánw.—Another sham fight as on the preceding day, only with the characters reversed; the women on this occasion being the

wives of the Gosáins 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 village. 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 pr and qr 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 q of gáma is elided by a further application of the last quoted rule; 4thly, the m in gam becomes v, these two letters being ordinarily interchangeable, thus dhímar = dhívar; 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 P. 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 back 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 chaupáis, 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 jhaqá, with a red paqri, 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.

# हें जी खेलनेके समयकी साखी।

कान्हा घरे रे मुकट खेले हारी।

एक त्रोर खेले कुंदर कन्हें या एक त्रोर राधा गोरी॥१॥

इन गिलयन काम कहा तेरा।

इन गिलयन करें खालू काम के तो पाइंगी यार झगा तेरा॥१॥

खिसली तोहि देख त्रटाते।

त्र जु कहे हो तोहि त्रध्वर में लूंगो त्रव केरी टूटी है बांह बराहेते॥३॥

कव निकसेगो सक्त चले चाली ।

गोरीने डोला सजवायो रिस्थाने सिकल करुगो भालो ॥४॥

वारी के सत करे मान राख देंजगी।

रंग महल केरा पसंग बिक्यो है इनं तेरा वाम चिलट लेंजगी॥ ५॥

संग सेथवेकी छोस कही होती।

माटी खोदन गई खदानेहेंहे इनं केरी बांह गद्दी होती॥६॥

नजर ठेराय जंचे चोंड़ेका चिल सुख देख्या गाल त्रधर ले जाय॥७॥

केरा घार गाल कर कराइ वे कू॥८॥

- \* Syàlu, a woman's dopatta.
- † Jhagá, a man's dress.
- 1 Adhbar, in the middle.
- § Bará, an ornament worn by women on the elbow.
- # Suk, the planet Venus, which is regarded as auspicious.
- T Chdlan, the same as the more common gauna.
- \*\* Jori, for zori, zabrdasti.
- ++ Jom, lust, passion.
- II Dyaus, the day-time.
- §§ Khadána, a clay pit.
- III Therá, fix, for thahra.
- ¶¶ Chonda, the knot of hair at the top of a woman's head.
- ••• Gál katána, to have the cheek kissed.

खाज मिटे तेरी ॥८॥
साधिन तेरा गोना किह्ये।
गोनेनेंका फूल बटे हें श्रांख भीच सहजेंथे॥९०॥
मगन वालीरे यार मगन वाली बनमें पायो यार मगन वाली।
बड़ेंसे भोंगरा\*में पटक पद्धारी नारे की झटक खोली॥ ९९॥

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 chaupáis, 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 swangs) were also to be seen, one set attired as Muhammadan fakírs; another (qháyalon 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 discs 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

- · Bhaungara, a thicket.
- + Nára, a twisted string, izar-band.
- 1 Jhatak, a knot.
- § Any subdivision of a Ját clan is called a Pál, and the town of Kosi is the centre of one such subdivision, which is known as the Denda Pál.

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 vellow 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 Játnis 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 forehead, taking it as the dust hallowed by the feet of Krishna and the Gopis.

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 mixture 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 Bari Bathain vási:

• 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.



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 गित जानी न परे करुणामें हा ।

प्रागम प्रगम प्रगाधि प्रगोचर केंद्रवृधिविधियचरे ॥

प्रति प्रचंड वस पौरिषता में केहरि श्रूष मरे ।

प्रनाप्राय विन सहिम कियें प्रजगर पेट परे ॥

कवड़क चन स्वत पानीमें कवड़क सिसा तिरे ।

वागरमें सागर करिसारे चड़िद्य नीर भरे ॥

रीते भरे भरे फिरि डारे मेहरि करे तो फेरि भरे ।

पाइन वीच कमस प्रगामें जसमें प्रगिन जरे ॥

राजा रंक रंकते राजा से सिरहान धरे ।

स्वर पतित तिरिजाय हिनकमें जो प्रश्न नेंक ढरे ॥

#### 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 ॥

त्ररे मन भजिले नंदलला।

यह बांननमें रद्यों किन केाज पकरत नाहि पला ॥
वेद पुरान संद्यत यों भाषी याते नाहि भला।
दिनदिन वहत प्रताप चीगुनी जैसे चंद्रकला॥
काकी धन काकी यहसंपति काके सुतन्त्रवला।
दानेादर ककु थिर न रहेगो जगमें चलीचला॥

## 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 ॥

नवस वसंत नवस दंदावन नवसे पूखेपूस ।
नवसे कान्ह नवस सव गोपी निर्तत एकेंद्रस ॥
नवसे साथ जवादि सुमसुमा नवसे वसन श्रमूस।
नवसे कीटवनीकेसरिकी मेटत मनमयस्रस ॥
नवस गुसास उर्दे रंगवूका नवस पवनके सूस ।
नवसदी वाजे वाजें श्रीभट कासिंदीकें कूस ॥

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-lílá and all the local legends that they involve is traceable to one of the Brindaban Gosáins at the beginning of the 17th century A. D., viz. Nárávan Bhatt, 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 *chaupái*, 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 Gosáins 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 Archæological 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 life-size 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-ánuttara-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."

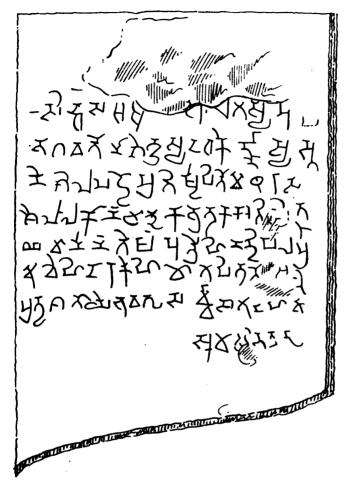
In Sanskrit the primary meaning of deya-dharma is the duty of giving; but in Páli it ordinarily stands for 'the gift' itself. The literal signification of the monk's name Yasa-ditta is 'Resplendent with glory'; ditta being the Páli, Prákrit, or Hindi form of the Sanskrit dipta, by a rule of Vararuchi's, 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 Mahárájasya 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-

\* 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.





INSCRIBED SLAB, Found at Mathura in 1878.

# 

Zincogrephed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

PALI INSCRIPTION,

Found at Mathura,

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

#### 2. The Rádhá-sudhá-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 Shikarpur.

#### 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-bhánu's daughter, the holy 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 Rádhiká, 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, Bhíshma and the other divine personages.
- 4. I call to mind the dust of the feet of Rahhiká, 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 Rádhá, 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 peacock-crested 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 Rádhá's 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 Vrisha-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 Rádhá, 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, 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, O blessed Rádhiká, 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 Rádhá, 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!
- 170. O ye 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-shahr, April 15th, 1878.



# **JOURNAL**

OF THE

# ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

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 Pála 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 Buchanan throughout, and wherever his story differs from mine in important particulars I have recorded the points of disagreement.

• Cf. however, Mr. Westmacott's article on the Pál Kings, in Vol. LIX of the Calcutta Review, on which I have drawn freely, and gratefully, while treating on the present subject.

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In the Dimla Thana situated to the north-west of Rangour, and nine or ten miles to the south-east of the sub-divisional head quarters of Bagdokará 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 Rájá's minister (Díván-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.+ 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.‡

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.

- 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.
- + The ditch and rampart are called in Rangpur the Kot (कांड अधात्वक स्त्राव आपिया स्तिकार स्थत् एकडा अड़) G. A. G.
- ‡ सथ्ना मतिर कोड. This lady is said to have founded several other important towns. Amongst names which still survive I may mention Mayaná takir hdf (सथ्ना तसीर हाड) and Mayaná Gudí (सथ्ना गर्ही)

See verse 60 of the poem.



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 Tuntra; 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 Rangpur; 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 Mayana'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 Vishnu (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 Brahman 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 You's) 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 Vasishtha 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

Hádi Siddha cannot have been originally a Vaishnavs 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 Yogi 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. Tháná Dimlá, where these Yogis live, is close to Nipál, 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 Yudhishthira'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 Nipálí, 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.†

• I know of no religious teacher called Kanipa. There was a Kanapa, who was a teacher of the Jamgama 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 Yogía, who were originally a Saiva caste.

+ The above is the popular tradition I have gathered from oral accounts. The following summary of what is noticeable about Gorakshanáth and the Yogís is gathered principally from Wilson.

The first teacher of Buddhism in Nipál, was Manju, who came from Maháchín and who made the valley of Khatmándu, formerly a lake, habitable by cutting 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 Piáupata 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 Adi Buddha, and hid himself in the belly of a fish, in order to overhear Síva teach Párvatí the doctrine of the Yoga, and Wilson shows that Padmapáni came either from the east or from the north of Bangál.



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 Gorakshanáth and his fellows came from north-eastern Bangál, or from Asam, where the Pasupata cultus, whose followers finally became Youis. 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 Sankaráchárya, who were expelled by him for indulging in spirituous liquor. Besides, they reject to the present day, the authority of Brahmans, and have their own priests; and this is just what would be expected from people coming from Buddhistic Nipál. They rose too to power under a dynasty of Pálas, 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 Yogis practised a Saira 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 Vindice dignus or not, he is brought in as a deus ex machina;

Sixth in descent from Matsyendra Náth, in the time of spiritual teachers, comes Gorakaha Náth, who, according to this, ought to have flourished in the 8th century. There must however be some mistake here, for it is known that Gorakaha Náth was a contemporary of Kabír, and held a controversy with him which is extant (Goraka Náth ki Goshíhí, W. I. 213), and Kabír lived in the 15th century. Hence, unless the list of teachers in the Hatha 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 Nipál in the 12th century, and it is possible that it is he who introduced Matsyendra Náth, in which case the discrepancy would not be so outrageous. But, here another difficulty arises, we find that we must date Gorakaha Náth'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 Kabír?

We have seen that Matsyendra Náth taught Pásupata Suivism, and it is a well known fact that the Kánphátá Yogis, to which sect those who sing the Mánik 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 were errant pupils of Sankaráchárya, nor is such a story borne out by the Sankars Vijays. In chapter 41, Sankara successfully combats the Yoga doctrine, but he treats his opponents with a respect which he would never extend to backsliding 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 Nipál but in the Panjáb and North West Provinces. We read that the Emperor Akbar consorted with them. He was initiated into their learning, and, on one occasion, ate with them, at one of their festivals.

not as an ordinary saint, but leading the whole Hindú 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 Yogí, i. e. a S'aiva 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 Pa'la.

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.

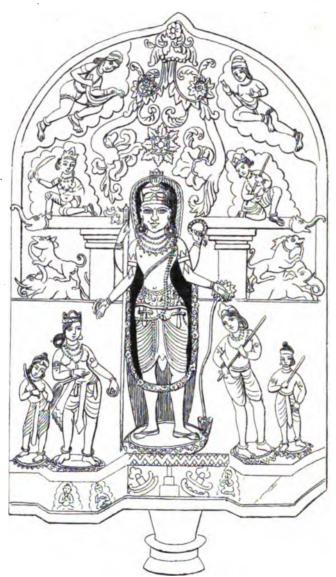
According to universal tradition both in Buchanan's time, and at the present day, her husband, Mánik Chandra was brother of Dharma Pála. This I have before shown, is an impossibility if the names are correct.

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.
- 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.
- 9. Chakra Dhvaja.
- 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





Supposed to REPRESENT VASU DEVA

about the year 1850 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 Rájá 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 Sura in Rangpur; and the fact is not rendered less improbable when we consider the history of the Hádi Siddha. We know that the Pála 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 Nipál. 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 Hángrigosha. 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. read of rustic wealth and security, and light taxation. 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.+ Under the light taxation which may be inferred from this absurd exaggeration of the text, the praise 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 Rangpuri 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 Diván 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 Manik 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



<sup>•</sup> The same system prevails to the present day in parts of Nipal, where the demand for land is not so great as it is in the more settled British territory. A plough is there, however, only considered as equivalent to eight bigas, the average rent for a plough of land being considerably below that current on this side of the frontier.

<sup>†</sup> The text says 1½ budis of káoris. A budi is five gandas or twenty. One budi of káoris = a pice. 1½ pice a month = 4 ánás, 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 text, less than 3‡ pies per biga, or than a penny farthing per acre.

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.†

Mayaná 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 154th 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.‡ When Gopí 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

- The Yogis 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 Mayaná 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 gnat, 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 poem with any other legend.
- ‡ I gather this from the last verse of the poem, from which it is evident that it was not till Gopf 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 राममञ्ज हुपासारि Rámganj Tupámári.

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 Paduná.\* These he gave in marriage to Gopí Chandra with a hundred maid-servants to wait upon them.† By his eighteenth year Gopí Chandra had no child. It had been foretold to Mayaná that at that age he would die unless he became a Sannyásí.‡ 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 (vv. 243-302). They contain many touches of true poetry.

This flight 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. Mayaná 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 Hádi have twelve káoris 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

- In Buchanan, Hudna and Pudna.
- † Buchanan says that Gopí Chandra had a hundred wives, 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.
- ‡ V. 241. The term Sannyásí should be noticed. It is the ordinary term for a Saiva mendicant, Vairágí usually representing a Vaishnava one.



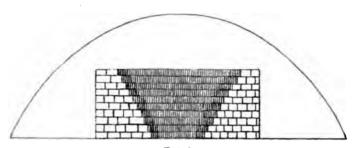


Fig: 3. Haris Chandra Rájá s Temb.

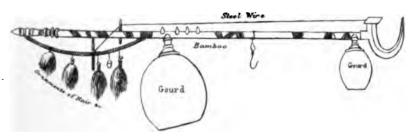
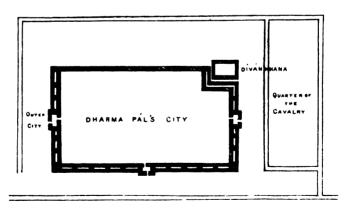


Fig: 4 Sarmga er Tambúrá.



Pig 1

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 the twelve káorís demanded; so the Hádi finally took him to the house of a harlot named Hírá.

### Hi'ra' the Harlot.

According to popular tradition, Hírá is said to have lived at "Kholá Kutá 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 Háti, 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 Hírá's residence was near the Karatoyá. Dinájpur is to the west of Rangpur, and if the original belief was that Kholá Kutá (? Kholá Háti) was "to the west in Dinájpur" the change for "in" to "of" need not surprise us. The locality of Hírá's house is not mentioned in the poem, but a reference to v. 658 will show that it probably was Kholá Háti.

Hirá, of course, fell in love with the king, and, being a woman of property, easily found it in her power to borrow the twelve káorís 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 (vv. 537-546).

After obtaining possession of the king, Hírá 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 bhángí 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.

• Gopí Chandra is much lauded for his continence, but, as it appears that the Hádi before leaving him made him a neuter, there is really little ground for credit.

## 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 Karatoyá, 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 káorís.

## 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 here 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 Saiva 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 Saiva 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 Vaishnava interpolations or additions (e. g. the introductory lines) are written in a Bengálí 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—

800 Basso ......

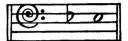


I do not give the harmonies of this, because I cannot. I tried to reproduce them on a harmonium, but though I believe I got the separate notes of each part correctly first on a violin, from the mouth of each

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 music of the narrative portion of the poem. Each "duyá," 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 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 kathás) 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।

भाविषो रामेर नाम चिन्तिषो एव मने ।	
नहते रामेर नाम कि करिवे यमे।	٩
ष्यधमे ना नेष नाम जीभेर षाणिसे।	
षम्दतेर भाग्ध तनु गरासिष विवे ।	₹
हेंटे यादते ये जन रामेर नाम जय ।	
धनुक वान जैया राम भक्त सङ्गे याय 🛮	Ę
राम नामेर नौका खान ऋीगुब काखारी।	
दुइ वाज्र पसरिया डाके खास पार करि ।	8
रामेर वन्दन चहल मस्तक उपर।	
<b>चु</b> द्रया रामेर गुन सिद्धार गुन गाह ।	
याके वन्दिकेर सिद्धि पार ।	¥.
मानिक चन्द्र राजा वज्जे वज् सति।	
जाराजा पत्र राजा पत्र पर्व चाता। ज्ञान खानाय मासङ्ग साधे देड वृद्धि कड़ि॥	€
	4
देड़ वुड़ी कड़ी जोने खाजना योगाय।	_
चरुमि पुजार दिने पांठा गोटे चय्॥	9
बड़ीवेचा हैये ये खड़ी भार योगाय ।	
तार बदनी क्य मास पान खाय ॥	~
पातवेचा हैये ये पात बाटि योगाय ।	
तारे वदनी इयं मास पान खाय्॥	E
रेत मानिक चन्द्र राजा सबया गालेर बेड़ा।	
रकतन येकतन कैरे ये खाइके तार दुग्रत घोड़ा।	
धिने वान्दि नाहि पिन्दे पाठेर पाछड़ा ॥	१०
कारी माड़ाल केंद्र ना याय	•
कारा पुर्व्यागीर जन के इना खायू॥	<b>१</b> १
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

१ | यसे | 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. ॥ १ | जीसेर चाजिसे == जिसेर चाजसे । तराचित्र == पाच करिता ॥ ॥ पसरिया == प्रसरिया । १० । एकतम चेकतम == एसम येसम, चर्चात् येसम तेसम । विमे वान्दि == एसम योसम्, चर्चात् यस्त विमे वान्दि == एसम योसम्, चर्चात् यस्त विमे वान्दि == एसम यसम् विमे वान्दि == एसम वान्दि == ए

G. A. Grierson—The Song of Manik Chandra.	[Mu. 9,
<b>चावाल यमके डाकिवार लागिल ।</b>	
गोदा यमेर नामे चिठि हाखोनात मेरे दिन ।	80
तोन वनों गोदा यम बान्य मार घर।	
इति गले मानिक चन्द्र राजाक वान्धिया हाजिर कर ।	8१
चामेर दि जोचार डाक्न नेजे ग्रिरे। दिया।	•
तखने मोदा यम चिलल हाठिया ।	83
कत दुरे येथे गोदा कत पाका पाय ।	
कतक याहते मानिक चन्द्र राजार वाड़ी पाय 🛙	88
इय मासेर वाहिना राजा महनेर भितर।	
तकोत खबर नाहि करे मयुना सुन्दर ।	88
तोक वलों ये नेक्स पात्र वाक्य मोर धर।	
यह कथा जानाची मिथ् मयुनार वरावर 🛊	84
इयं मासेर काहिना राजा महत्तेर भितर।	
देखा नैरवार चाय राज राजेश्वर ॥	8€
य कथा श्रुनिया नेष्ट्रा ना चाकिक रैया ।	•
मय्नार मञ्जे चिंति इंटिया ।	80
चाग दुयारे मयुना मति पसार खेलायु।	
खिरिकर दुगारे दिया परनाम जानाय ॥	86
केने केने नेक्स खाइलेन कि कारन ॥	8&
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<sup>॥</sup> ४७। इत्योज्ञात = حوالت ॥ ४७। तयोत=तावत्॥ ४०। रैया = रहिया॥

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१८ । वसेर = वस्तेर । कन्दे = स्कला ॥ (० । तरवे = तर्भ ॥ (९ । दुपर == दुर प्रचर ॥

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An although the contract in 2 de 1	
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हर। स्नाम = सामी ॥ हर। वहरत = वसरे॥ हह। किराने = كنارى ॥ ورا सरन = सरव॥ १०। दरिया = ادرا

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१२२। समें == खर्मे ॥ १६०। मरदाचात == کردن مین پر १२१। स्वार == एरखेर ॥

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चामि कार कही रवरे नविन वसते॥ धुगा॥	१ १७

१९(। में। साक्षि — समु सिवा ॥ १९८। साम्य — सम्बे ॥ १४१। सहवार — यदिवार ॥ १४४। वाम — वाचोयात्र — हापंचासत्। तेपवीत — निपर्व ॥

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तुडु तुडु बरिया मयुना जङ्गार काड़िब।	
यतं मनि गनम जङ्गारे नामाहम ॥	€ 8€
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## माघ मासिया जार नामिवे जननेर मितर। १६८ न्नपान भक्ति सिन्दुर मयुना परिते नामिन। १६८ पाठेर साडी मयना परिधान करिया। सुवर्ग काटारि खामेर ठाक निक इस्तेते करिया। उत्तर दिखने राजाक निक साताह्या ॥ 9.00 मयनार डाइन इस्तेते राजा सितान दिन। राजार वाम इस्त मयुना सितान दिन # १७१ रक्खान करिया खड़ी दिल नगरि घरे घरे। चाकास जमिने खड़ी ठेक कांगिक ॥ १७२ चीया चन्दन विठाइल चन्द्र सदागर। चनक कामाद्या दिते नार एक रति ॥

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१०४। उसा == उस्ता। १०८। वैसे बारे == विसारे ॥

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नाम राजार तखनइ राखिन।

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१०८। माड़ि == मासि ॥ १९१ । सन्य == सन्छ । परस == सार्श ॥

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स्त्री चर्ये ना करे खामीर भक्ति।	``
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चारिटा भाग्ड तार गेंब चधगति॥	<b>स्</b> र्
गुब ना भजिने भाख चगाने ना खाय।	***
चराविष्णु देश इस्ले कामा छाड़ि याय ॥	<b>७</b> १५
चागुने पिंजने भाग्ड चय छाड़ खार।	**
जनत भावेया दिने मतार चाहार ॥	इ१८
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कान दिया ना देखों तोर भाखर निस्तार ।	<b>३</b> १६
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१०६। मुख्यकर — ا ملک ॥ २००। दरवारत = با با بانی ॥ २०८। पति — प्रति ॥ १९२। देाया — दितीय ॥ १९०। काजा — काक। cf. the Braj Bháshá काज ॥

G. A. Grierson—The Song of Manik Uhandra.	[No. 3,
वाका निज कमलेरे कोमन केरे।	
व्यथीतेर सङ्ग याच्ये। बाेके विकवे।	
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नेमन नैरे येते चाचो परदेस साग्रिया।	• • •
बेमन जान खाके मयुनार नेखा परखिया ।	इश्र
तैन परिचा देखी मयुनार वरावर ।	• • •
रे परिचाय याय यदि उत्तरिया ।	
मक्तन मुडिया तवे याची सञ्चास च्ह्या ॥	इरइ
रह क्या सुनिया राजा ना चाकिल रेया।	```
दरवार नामिया राजा मेन चिनया ॥	₹२८
दरवारे विसया राजा वेचरित मन।	( \
दयार भार गोनाम खेतुन डाने घन घन ॥	<b>३</b> २५
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माय्र मञ्जल सामिया याखो वन चित्या ॥	<b>₹</b> २ <b>€</b>
यह कथा सुनिया ना चाकिल <b>रैया</b> ॥	इर७
यह कथा वर्ष मिया मयुनार वरावर।	``
तेल परिचा दिवार चाय तामार वरावर ॥	इष्ट
रह कथा सुनिया मयुगा चासिते लाजिल।	•
तामार वृद्धि नयं वधु सक्तकर चक्रा।	
यत वृद्धि सिखिया देय निरासी सकल ॥	<b>३</b> २८
रक परिचार वर्ष सात परिचा दिस्।	,,,
तबु तार राजार वेटा वाड़ी घर छाड़ासु॥	<b>\$</b> \$0
तोक वकीं भाइया खेतु वाका मार धर॥	<b>77</b> 7
खाताइका पाताइका चौका नेकी वक खारापिया।	***
तिनटा नारिकाेषर प्रव तेव्हिरा खिचिया ॥	इहर

१२२। परिवाया — परीचा॥ १२॥। दुयार — दितीक्षेर ॥ १२८। निरासी — भीरस ॥

साइट मान कड़ाइ दिल चौकाय चड़ाइया।	
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सात दिन पर्य्यन्त जाब देय निदम करिया ॥	<b>३</b> ३५
रक दिन दुइ दिन पच्च दिन च्वइत ।	
सात दिन खन्तरत इतनी उठाइन 🏿	₹३ <b>६</b>
तेन गरम चर्याचे चागुनर समान।	
यह कथा जानाहल खेतु राजार वरावर 🖡	<b>२ २</b> ०
तेन परिचा चहन गोनाम वरावर ॥	इइट
कि बाजा वसेन तुमि राज राजेखर।	
रूड क्या वर्ष गिया मायर वरावर ।	३५६
तैन परिचा तैयार चहन राजार वरावर।	
राजा तजव करे मा सीच्र करे चल ॥	₹8•
तार वापर खांचों ना तार राजार वापर खांचों।	
तार वापर खांचों ना तार राजार वापर खांचों । तामार ज्ञुनत कि परिचा दिवार यांचों ॥	₹8२
	₹8१
	₹8 <b>₹</b>
तामार जन्मत कि परिचा दिवार यांचों ॥  यह कथा जानाहन राजार बरावर ॥  यह कथा सुनिया राजा कोडमान चहन ।	
तामार जन्मत कि परिचा दिवार यांचों ॥  एह क्या जानाहत राजार वरावर ॥  एह क्या सुनिया राजा कोडमान इहत ।  धरर सेंचोयांकी मामका राजा खेतुन फेलाहया दिन ॥	
तामार जन्मत कि परिचा दिवार यांचों ॥  यह कथा जानाहक राजार वरावर ॥  यह कथा सुनिया राजा कोडमान चहक । धरर सेंचोयांकी गामका राजा खेतुक फेकाहया दिवा ॥  ये गामका दिया वासिक मिंडिया ।	₹8₹
तामार जन्मत कि परिचा दिवार यांचों ॥  एह क्या जानाहक राजार बरावर ॥  एह क्या सुनिया राजा कोडमान चहक । धरर सेंचोयांकी गामका राजा खेतुक फेकाहया दिवा ॥  ऐ गामका दिया वान्धिक मिंजिया ।  मयना मतिक दिक तेंकत फेकाहया ॥	₹8₹
तामार जन्मत कि परिचा दिवार यांचों ॥  यह कथा जानाहक राजार बरावर ॥  यह कथा सुनिया राजा कोडमान चहक ।  धरर सेंचोयांकी गामका राजा खेतुक फेकाहया दिवा ॥  ये गामका दिया वान्यिक भिंडिया ।  मयना मतिक दिक तेंकत फेकाहया ॥  येन मते मयना मित तेंके पड़िका ।	<b>₹8</b> ₹
तामार जन्मत कि परिचा दिवार यांचों ॥  एह क्या जानाहक राजार बरावर ॥  एह क्या सुनिया राजा कोडमान चहक ।  धरर सेंचोयांकी गामका राजा खेतुक फेकाहया दिवा ॥  ऐ गामका दिया वान्धिक मिंजिया ।  मयना मतिक दिक तेंकत फेकाहया ॥  थेन मते मयना मति तेंचे पिंज्य ।  धां धां करिया चनक सर्गत देखा दिक ॥	<b>₹8</b> ₹
तामार जन्मत कि परिचा दिवार यांचों ॥  यह कथा जानाहक राजार बरावर ॥  यह कथा सनिया राजा कोडमान चहक ।  धरर संखोयांकी गामका राजा खेतुक पेकाहया दिवा ॥  ये गामका दिया वान्धिक भिंड़िया ।  मग्ना मतिक दिल तेकत पेकाहया ॥  येन मते मग्ना मति तेके पड़िका ।  धां धां करिया चनक सर्गत देखा दिका ॥  तेकत पड़िया मग्ना हिवक गका चहते ।	₹8₹ ₹8 <b>₹</b>
तामार जन्मत कि परिचा दिवार यांचों ॥  एह क्या जानाहक राजार वरावर ॥  एह क्या सुनिया राजा को द्यमान चहक ।  धरर सेंचोयाकी गामका राजा खेतुक फेकाहया दिवा ॥  ये गामका दिया वान्धिक मिंडिया ।  मयना मितक दिक तेंकत फेकाहया ॥  येन मते मयना मित तेंचे पड़िका ।  धां धां करिया चनक सर्गत देखा दिका ॥  तेकत पड़िया मयना हिवक गका चहते ।  चाञ्चले चाञ्चले तेंक मुकठिया वसाय मार्थे ॥	₹8₹ ₹8 <b>₹</b>
तामार जन्मत कि परिचा दिवार यांचों ॥  यह कथा जानाहक राजार वरावर ॥  यह कथा सुनिया राजा कोडमान चहक ।  धरर सेंचोयांकी गामका राजा खेतुक फेकाहया दिवा ॥  ये गामका दिया वान्सिक भिंड़िया ।  मयना मतिक दिल तेंकत फेकाहया ॥  येन मते मयना मित तेंके पड़िका ।  धां धां करिया चनक सर्गत देखा दिका ॥  तेंकत पड़िया मयना हिवक गाका चहते ।  चाझके चाझके तेंक मुकठिया वसाय माथे ॥  सम्भाट देखिया राजा कोडमान चहका ।	\$ 6 \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$
तामार जन्मत कि परिचा दिवार यांचों ॥  यह कथा जानाहत राजार वरावर ॥  यह कथा सुनिया राजा कोडमान चहत ।  धरर सेंचोयांकी गामका राजा खेतुक फेकाहया दिवा ॥  ये गामका दिया वान्धिक भिंडिया ।  मयना मतिक दिल तेंकत फेकाहया ॥  येन मते मयना मित तेंचे पिंडिया ।  धां घां करिया चनक सर्गत देखा दिक ॥  तेंकत पिंड्या मयना हिवल गला चहते ।  घाञ्चले चाञ्चले तेंक सुकठिया वसाय माचे ॥  सम्माट देखिया राजा कोडमान चहल ।  गोनाम गोनाम विनये खेतुक स गांकी पांडिक ॥	\$ 6 \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$
तामार जन्मत कि परिचा दिवार यांचों ॥  यह कथा जानाहक राजार वरावर ॥  यह कथा सुनिया राजा कोडमान चहक ।  धरर सेंचोयांकी गामका राजा खेतुक फेकाहया दिवा ॥  ये गामका दिया वान्सिक भिंड़िया ।  मयना मतिक दिल तेंकत फेकाहया ॥  येन मते मयना मित तेंके पड़िका ।  धां धां करिया चनक सर्गत देखा दिका ॥  तेंकत पड़िया मयना हिवक गाका चहते ।  चाझके चाझके तेंक मुकठिया वसाय माथे ॥  सम्भाट देखिया राजा कोडमान चहका ।	\$ 8 \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$

G. A. Grierson—The bong of manufacture	[210.0,
एक दिन दुइ दिन तिन दिन चहक।	
भी वप घुइल मयना रक्तर करिया।	
सरिसार बप इइन काया वदनाइया ।	₹8€
नचो दिन चन्तरत खेतु कावनी उठाइन ।	
जननी ना देखिया खेतु कान्दिवार लामिल ।	इपू ०
यह कथा जानाइल राजार वरावर।	
मा तार करिया गेन यमर घर ॥	₹५१
कार जन्ये पागिंड राखिक मस्तकर उपर।	·
चामाक कुरया जल ना खाय वामन पश्च जन ॥	₹५२
मा मा विचया राजा कान्दिवार जामिज।	₹५३
विधि खामाक माछाड़ा करिल दोननाच रे।	
यह किल कपालर सेखा।	•
माय्र सङ्गे ना इस्त देखा॥ धुया॥	इप्र
रक मुट खोचा बह्क इस्तत करिया।	
तैलर माभत वेड़ाय चास्तिया ॥	<b>च्</b> प्र
यक चाल दुइ चाल तिन चाल चइल।	
तिन चालर समय गामका उठाइल 🛚	
मचा मांस नाइ मयुनार खनलर मितर 🏿	₹५६
सेाल मरदे नच्चो कड़ाइ साइङ्ग करिया।	
तेपचीत नि याया तैन फेनाइन ढानिया ॥	sko.
धां धां करिया चनन सर्ग देखा दिन।	
सरिसार रूप इय्या दुवाय नुकाहक ॥	इंग्रूट
खकारने खेतु कान्दिवार लागिल।	•
खेतुर कान्दने मयनार दया इहल ।	इपूट
वाइन्दना वाइन्दना गोषाम खेतु वान्दन चीमा वर ।	
सुद्र मयुना पाेंडा ना यांचा बागुनर मितर ॥	₹ <b>६</b> ०
साइट मेान जड़ाई लहल इस्तत करिया।	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
राजार खग्ने दिन शाजिर करिया ।	<b>३</b> ६१
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यन यन निरंग सात परिचा दिल।	
सात परिचाय मयुना उतरिया गेन ॥	₹∉र
राजा वर्षे सुन मय्ना मित मा तुंद्र।	
तुर चान सिखिषु कान सिद्धार ठांर ।	<b>१</b> ६१
मान चान सिखिवार कथा कान बाउबर ठांह।	₹€8
सुद्र ज्ञान सिखिनु गोरक नाथर ठांद्र।	140
तान ज्ञान सिखिवार कंबों खोला हाड़िर ठांह।	<b>ર</b> હ્ય
ष्टाड़िर क्या सुनिया राजा करत दिल द्वात।	774
व्यथमं कथा व्यक्ति जिञ्जात ॥	. २६६
इाड़ि काड़ जाति खेतखाना निकाह्या ना करे खान।	
वारस दख राजा चर्या करिस चाड़िक प्रनाम ॥	<b>२</b> ६७
	**
मयुना वसे सन यादु चुप करिया कहस कथा।	
इाङ् येन ना सुने चिमसाप दिने मरिवु एखन ॥	इ∉⊏
तार नगरिया प्रदीप जले तैने चार घिये।	**
रे चाड़ि प्रदीप व्याजाय सुध गङ्गार वर्ते ॥	₹€€
यत गुढि प्रदीप नाह तार नगरियार घरे।	((
चत गुढि प्रदीप हाड़िर खपरार भितरे ।	<b>\$</b> 00
काहार घरे खाय हाड़ि काहार घरे याय।	`
मुखर जीखीयावे दरिया वान्दा याय ॥	इ७१
दरवारे चार्किया राजा वेचरित मन।	` `
द्यार माह गोजाम खेतु डाके घने घन ॥	<i>३७</i> २
केष्यय गेन भार चागे पान खासु।	•
वाप कालिया पिखतक जाजिर करिस ॥	इ०इ
•	` `
रह क्या सुनिया खेतु ना चाकिल रैया।	
पिस्तिर मञ्जन नामिया मेन चिनया ॥	<b>₹0</b> 8
तान वनीं पिख्त ठानुर वाम्य मेार धर।	•
राजा तसव करे महसर मितर।	
सीघुमति चिनया याची राज दरवार ॥	₹ <b>અ</b>

२११। ठाँइ -- (चिव) छाने (?)॥

चटन धुति मठन धुति परिधान नरिया ।	
जोड़ जोड़ पैता दिसे मचाय तुचिया ।	₹ <b></b> 0€
पञ्चिकार दक्तर करक वगने डाविया।	` `
राज दरवारक जामिया चिवच इंटिया 🛙	₹99
भर काकारि राजा करे डामा डौक।	•
हेन समय खाड़ा इरन पब्स्तिर कुमर 🛊	<b>३७</b> ८
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कुकर देवता विकया महाराज प्रमाम जागाइक 🛙	305
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बो ठाकुर बो ठाकुर दैवन चुड़ामनि ।	<b>३८०</b>
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कान दिना राजार वेटा मुखाइवे माथा ।	इट१
कान दिना महाराज सुसङ्ग माखिने।	
के।न दिना धर्मी राज दुइ कर्न छेदिने ।	इच्स
बोन दिना धर्मी राज होड़ कपिन पड़िने।	
कान दिना दिसु मार ज्ञातत दायादस ।	इच्ह
केरन दिना इवे खामार विदेस गमन।	•
यह गमा ग्रामिया देखी खामार वरावर ॥	<b>\$</b> ∠8
सुभ सुम करिया पश्चिका वाहेर करिक।	
चापनि सिद्धान्तर पञ्जिका वर्षे चाच्यो दिया।	इच्य
मक्रववारर दिन सिवाहवे मुवि बांघा।	
बुधवारर दिन सुड़ाइवे माथा ॥	<b>३प्</b>
रुष्यतिवारर दिन ससङ्ग मासिने।	
सुजवारर दिन राजा दुर कर्न छेदिवे ।	\$50
सुज्ञवारर दिन राजा दुइ कर्ने हेदिवे।	_
सनिवारर दिन राजा डोड़ कपिन पड़िने॥	. इटट
रविवार दिन राजा ज्ञातत देायादस।	
रे दिवसे इवे राजा विदेस ग्रमन ।	इट्ट
वाड़ी चहते निया याचे तामान वुद्धि मरसा दिया।	
किह दुःख दिवे तामाक अक्रुल वाड़ी दिया।	
षार निकुदुःख दिवे वाना वाड़ी दिया ।	9.5€

बार विकु दुःख दिवे बीक्का नगरत।	
बान्दी युद्रया खावे तामाक हिरा वेखार घरत॥	₹€१
वेखार परिधान इवे बातुन पाटर साड़ी।	•
तार राजार परिधान चुवे वार गांद्रटे दिए।	
आवाड़ि घानर चाउन दिवे विचिया वार्त्तन ॥	इटर
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सिकिया बाकुया दिवे दुइटा जकर चाड़ि।	
दिनठाय सोजन इवे वार भार पानि ॥	<b>एट</b> €
राजा वसे सन ठाकुर दुख सख कपाकर सेखा।	
मऊत निखा पांय विधाता निखियाके ।	
चाड़ार चचरे खखन यावार नय्।	<b>७</b> ३ <i>इ</i>
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<b>विकु</b> दान दिया विदाय करिया दिख।	
वापर काकर नापितक खानिया चाजिर कर ॥	₹€€
नापितर मच्चक नागिया गेन चिनया।	
नापितक तवे चानिक हाकिया ।	
भांहड जुर बह्या चास चित्रा ॥	600
भर कार्चारि राजा करे डाम्बा डीज ।	
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वनर इरिनी कान्दे हेट करिया माचा ।	8∘₹

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घाटियाजर घाटत कान्दे बाइस काइन नास्रो ।	
वाहस बाह्न नौका कान्दे तेहस बाह्न डांडि।	
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इरिनर वाबाखाना कान्दे होकरान चाखोखाना ।	
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सिकारि खेनाइते कान्दे नची वृद्धि कुकुर ।	8∙€
डाक्टरखाना तोसाखाना कान्दे ठाँर ठाँर।	•
जनटिष्ठि गोकुन नाम्दे बेखा योखा नार ॥	8 0 0
द्यातिसानाय दाति कान्दे पैघरत कान्दे घोड़ा।	
पाट महत्तर कान्दने भिन्ने जामा जोड़ा 🛙	<b>7</b> 08
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चदुना पदुना कान्दे दुइ चरन धरिया ।	8१०
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चाय चाय स्थामि धन पाचान कार्डिया।	
के बार पालिया नवे छ्ते बन्न दिया।	<b>8</b> ११
राजार मा मयुना कान्दे चत्तत पानि दिया।	
रक भाड़ि गन्नार जल योगाइक चानिया 🖟	<b>8</b> १ <b>२</b>
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सर्वर वाटित लहल जल जालिया ।	8 <b>१ इ</b>
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मोर यादुर माथा कामाहते ना घिनाखो।	
<b>चिरा दिया वान्धि दिसु मानिक दिसु चिन ॥</b>	८४€
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४०४। विद्यापर = विश्वेषर। ४०५। ताखीन खाना = قالم غاله ॥ ४००। डाक्टर = Doctor ॥ ४०८। डाक्टर = पूनि ॥

सक्त चुन कामाइची राइख वंग चुनि।	
बवस्य उड़ारवु दारिवु बेन्या भूति ॥	<i>७</i> १८
चुर तुषिया रक सत दिन राजार केस स्तिकाय पिंड्स।	
बेसी गन्ना चर्या विचवार जागिल ॥	85 ट
तुब तुब करिया मयुगा ऊक्षार छाड़िक।	
सेाज सत सुनि डाङ्गारत गामिज ॥	8१६
पुस्परचे नामिन गोरक विद्याधर।	
<b>े किवाइने गामिज गारद मुनिवर</b> ॥	8 <b>२</b> ०
वासेायार पिठित गामिया गेन भोना महेखर।	
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पांच भाइ पाख्डव नामिल ठांइ ठांइ।	
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षामार केवा जरल रे॥ ॥ धुया ॥  गापितर इक्तर जुर जरल काड़िया ।  रे जुर कानफाड़ार इक्त दिल तुलिया ॥  येन मते कानफाड़ा जुर इक्ते पार्व ।  राम राम विनया राजार दुरकर्न फाड़िक ॥	८२५
षामार केवा नहल रे॥ ॥ धुया ॥  गापितर इक्तर जुर नहल काड़िया ।  रे जुर कानफाड़ार इक्त दिन तुनिया ॥  येन मते नानफाड़ा जुर इक्ते पाइन ।  राम राम विनया राजार दुइकर्न फाड़िन ॥  फाठिकर कुखन राजान पड़ाइन ।	8 <b>२५</b> 8 <b>२</b> ६
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मामार केवा नहल रे॥ ॥ धुया ॥  गामितर इक्तर क्षर नहल काड़िया ।  रे जुर कानफाड़ार इक्त दिल तुनिया ॥  येन मते कानफाड़ा जुर इक्ते माहन ।  राम राम विनया राजार दुइक्त फाड़िन ॥  माठिकर कुख्ड राजाक पड़ाहन ।  मगवान वस्त्र चानिया योगाहन ॥  पांच वैद्याव धरिया कपिन पड़ाहवार नागिन ।  र डोर कपिन राजाक पड़ाहन ॥	8 <b>२५</b> 8 <b>२६</b> 8 <b>२७</b>
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वामार केवा वहल रे॥ ॥ धुया ॥  गापितर इक्तर जुर वहल काड़िया ।  रे जुर कानपाड़ार इक्त दिल तुिवया ॥  येन मते कानपाड़ा जुर इक्ते पाह्ल ।  राम राम विनया राजार दुइक्त पाड़िल ॥  पाठिकर कुख्ड राजाक पड़ाइन ।  भगवान वक्त व्यानिया योगाइन ॥  पांच वैव्याव धरिया कपिन पड़ाइवार नागिन ।  र डोर कपिन राजाक पड़ाइन ॥  राम खिनिका गने तुनि दिन ।  मदुर यान इक्तत तुनि दिन ॥  भाषा केया भाषा कपिन भाषा विह्वीस ।  सवे मेनिवया दारत बाहे चैंग्रन्यर दास ॥	85.6 85.6 85.6 85.6
मामार केवा नहल रे॥ ॥ घुगा॥  गामितर इक्तर जुर नहल काड़िया।  ये जुर कानफाड़ार इक्त दिल तुनिया॥  येन मते कानफाड़ा जुर इक्ते पाइन।  राम राम विनया राजार दुइकन फाड़िन॥  पाठिकर कुख्डक राजाक पड़ाइन।  भगवान वस्त्र चानिया योगाइन॥  पांच वैद्याव धरिया कपिन पड़ाइवार नागिन।  य होर कपिन राजाक पड़ाइन॥  राम खिनिका गने तुनि दिन।  नद्र यान इक्तत तुनि दिन॥  मान्ना केंचा भान्ना निपन मान्ना विह्वीस।	824 826 820 820 820

भिन्ना वित्या राजार वेटा कान्दिवार नामिन।	
्र द्वाति घोड़ा देख इत्र ग्रोनाम खेतु भिन्ना दिन ।	
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पांच बाटा जबे मयुना चानान करिया।	
इांसिया निज घरत मयना सान्दाहल मिया ।	8 <b>₹</b> ¥
नड् दिया एक भात पञ्चास खनुन रन्धन करिया।	
खर्नर याजत बन्न दिले परसिया ।	8 ईर्ड्
भिष्मरर् भाष्ट्रि जन दिनेन जिल्ला।	
चन्न खाची चन्न खाची राज दुवाबीया।	
इांसिया खेलिया याची परदेसक नामिया 🛙	8 <i>\$-</i> 9
येन मते चानत सन्न देखिन।	
कपाकत मारिया चड़ कान्दिवार काग्निक॥	826
यखन चाक्तिम भा राज्यत इसर।	•
सर्नर चानत सन्न खाइनु विस्तर 🛭	8इट
रखन इरनु केाड़ाकर मिकारि।	
खर्नर चानतं चन्न खाइते ना पारि ।	88•
रक खान कलार पात चानिक काटिया।	
ताचात व्यव गुटिक वारव जाविया ॥	८८१
भाष्मा तुम्वा चानिन धरिया ।	
ताञ्चात जन पुटिक नाइन ढानिया ॥	883
इतित मुखत जल दिया केान काम करिल।	
खी क्रस्ट विजया अज्ञ मुखत तुर्जिया दिल।	
खी द्वारं वित्या काम मुखत तुर्तिया दिल । एक गासे दुइ गासे पद्म गास खाइल ॥	88₹
खी क्रस्ट विजया अज्ञ मुखत तुर्जिया दिल।	8 8 <b>3</b>

स्तिकाय् मुख लागादया जल चुम्नुक मारि खाइल।	
देविर भाइ सनि क्यांच चित्रच	8 84
सनि केतु राजार गर्भ वास करिल।	
सक्क सरीर राजार मिकन पिड़क 🛙	88€
करना करिया मयना कान्दिवार कांग्रिक 🛙	880
चामार पुत्र वड़ धन रे को रे मिलिया दिवे॥ ॥ धुया॥	886
परदेसे याद्रया परार पति वास।	
चार्गे खावे गिरिवाक पचात तक्षास ।	886
चतित वैद्याव देखिया ना करिची हेना।	
गड़ इया परनाम करेन यार गनत माला ॥	84 •
सरिसाते सब दुवकाते हिन।	
तखने पानु परदेसर चिन ।	84.5
22.00	
यु ज गोटेक देखिया यु ज ना माज़िसु।	
पाखी गोटेब देखियां हेब ना मारिस ।	8पू र
पर स्त्रीन देखिया हास्य ना निरमु ।	
चागत मा दाय दिया पचात भिक्ता चसु ।	8५३
सेाज काइन कड़ि दिल भोजिङ्गाय साजाहया।	
कड़ीर कथा ना कन तार गुबर वरावर ।	8 Y 8
क्टाइ मस्म करिया कड़िक पटासु।	
यसर घर चारिर पाचे गमन करिसु ।	844
रक सत रानी गेन खेतुर वरावर।	
<b>बदुना पदुना गेल बापनार महत्त ॥</b>	84€
बार जागाय चीनि पहरा तेर जागाय चाना।	
चितित वैव्यव याबार से वाड़ी माना ।	8 <i>i</i>
वेन मृते बन्धा दुइटि मन्दीर चान्दाइन ।	
विन क्रोड़ाने धर्मार क्याट् खायने वागिव !	8 <i>Y</i> C
पासा धरिया वसिन चाचा ना करिया ।	८४८
ये दिन इस्तर पासा पड़िने चाउतिया।	
रे दिन नेार खामी याहवे मरिया ॥	8 <b>ई</b> •

राज्य भार रहत जननी मायुर केलित।	
हार्षि राजा चिनया गेन परदेस सहरत ॥	8€१
रक क्रीस दुइ क्रोस पच क्रीस ग्रेज।	•
चरन पाटिया राजार रक्क पिड़वार जागिज ।	8 <b>६</b> २
दुख मेर जिखियां है जपाने चोरे विधि निरने वसिया ॥ धुया	॥ 8€₹
रक दिन दुइ दिन सात दिन इहत ।	
किवा राच किवा दिन ছाटिवार कामिक ।	8€8
रह राजार मुनुक काड़िया खन्य मुनुक ग्रेन ।	
चारि वने जय विधि मार कपानर पन ॥	8 <b>4</b> ¥
दम्पा कथा विक्रहे राजा खामार वरावर ।	
किन्नु दुख देँ चाँ घड़िकर भितर ॥	844
तुब तुब बरिया चाड़ि ऊङ्गार काड़िन।	
सन्नाकारत द्वारि सिद्धा अङ्गन सिर्च्नाइन 🛙	8 <b>€</b> ⊘
क्राट जन्नन क्राव्या वड़ जन्नने पाची ।	
चाउ ढाउ सुखारन मुखे ना चारसे चाचो ।	84=
सुज्ञाकारत चारिभ्रोच सुज्ञत चिवया ।	
दोना इसत याय राजा जक्क ठेकिया ॥	8€&
इज्लिकाटे विज्ञिकाटे रक्ता पड़े धारे।	
श्राटिवार ना पारे राजा कपाल चड़ मारे	8.00
चामार रंद्र दुःख वैजमु कार चागे।	
मुब धन इहले निदाबन ॥ ॥ धुया ॥	8.96
चार किन्नु दुःख दिन वाना वाड़ी दिया।	
राजार कान्द्रनत भाजिर दया उवजीन।	
केव कदम्बर ब्राह्म घांटाय सिर्जाहक ।	8 <i>•</i> ≥€
बन्ध तनत याय राजा सन्दरत गोविन।	
चांजुषत चांजुषत चत्रत चाहत निन ।	<i>\$9</i> \$
जल भाष्ट्रिया वाला भाष्ट्रिया वड़ पेनु दुःख।	
वांची उब स्तिकाय देची चनेक मारि सुख ।	808

४६०। युद्राकारत — ग्रन्थाकामे ॥ ४०२। जनजीत — जपजिल सर्थान् जना स्ट्ला ॥ ४०२। निन — निहा ॥ ४०४। नु — पाद्रलाम ॥

• •	
बांबी उद चारि स्तिकाय पेनि दिन ।	
सितान दिया राजा नित्राय पिक्न ॥	8 <i>01</i>
तुर तुर करिया चारि ऊक्षार काड़िक।	
रक सत यम डाकिया चानिक ।	8 <i>∂</i> €
हारि वर्षे यम वान्य भार धर।	
सात द्वात खोसार मास्ति एक वुक उच ।	
	0.00
रेंडे चहत वान्धि नि याची दारियापुर सहर ॥	8.00
रं क्या सुनिया यम ना भाक्ति रैया।	
मास्ति वास्तिवे यम ग्रेन चिनया ।	୫୬୯
सात द्वात बोसार मास्ति एक वृक्त उच ।	
रेटे चरते वान्वि नि यारण दारियापुर सहर ॥	308
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किन् किन्नु रुचा माड़ान नागाइन ॥	820
बच चापर राजाने तुनिया मारिन।	
मुब मुब बिनया राजा कान्द्रिया उठिन ।	828
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बार कड़ा कड़ि देखो खांचों सुख ॥	८८५
वार नज़ार गाञ्चा खांचों निनिया।	
तवे तामाक जर्या यार घाड्यरक जागारया ॥	85
येन मते धर्मि राजा सम्बाद सुनित ।	•
राम राम विचया कर्नत ज्ञात दिक ॥	8~8
र मुजाब खान मुख वाप मेा ना जानी।	
रमन बनाचारर सङ्गत बाहरी नेान जन।	
चनाचारर सङ्गत चारले चवस्य मरन ॥	8ट्य
बार कड़ार बदलत गुब वारी काचीन कची।	• •
बान्दा क्रान्दार कार्य नार फिरिया घरे याची ॥	824
ध्यानत चाक्ति चाड़ि चमित्रया उटिन ॥	850
धानत चार्डि गुर्ब धान करि चाय्।	
धानर मामत सेल नाखान कड़ी भोनार नागान पाय ॥	055
	855
रर मा मान बाहे बानत डाफ्सर।	
बाज काइन कड़ि दिके भाजपूर भितर ॥	8 <i>⊆</i> €

४८० । सुन्नत == ग्रन्थे ॥ ४८९ । नोस्ना == همه کمخت کو ا ﴿ وَا وَا مِنْهُمُ مُحْتُمُ وَا ا وَا مُنْهُمُ مُنْهُمُ مُنْ

काड़िया मरिया टाका देखा भोजा मरिया नेखा।	
बामार महत्र इाड़िया बन्ध महत्त याची ॥	યુ૰ર
महाराजाक बहते तर्वे इक्तत धरिया।	
देक्षानर गक्ति वेडाय् इंटिया ।	યુ•ફ
बान्दा नेची वान्दा नेची चिड़ा वेचि मार।	•
येन मते चिड़ा वेचि राजान देखिन।	
चिड़ार देकान खान पानेया पेकिन।	યુ૰8
राजार बमर घन्ने मरों विविदा।	
चनेव वरिया निव होड़ाइया ।	શુ •પૂ
बान्दा नेची वान्दा नेची इजदि वेचि माइ।	
बान्दा नेचा वान्दा नेचा साक वेश्व माइ।	ય∘€
वान्दा नेची वान्दा नेची चाड़र वेचि मार।	•
वान्दा नेचा वान्दा नेचा कालाइ वेचि माइ।	400
येन मते काकाइ वेचि राजाक देखिल।	
घरर स्थामिन चाइन बाप दाय दिया	4.०८
वेत दोकान सब फेकाइक पाकेया।	
राजार बनर धरिक मरिनु वर्षिया ॥	યુ ૦ હ
चिड़ा वेचि उठिया बने काना वेचि ऊत्तिया तुर।	
काड़िया दे राजार जनर चारी धरन सुद्र ।	4१.
राजार कमर धरिया टानिवार कात्रिक।	
अकारन करिया राजा कान्दिवार कांग्रिक ॥	યરર
राजार कान्दने हाड़िर दया जनमित ।	
इन्द्र राजाक वामिया उद्घार हाड़िव	<b>५</b> १२
धुम धाम करिया पाचर पड़िते नामिन ।	·
राजार बमर इंजिया सव घराघरि ग्रेन ।	<b>५</b> ९३
दुवार इाड़ दुवार छाड़ काकार वेचि भोन।	
भिजिया वाहेरा देखन भिजिया मिर वाहेरा देखन ॥	યૂર્ક
येन मते बाबाइ वेचि सेब्टा क्या पाइन ।	•
हाउन दाउन निर्या दरेजा हाड़ि दिन ॥	યરપ
काबाद काज़ा गारन निया ये बादन ।	
रे गाइन दिया डाङ्गावार जागिज ॥	પ્રવ્€
नाम चुन माठिया हेराडारा दिन।	- <del>-</del>
वारत चात दिया बाच्चिर करि दिन ॥	420

श्रीच क्रांडिया विवय समन ।
 निटर वाङ्गचाय याह्या दिव दिसन ॥ ५२८
 चक्रि ख्रीचिया एक डाङ्ग डाङ्गाह्य ।
 सब्द इहत निटर पुरि वार्ता जानाहवा ॥ ५२५

वान्दि वान्दि विजया डाकाइबार जागिल। कोटेकार महाराजा चिवया बासिक। ताहाके चान तुमि चान्यर हाकाह्या ॥ ५२€ एइ कथा सुनिया वान्दि ना थाकिक रया। चाड़िर साजात ग्रेन चनिया ॥ ५२७ केने २ गुक्धन एत दुर गमन। सिंदासन यानिते केन स्रतिकाय सयन # पूर्ट वासा खोड़ा नाइ चामार भोबार भितर। रवना चेवा चाके भीवादार भितर। 486 वार कड़ा कड़ि चाकिया वान्दा चुहवार चाह। वार कड़ा कड़ि पाइले गांका किनिया खाइ ॥ **५**३० वान्दा नाकि निवे तोसार द्विरा निंट साह। देखों देखों केमन चेका देखिवारे चाइ । **५**३१ चात कोना धरिया वेर करिक टानिया । **ढल मन करिया राजा उठिव व्यलिया ॥** ५ ३२

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बप देखिको नवान भोरि।	। धुया ।	<b>५</b> ३३
रह वया जानाहब वान्दि नटिर	वरावर।	
वेमन रूप खाके राजार चरनर		
सेमन वप नाइ वोमार मुखर उप	ार ∥	4,48
ये राजा विजया तर्प कर र बार	र बत्सर ।	
सेह राजार नागान पाइनु दरजा	र उपर।	પ્રસ્પ
यह कथा सुनिया निट न याकिक	<b>गरे</b> या।	
राजार साचातं चित्र इंटिया		<b>५</b> ३६
चाड़ि बने सुन नटि खामार वर	1 <b>87</b> )	
भाष चेषा वान्दा धुर तोमार वर		es u
बार कड़ा कड़ि चाकिया बान्दा		<i>गू इं</i>
वार कड़ा कड़ि पाइले गांजा कि	=	<b>ग्रह</b>
यह क्या सुनिया निट न चाकि		*4.
वन्दरर साउद मज्ञाननक खानिक		<b>५</b> ३८
दीयात खत क्लम यागाइक खा	_	*/-
वार कड़ा कड़ि नटि खानिक म		ñ80
बेख बेख विषया चाड़ि डकुम	_	•
सम तारिख सी नागजत विखिष		યુકર્
हिरा नटि नामटा कागजत विकि		•
रे वार कड़ा कड़ि कागजत विशि	_	યૂ કર
धर्मर नामटा कागजत विखिव		
रे ननम पेनाइया दिन शाहिर		પૂ 8ફ
येन मते शांडि सिद्धा इसत कव	म पाइन।	
राम राम करिया दक्तखत करि	या दिचा।	#88
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इाड़िर इस्तत महाराजाक नटी	एकत दिवा।	યુ કપૂ
रे दिन इस्ते धर्मि राजा बन्धन	पड़िल।	
रे खत तुलिया नटीर इसत दिव		યૂ ક€
काम कोध मनि भिड़िया वान्धि		- •
ना राखी ना पुरस राजान करि		પૂ 8 <b>૭</b>
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चोच हाड़िया मनन विजय हानुवा।	
साचात उतरिन याद्रया 🛮	प्रट्
वान्दा नेचो वान्दा नेचो चानुगर घर।	
सुन्दर चेना वान्दा थोखों तौर चानुवार घर ।	પ્રશ્હ
सुन्दर वप देखों भाखर उपर।	
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नेमन निर्देशित गिर्देश महत्त्वर भितर ।	ध्रर
योज् योज् दामरा घुइचे दरबोयाजा टाफ्रिया।	
कोन भितकार रामा खाइसे मच्छे चिकाया ॥	યૂરર
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रक ज्ञाजार टाका नेय दरखोयाजाय वसिया 🛙	<b>प्र</b> ह
चोच छाड़िया विषय समन।	
मिटर वाजुकाय याद्रया दिक दरिसम 🛚	યૂર8
नकड़ि खुनिया एक डाङ्ग डाङ्गाइन ।	
सम्द इरल गंटिर पुरि वार्ता जागारन 🛚	પ્રસ્
वान्दि वान्दि विजया डाकाइबार जामिज।	
कोटेकार महाराजा चित्रया आसिव ॥	
ताष्ट्राके चान तुमि चान्यर प्राकारया ॥	યૂર€
रह कथा सुनिया वान्दि ना चाकिक रया।	
<b>चा</b> ड़िर साचात गेन चिनया ॥	યૂ <i>ર</i> ૭
केने२ गुक्धन एत दुर गमन।	
सिंहासन चानिते नेन स्टिन्ताय स्यान 🖁	पूर्
वासा खोड़ा नार जामार भोजार भितर।	
रवना चेना चाके भोनाप्तार भितर।	प्रश्ट
वार कड़ा कड़ि चाकिया वान्दा धुद्रवार चाह।	
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चात कोना धरिया वेर करिक टानिया ।	-
<b>ढन मन क</b> रिया राजा उठिन व्यक्तिया 🛚	<b>५</b> हर

बप देखिने नयान भोरे।	॥ घुग ॥	<u>५</u> ३३
एइ कथा जानाइक वान्दि नटिय		
वेमन रूप खाके राजार चरनर		
सेमन वप नाइ वोमार मुखर उ		<b>५</b> इ. इ.
ये राजा विजया तर्प कर ए वा		
सेर राजार नागान पारन दरज		પ્રથ્
एर कथा सुनिया निट न याकि		
राजार साद्यात चित्रक इंटिया	1	<b>प्र</b> व्
्र		
चाड़ि वसे सन नटि खामार वर भारत केंद्रा साला शह सोसार व		
भाव चेवा वान्दा युद्द तोमार व		યૂ રૂ૭
बार कड़ा कड़ि चाकिया बान्दा		
वार कड़ा कड़ि पारते गांजा वि यह कथा सुनिया नटि न थाकि		<b>ग्रह</b>
वन्दरर साउद महाजनक सानि	_	પ્રસ્ટ
देायात खत क्रकम यागाइक खा बार कड़ा कड़ि नटि खानिक म		11.00
वेख वेख विषया चाड़ि जकुम		₫8•
सम तारिख सी कागजत किखि		D 09
हिरा नटि नामटा <b>का</b> गजन विर्		પ્રકર્
रे बार कड़ा कड़ि कागजत वि		u 05
धर्मार नामटा काग्रजत निखिन		५८२
ये नानम पेनाह्या दिन शाड़िय		uca
येन मते चाड़ि सिद्धा चलत कर		#8#
राम राम बरिया रस्तस्य बरि	_	uoo
वार बाङ्ग बाङ्ग मिथा चाङ्गिर	•	A 88
चारि पड़ा पार्ड गाउँ । चाड़िर इस्तत महाराजाक गठी		
		યુ 8પૂ
रे दिन इस्ते धर्मि राजा वन्धन		
ये खत तुलिया नटीर इसत दिव		४ ३€
नाम कोध मनि भिड़िया वान्धि		
ना राखी ना पुरस राजान करि	ৰে <b> </b>	ñ 8 <i>0</i>

येन मते हिरा नटी वेना सुख हरूल।	
रे वार बड़ा बड़ी स्तिबाय गाड़िक।	₫8 <i>c</i>
येन मत धर्म्भि रामा वेना मुख चहन ।	
सुनानी कुमड़ा इस्ये पातान मेजिन ।	y se
चौद् ताज जनर भितर याम चासन धरिन।	
वार वतसर चान्निन चानि ध्यान धरिया ।	<u>४</u> ५०
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मुबक ना देखिया राजा कान्दिवार नामिक 🛚	યપ્ર
नटी वने राजार वेटा कान्द कि कारन।	
	41.03
तामार बादे तप करि ए बार बत्सर।	પ્રપ્
कार्ग्टि मेच वान्दि चामेया पान खाव।	
धर्मि राजाक चान हिनान कराहरा।	
येटे ये बीमा पाय जान राजान पराह्या ।	યૂપ્ર
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विकान करिते नटी भाष जाने ।	ÄÄB
साटीर उपर् पाटो विकाय एक वृक्ष उक्त ।	
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वं जायुपाव वारपुर राखिव ठांइ ठांइ।	
दिप पेजाहवे राजा नेखा याखा नाह ।	યપ્ર€
येन धर्मिं राजा दुयारत पाची दिल।	•
काेेेंचात करिया राजाक विद्यागय वसाइन ।	
पानर वाटा दिन चाजिर करिया 🛙	<b>પૂ</b> પૂ છ
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य खभागिनी नटी खामि माचा तुर्तिया चाखो ॥	MM =
नं जायृपन कर्पुर देखिया मने चहन खुसि।	
रक्षेक वेका तुर्विया दिव खिवि चारि पांचि 🛙	યપ્રદ
रक ठासन दुइ ठासन तिन ठासन दिन।	•
माखो ये करिके वाधा मनत पांड़िक ॥	<b>ग्र्</b>
परदेस याह्या यादु पड़ाची विद्यास।	1
चागत खाइवे गिरिनोक पचात तक्कास ॥	પ્ર€१
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षुन मोटेन देखिया पुन ना पाड़िन्।	
पार्खि गोटेव देखिया हिमा ना मारिवु॥	<b>ય €</b> ₹
परार स्त्री देखिया इास्य ना नरिवु ॥	ય્€8
सरिसाते सब दुवनाते हिन।	
तखने पावु परदेसर चिन ।	પ્ર€પ
मार्ट क्या येम राजार मनत पिड्क।	
राम राम विजया पानर खिनि जिन्या पेनाहन ।	પ્ર€€
रेटे चूरते नटीर मन खापा चूरये गेल।	
बेने २ पान ना खाची राज राज्येखर।	
तार मुने तप करि ए वार वत्सर ।	ય €૭
चापना चहते वहव पांचटा खिलि चत्तत करिया।	
धार्मिक राजार मुखत दिव तुनिया	
चुचु करिया पानर खिनी पोनाह्न छानिया ॥	<b>पृ</b> क्
वेत्के धर्मि राजा सहरे सहरे वेसे।	
तेत्के हिरा नटी गाको धिसिया वैसे 🛚	પ્ર€૯
सार चन्दन रह्म चन्दन राजान हिटिवार नागिन।	
मामा वरिया रामा नटीव डाविवार वागिव ।	
यु याय ना यु याय ना राजा माको विववार 🛙	<i>i</i> 60
राजार इस तुर्तिया गठी इस्त तुर्तिया दिन ।	
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रकवार दुइवार राजा गोस्था नागान पाइन।	
गोठा चारिक नटीर वाखान विचवार नागिच ।	<i>पू क</i> र
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रमन पिरिती भाज नय् ॥	
जजाइया ममर वाति।	
जागिया पेरहास्ते राति ।	
रामे दिख दान।	
कुवुका कि राधार समान ॥ ॥ धुगा ॥	<i>प्</i> ७३
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विवा नटी नेहावेड्या पाञ्चाय २ चुन ।	
नापितेर वनी देखों येन धुतुरार पुन ।	<i>1</i> - 8

तार नटीर चभार देखों खेबीया वाटर नाबी।	
घाटत कड़ि दिया चारमि इय गार।	
यह मत देखि नटी तार कारेर खनार ।	<b>त</b> अ
तार नटी बप देखों येन चन्ध कुपं।	
चाड़ि डोमे बुद्या बावने पाड़े दुव ॥	પ્ર <b>્</b>
चारि पद्दर गेन गटी वद्यान निर्मा।	
ताचातेची डाकाव् धर्मि राजा गटिक माची विनवा ।	<i>y 99</i>
स्ववार दुइवार नटी श्रोस्था नागाइन ।	
पानकः इरते धर्मि राजाक मुकारया पेनारक ।	યૂ <i>૭</i> ૯
वान्दी वान्दी विषया नटी डाकिवार नागिन।	
घाउत इस दिया राजाक वाहेर करिया दिख ॥	પ્રક્દ
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धिम राजार परिधान चर्न बार बार्टिया धरि ॥	Ãζο
ष्याकारि धानर चाउक दिने विचिया वार्त्तवि।	
विचिया वार्त्तीक दिवे पुरिया खाइवार साना ।	
रके ते। निदायन नटो चवन तेच माना ॥	<b>ग्र</b> च्ह
माघ मासिया जारे दिने बुद्धा रक खान सादी।	
चाकिवार घर दिने झाउजर सुपुड़ि ।	<i>पू प्</i> र
सिकिया वाकुया दिले दुइठा जनर चाड़ि।	
दिनटात खोजन करिले वार भार पानि ॥	४८इ
वार भार पाविर माभात रुक भार कमि पाय ।	
जन भारर ददनी सात जने निनाय ॥	¥∠8
सिकिया वाकुया निने दुइटा जनर हाड़ि।	
जन भरिवार मेन नरताया नदी ॥	<b>ग्र</b> ञ्
रक भार दुइ भार तिन भार हुवाइक।	
दिनटात महाराज बार भार उभाइन 🛙	ग्रन्द
सात भाडुया धल्ले राजाक चित्ति करिया ।	•
सानाची खड़म नटी चरनत नामाद्या ॥	√£0
राजार वुकत चिंड़क ठसक मारिया ।	
क्रिनान करे चिरा नटी चासिया खेलिया ।	ñee
क्रिनान करिया खक्ते इहच यति।	
भिजा वस्त्र पेकाइया पिन्दे सुकका पाटर सारि 🛭	पूच्ह

५०५ । बभार = बक्सर ॥ ५०८ । यति = पुति

मिना वस्त्र चिपिया दिने रे राजा मुख खानर उपर।	
सुख धरिया कान्दे राजा नेकार दुर पहर।	
धाज़त इस्त दिया राजान वाहेर केरे दिन ॥	પૂ ૯ •
षाजि काणि करिया बार बत्सर इहन ॥	પ્રહષ
सिनिया वानुया निने दुइटा जनर चाड़ि।	•
वन मरिवार जेन करताया नदी ।	<b>पूट</b> र
नदीर पाजे याया राजा पिज्या जेन धान्दा।	
चदुना पदुनार कथा ना सुनिक कानत।	
परान ছारावार चाहचाम बुड़ा मार बचनत ।	પ્રહરૂ
येन मत धर्मि राजा कन्धार नाम जैन ।	
उय्टे हातर पसार बाउनीया पिड्न ।	
अकारन करिया कन्या कान्दिवार जागिक ॥	પ્રદેશ
वार वत्सर गेन स्थामि खाखी ना करिया।	~~~
तेर वत्सर भाज च्रज चासिया ॥	યહય
षाजि नेन इसर पसार पड़िन षाउनीया।	~~~
ना जानि सेायामी धन गेज मरिया ।	પ્રદ€
दुति ग्रो कि मते वाहिर इमु।	
दुखर कथा कारन सकानत निरंतत क्रम 🛙	
रुन्दावनत वाजे वांसि।	
मने वय स्थामव देखों चासि॥॥ धुशा॥	<b>યૂ ૮૭</b>
दोना बहने रोदन करे नाट मन्दिर घरत।	
सारी सुया पाखी सुनिच पिञ्चिरार माभात ।	प्रटच
सारी उठिया वसे सुया वड़ भार ।	
मा केन रोदन करे चल देखवार यारू ॥	પ્રદદ
बारा बारि करि पिञ्जिरार खाटी पेलिन भाष्ट्रिया।	
रे दिया सारी सुवा गेन उड़ाची दिया ।	€••
चानर खेड़ निचिया कन्यार वाजुत पड़े।	
केने २ माच्या रोदन कर नाट मन्दिर घरे।	408
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तेर वत्सर भार पाइन ना चाइन फिरिया 🛭	€०२

तारा नाकिन इन राजा ग्रीपी चन् ।	
वामार खबरत चासि भाइ दुइ जन ॥	488
इल वाड़िया दिल।	
उड़ाची दिया पाखी दुइटा बाजुत पहिन ।	<b>4</b> १२
दुइ नयुने प्रेम धारा राजा विद्वार जामिन।	
यत दुखा चह्रयाहें राजार विववार वागिव ।	€१₹
गामिड़ि पामिड़ि पात चानिनेग छिड़िया।	
दांत दिया खागहार क्कम माठाइको वसिया ।	€₹8
काञ्ची खन्ननी दिया वांची उड़ात फाड़िन।	
रे रक्क दिया नेखन निखिनार नागिन।	
यत दुखार नया राजा निखिवार नागिन ।	ष्र
सुमाची इस्ते निवेन उद्धार करिया।	
कुमाची इस्ते युर्वेन पापत पेलिया ॥	
यह जिखन दिस तार वराहर वरावर ।	€₹€
राजार चरनत पाखि प्रनाम जानाह्या।	
मग्रवार मञ्जूत गारि मेल उन्होंनी दिया ।	419

चान हेन्दा नरिया नेखन दिन पेनारया।	
देख देख दे वुड़ा साची तार सुख खान पहिया ॥	<b>€</b> १⊏
समाची चरते निवे उडार करिया ।	€१€
खाम खुनिया नेखन पंड़िवार नामिन।	
व्यवारम वरिया पाखि कान्दिवार जागिव 🛭	∢२०
विवाने तिवाके वादुरे।	
रविर भाषाय् मेस सामार वाकारे॥ ॥ धुया॥	€सर
ख्यानत मयना वुदी स्थान करि चाय ।	
चौद्द ताल जनर भितर इाड़िर नागान पाय् ॥	<b>६</b> २२
खबपा चान माइस्रे तुनिया ।	
चान मांय चाड़ि सिद्धार पेनाहन काटिया ।	<b>4</b> २ <b>३</b>
सरिद् सागर दिया याचे मासिया।	
चुन वाहा धरिया मयुगा हान्नात उठाइन ।	€२8
बच्चर चायष् प्राष्ट्रिक कसिया मारिक।	
धानत चाक्ति चाजि चनित्रया उठिन ॥	<b>ब्</b> रप्
खानत चाड़ी मुख खान करि चाय ।	
ध्यान्य माभात मयनाय जागांज पाय ॥	<b>ब्</b> र्
याँचों याँचों दिदि राजान नामिया।	
वार वेटान उडार नरिने पिन्ने खासु गाञ्चा ॥	६२७
यदि काले कारकार चान चन्य देखिय।	
कार भस्म करिया चाड़ि तीक यम घर पाठाव ।	€२८
बे घाटत राजार वेटा जन भरे वित्या।	
रे घाटत पाड़ि सिद्धा राजा उत्तरिक याया ॥	€₹६
दुर चहते देखिन राजा चाड़िर चनर।	
दुस्टा चाड़ि युस्ते दुस्टे माजिया ।	<b>६</b> २०
माघार चुन राजा दुर चर्ज निर्मा	
चाहिर चरनत राजा पहिन भिजया ॥	<b>६</b> हर
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नटीर महत्तत भेत चितवा ।	<b>६</b> ३२
मटीर मचनत याया चाड़ि डङ्कार छाड़िन।	
दुम दुम करि पुरि निज़्वार चागिच ॥	€9₹
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या या हिरा नटी तेाक दिनु वर।	
वगदुन पासि इहया चान राज्यर भितर 🛭	<b>€</b> ¥ •
मिन वाका ख्या ना इहता।	7.
बगदुन वप प्रदये सर्गत उड़े ग्रेन ॥	<b>4</b> 49
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पाछ घर दिल दरियात येलाह्या ।	€4.₹
दरियात पड़िया नटी देशहाइ पिराइन ॥	€4.8
या या नटी ताक दिनु वर।	120
चेका माक् इह्या थाक जन्नर मित्र ।	€પ્રપ
या या चापाइ वान्दी तान दिनु वर।	4
वेस्या इह्या चान राज्यर मितर	<b>€</b> 4.€
<b>जुगान काकत खाखी कामाद्र करिया।</b>	7~1
सेस काकत धरेक पाइक मातार।	
ऊजिया गुड़िया भाष्ट्रिये तार विचस पाञ्चर ॥	€4.0
या या इंदरा धन कड़ी तेतक दिनुवर।	14.
खोबाहाटि हर्या चान खोनाहाटि सहर	€ñ.∈
	12
हिरार वाड़ी घर नख मख करिया।	
चान सिखिवार राजाक कर ग्रेक धरिया ।	€प्रट
तान वनों राजार वेटा वान्य मार घर ।	7
किछ भिचा करि चान वन्दरर भितर।	
सिस्य गुब वान्धि खाइ परदा सहर ॥	€€0
द्यामित् राजार वेटा गामे ब्रह्मचारि ।	€€•
बोमन बोरे भिक्का करे निक्कय ना जानि ।	<b> €€९</b> .
गोटा चारिक क्या यसन राजाक सिखाइक।	77.
चाते पाच निया गमन करिल	६६२
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गिरिर घरर वज वेडीक करिवे पागल 🛙	<b>4</b> 44
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तुब तुब वरि हाड़ी डङ्गार हाड़िव 🛭 🕟	<b>€</b> €€
सर्ग चहते पांच कचा डङ्गारे नामाहन ।	
गांच चाच चन्य चानिया वामाइव ॥	€€9
चापना चंसर बद्ग खार्ब ।	·
राजार भागर चन्न यतने राखिन।	
चाड़ाइ पुटि चान चज्रत हाड़ि दिन ॥	44=
चुक घाष्ट्रार बद्धक चुरूक माखिया।	
में ज़ा मिसरि रस दिया घुइन मासिया ॥	€ફ€
सारक केसा दुरा घुरक छाँकिया।	
भिक्ता वप धर्मि राजा वेड़ाव चेंचाहवा ।	€••
चापरे भाषरे राजान हिनाय बुकुर।	
भिक सिक ना पाइया मेच हाड़ीर ऊनुर ।	६७१
मुख धन तेार देसर केाक देखिन निदय निठुर।	
भिक सिक ना देय हिकाय कुकुर ।	<i>६७</i> २
नाइ पाइस ना पाइस भिन्ना वेटा मेार सेवा नाइसया ।	
रुवना सतीर नागाव पानु प्रज्ञे वसिया 🛙	<i>€®</i> ₹
तांय मुटिक चन्न दिया मेहन चासिया।	
चापनकार चंसर चन्न खाइल वसिया।	
तार मागर चन्न चुचि यतने करिया ।	€⁄98
<b>जु</b> बिते पड़िते रात्रा <b>चन्न</b> र काक्त गेव ।	
सन्न देखिया सपासत चड़ दिस ॥	ÉM
रमन चन्न ना खाय चामार कुत्ता सक्क ।	
सेर खन्नर नागान पानु राज राजेखर ।	<i>ई. औ</i>
तुब तुब करिया चाड़ि डङ्कार छाड़िल।	
बार बत्सर खिदा सरीरत नागाइन 🏿	€99
हि हि खिन २ करिया एक ग्रास खाइन।	
बास्त मिठा राजा मुखत वागिव ।	<b>€</b> 9⊏
पिर रक्ना मासर वेका चात काना धरिक।	

[No. 3,

कड़ा काड़ी करिया खाड़ाइ गास खाइक।	
चाड़ार पुटी चान तखनर सिखिन ।	dae
चाने धानत वान्दि दिन जनी।	€જ્દ
गोदा यमर भायर सक्तत की की की जाकी जी !!	d To
चाने धानत वान्दि दिल चुड़ा।	€€•
गोदा यमक करिया दिक खोंड़ा ॥	450
तुब तुब करिया चाजी जन्नार काजिन।	<i>६च</i> र
वाड़ीर कथा वासा राजार मनत पढ़िक 🛊	<b>€</b>
विदाय देखी २ गुब धरम तरि।	<b>€</b> □₹
चानक रचे देखि चासि घर हिरि वाड़ी ॥	<b>d</b> €R
हातर चास तुलिया दिल राजार हातर उपर।	<b>€</b> ⊂ <b>₹</b>
इाड़ीर चरनत राजा परनाम जानाहक ॥	<b>€</b> ⊏8
षासी मेानी बासा जरूक घाड़त करिया।	4 -0
रासा दिया चित्रया याय राजा दुवाबीया ।	<b>€</b> □ <b>1</b>
चाड़ी सिद्धा चासे खन करिया।	` ~
चक छाड़ीया राजा नियाय गमन ।	14
चापनकार मञ्चत गिया गेंच चित्रया।	` `
तुब तुब करिया राजा सिंगाद वाजाय।	
निन्दतं चाहिनं बन्धा चेतन इया यायं ॥	<b>(</b> 20
विन खड़ी दाना घड़ि वाजिवार बागिब।	•
विन चागुन दुग्ध चाउन उचनीया पर्दिन 🛙	<b>(</b> <del>cc</del>
शांटि २ प्रदीप जिलवार जांगिज।	•
सरदि साग्ररत रामा विश्वार जागिज 🖁	<b>(</b>
चौद्खान मधुषर भातिया उठिव ।	,
बी बन्दावन राजा सुख वस इरव ।	
गर्भवति नारी सब प्रसव इहक ।	4ۥ
> .	
अधीत आहत रे।	æ 0.5
षामार दरजार माभारे॥॥ धुया।	<b>६८९</b>
केतिहरे ग्रेच वान्दी चागेया पान खासु।	
के। नृदेकार चयीत चारहे विदाय करि दिसु ।	<b>( E R</b>
# (	7-1

(८२। पायम = पासेन । (८०। विंगद = विंदगद ।

€€₹

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गिरिर घरर वान्दी पिरिया घरत वार । €&8 दिचान भागीया खणीत जामि नाम त्रखाचारि। वान्दी छाउर जातत मिल्ला नहते ना पारि ! €EY.

यदि भिचा देय तबे साइवानि सक्ता। तवे भिचा नहते पारि खयीतर कुमर । €€€

चाक २ चचीत केंक्डा वठिया। कत ज्ञन ना पास्रो भिज्ञा पेउ २ करिया । €€9 कान्दिया गेल वान्दी कन्हार वरावर।

दिचान भागीया खयीत ज्ञामरा नाम ब्रह्मचारि। वान्दीर चातर भिचा चामरा चहते ना पारि । €6€

यदि भिक्ता देन तामार साहवानी सक्त । येन मते कन्या दुइटा सन्नाद सुनिक।

भिचा धरि कचा दुइटा खाड़ा इह्या रिह्न । 4€€ विन कोज़िन धर्मर नपाट चापने खसिन।

भिचा धरि खद्ना पद्ना वाश्विर श्वर्या खाइल । भिक्ता नेखी भिक्ता नेखी खधीत मोंसाइ।

गिरिर घरर वज वेटि पिरिया घरत याह । 908 परव भागीया जधीत हामि नाम ब्रह्मचारि।

स्त्री बाकर भिचा ज्ञामि बहते ना पारि । **90**2 यदि भिन्ना देय तामार माधार इतर।

तवे भिचा बहते पारि खरीतर कुमर ॥ **∮**∘€ ठारिया ठारिया स्त्री चानुन देखाइन।

स्त्रीर बाजुन देखि तामार इसार उपर। तामरा इन चामार माचार इतर ॥

तारा अधीत शामि अधीत एक गुबर सिस ॥ POP सन्धा काकत एक वाड़ीत उत्तरित्र याया।

ठाकरि कालाइर डाइल दिल वियरि धानर चाइल। ∂∘€ ताचाके खारक चाऊतासी चर्या। भेद विम चह्या से गेन मरिया ॥

कांक्री पारका हाक्र मारक्ष कांक्री ग्रीपाक हाक्र। भागत चाकिया चान्निट जेएा माक कस्ये दान ॥

कानिट ग्रेन वान्दी चागेया पान खाची।	
इस्तिर दावका काटिया देखी ।	300
मार सायामि निवे चिन करिया।	
विदेसी अधीत इस्ले फेलावे मारिया ॥	७१ •
इस्तिर दावका दिले काटिया।	
दुर इस्ते चास्से इस्ति चास्त चित्रा ।	<i>७</i> ११
दुर इस्ते राजाक परनाम करिक।	
सुंड़ दिया धरिया राजान नान्धत चड़ाइस 🛙	<i>७</i> १२
रक घड़ि चाकिले इस्ति घैर्य धरिया।	
यावत ना खाइसे कन्या क्षना करिया ॥	<i>७</i> १ इ
इस्तिर पिटि इरते राजा स्टितनाय गामिन।	
इस्त धरि नन्या दुइटा राजान मन्दीरत चऱ्या गेन ।	
ष्टासिया खेलिया कन्या चिना पुरू दिन ॥	9 50
क्रेमन गुब तेत्र ज्ञान दिल सरीरर भितर।	
नेमन नरि याखो तेर माय्र वरावर 🛮	<i>૭</i> ૧૫
सानाली मोमरा इहल काया वदिलया।	
मयनार मच्ने गेन चिनया॥	<i>્</i> ક ફ
मयनार वाष्ट्रकाय याया जङ्कार काव्ति ।	
मयुना मति चौरखा सुन्ने उड़ाइया दिन 🛙	७१७
रेत मयुना खज वड़ नाटक ।	
चटिनया धरिल चड़कार इतर ॥	<i>७१ च</i>
आय २ वाका मार दुखिनीर दुषाकीया ।	<i>७</i> १ ह
माचार केस राजार दुइ चर्ड करिया।	
जननीर चरने राजा पैल भजिया ॥	७२०
मधु नापितक खानिल डाकिया ।	
राजा निरा सुद्विरिवार नागिन।	
वामने चासिया नैवद भाना दिल ।	७२१
संकीर्त्तन राजा करिवार लागिल।	
सात गौना धान खय्रात नरिन ।	<i>७</i> २ <b>२</b>
गमीर नेषुच धरिया बैतरनि चहन पार।	
राजार पिता माता वैकुम्ठे इहल पार <b>।</b>	७२३
पच साटा जसे मयुना किनान करिया।	
इासियाली घरत सान्दाइल लहर दिया ॥	<i>७</i> २ ८

	- '
यन भात प्रचास खञ्जन रन्धन करिया।	
तिन खान जहल खम्बले माजिया ॥	<i>હ</i> રપૂ
चाड़िर नागिया मयना उद्घार काड़िन।	- 12
तखिन हाड़ी चासिया खाड़ा हरू ।	७२€
प्रयम याल सन्न दिल हाड़ीर वरावर।	- 14
षिर यास सन्न निसे मयुना सुन्दर।	
फिर चाल खन्न दिले राजार बरावर ।	७२७
द्यात मुखत जल दिया केरन काम करिक।	
बी स्ट विषया बज्ज मुखत तुर्वि दिवा।	
यक गास दुइ गास पद्य गास खाइक ।	975
अत्र अन खाइया तुष्ठ चहन मन ।	
भिन्नार भाड़ीर जबे बरिव बाचमन	<i>૭</i> ₹૮
कांच्यो ठेष्ट्र तुर्षिया राजार मक्तके दिख।	3/6
नेजासर हाड़ी नेजासत चिंत ग्रेज 🛙	७३०
राजार पाट लहल पुस्तर करिया।	•4-
चनुमान दख इन वेड़ाइम साजिया।	
पाट इस्ति बाइन साजिया ॥	<i>७३१</i>
राजा कि पेासाक पड़िवार लागिन।	-41
सुड़ दिया धरिया राजान नान्धत चड़ाइन 🛙	<i>७</i> ३२
वाइन वाजनाय पाटत खह्या ग्रेख।	-41
राजार पाटत परनाम करिच।	
सुर दिया धरि राजाक पाठत वसाइक 🛙	<b>9</b> ₹₹
देड़ बुड़ि कड़ि खाजना साधिवार लागिन।	-44
राजार राज्यत सुखमयं इहता ॥	8 <i>je</i>
*	~~0

# रति॥

I am sorry to say that the above text was copied out by an energetic babu 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 sadku bhasha. I did not discover this until the first two hundred 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 genitive and locative. I may point out here, that Rangpurí possesses an instrumental ending in which may easily be confused with the Bangálí locative. Thus win in Rangpurí means "with a hand", while in Bangálí it means "in a hand," of which the Rangpurí would be wind.

# 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.
- 6. 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 káorís.

  7. The people paid a tax of seven and a half gandas of káorís, and on the day of the Ashtamí 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' taxes 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 sárís 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.
- 12. From the south there came a Bangálá with a long beard; and that Bangálá, when he came, made money from the country. 13. Where the tax had formerly been 7½ 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 taxation, 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." 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 Pradháns said to all the ra'iyats, "This advice I have no power to give; come to S'iva. Let us see what command the mighty Bholánátha will give us." 20. All

<sup>•</sup> A budi is five gandas or twenty.

<sup>+</sup> i. e., every one had his own private path to the hat, and his own private tank.

I The Rangpurs 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 Thákur 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'IVA 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 O ra'iyats, have ye all come?"

# THE RA'IYATS 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 Kailáśa."

# THE RA'IYATS 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. † 32. They tied the goat at a place sacred to Dharma on the banks of the Gangá, and sacrificed it there. ‡ 38. 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.
- 35. 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
- \* 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 Rangpurf 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."
  - + By the Gangá, is meant the Brahmaputra. See note to v. 159.
  - I Lit. Dug a hole for the sacrificial post in the same.



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 Chandra Rájá here, with his hands and 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 hath 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 Nengá made obeisance to her.

## MAYANÁ SPAKE.

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

## NENGÁ 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 mitha bharí 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. 54. She put sixteen scores of charms on the top of
  - Or perhaps "lost his power of sensation."
- † The little conical shaped parcels of prepared pán, which we see in the bzzárs, enclosing a piece of betel-nut and some lime, are called khilis. The outside wrapping is made up of two leaves, of which the lower one is called the het khili, and the upper one, the upar khili.



it; and put the plate of pás on the head of the maid-servant. 55. The Lady Mayaná went out, seeing that it was a lucky time, and arrived at the palace of the king.

## MAYANÁ SPAKE.

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

## THE KING SPAKE.

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

## MAYANÁ SPAKE.

58. "Hear, O 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 SPAKE.

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

#### MAYANÁ SPAKE.

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

## THE KING SPAKE.

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."

# MAYANÁ 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 O 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 Godá Yama and tied it up in his languti, and to the seven quarters went off the seven men.
- 76. But Mayaná went to the banks of the Gangᆠand spake "Hear, O 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."

#### GANGÁ 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 lákh 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.

# THE BURDEN 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
  - · Sneezing is a sound of ill omen.
  - + See note to v. 159.



to Yama's abode; the Lady Mayaná 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 Krishna was of Bindá. The boat is broken and the ropes are worn; how can I pass over, O my guru. That is, if my guru is by me to help me. 88. I will hold the rudder of virtue. O my guru, the boat is broken, and the ropes are worn, but I will cross over."
- 89. Half her scarf she spread upon the water, and thinking upon virtue, she took her magic seat. 90. Mayaná uttered the words "tudu, tudu," 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 Mayaná 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 voice. 100. As soon as Godá Yama saw Mayaná he burst through the tátí walls of his palace and ran away\*. 101. Mayaná cried "már már" 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.
- \* Compare note on v. 21. All the houses of the peasantry in Rangpur are built of tátí.(mat) walls. When a thief is caught in such a house, he attempts, usually successfully, to escape by bursting through these flimsy obstructions.



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? 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 (boastfully). "Now, how will the śyáli, the Lady Mayaná, recognize me." 117. The Lady Mayaná went into contemplation and gazed about, and in her contemplation her eyes fell on the magget. 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 Godá Yama lost his senses, and became a mouse changing his form. 125. He went to Kathiyá the oilman's house, and hid himself under his máchá. † 126. The Lady Mayaná went into contemplation and gazed about, and in her contemplation her eves 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 Kathiyá the oilman. 129. One danda, two dandas, three dandas passed, and the ill-natured woman caught good-natured Godá Yamá. 130. She made him descend from the máchá, 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.

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. 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. Mavaná 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?" 139. As soon as Godá Yama saw the bees, he slipped under the quilts of the Vaishnavas. 140. As soon as the Lady Mayaná found out where he was, she settled down upon Yama's neck. 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. seized Godá Yama, and plucked up from the ground an armful of elayá grass. 144. Fifty-two times sixteen scores of ropes she twisted, sitting at a place where three roads meet,\* and tied her own waist to that of Godá Yama. Then she carried off Godá Yama beating him with a rod of cane.

### MAYANÁ SPAKE.

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

# GODÁ YAMA SPAKE.

146. "Thy husband I will not set free", and thereupon Mayaná 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
- \* 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 seize upon the wayfarer who first comes across the offering in the morning.



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 Pándava brothers came down here and there; there is no counting the number of munis who came from heaven. 152: Mayaná parted her hair in two, and fell at the feet of Gorakh Náth.

# MAYANÁ SPAKE.

153. "Help, help, O Gorakh the Vidyádhara. 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 SPAKE.

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

### THE MUNIS SPAKE.

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 Gangá.\* 160. With the nine káoris 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, qhi, mustard, and sesamum 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. Mayaná 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 south. she buried posts and made a platform. 166. By the side of each post she set a jar of ghi. 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 Nath came there and stood visible.

## MAYANÁ SPAKE.

- 168. "Protect me, O protect me, O Gorakh the Vidyádhara."
- It must be noted, that throughout this poem, the word Gangá does not refer to the river commonly known as the Ganges. It always refers to the Brahmaputra.

#### GORAKH NATH 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 forehead. 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 qhi, 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 with-She cries: "Hear, O relations, I have a child of seven in the fire. 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, O relations, why and wherefore have ye all come?"

# THE RELATIONS SPAKE.

186. "For seven days and nine nights Mayaná 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, O 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 Mayaná 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 kharupá (the art of cutting), and by it she cut open her fifty-two krors of ropes. 196. "I die, I die," said Mayaná. 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 Mahárája 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 pálkí of the old king and bring it here, and take this child-king to the palace." 201. They decorated the pálkí 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 śráddha after his father's death. 212.

On the thirteenth day the king held the final *iriddla*, and held a concert of drums and cymbals, 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 guru. 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 Mayaná do? 220. She spake as follows to the Guru bráhman.

### MAYANÁ SPAKE.

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 Paduná. Arrange a marriage between them and my son, and return." 223. The Reverend Bráhman on hearing these words did not delay. But hastened to the palace of king Harís' Chandra. 224. He cried out with a loud voice "Ho! King Harís' Chandra."† The king was in his house and he stepped out. 225. The reverend and learned Bráhman 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, O guru bráhman, hast thou come so great a distance?"

# THE BRA'HMAN SPAKE.

228. "Mayaná 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 SPAKE.

- 230. "Go, go, I consent," and ordered him away. And the Bráhman on hearing this returned to Mayaná. 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 pán and searched for a
- \* He is also called Khetu, or Khetuwá, and appears to have become Gopí Chandra's servant. He took over his concubines when the latter went on his pilgrimage. See also note to verse 290.
  - + Compare note to v. 21.

lucky day, and then did they fix the time of the marriage. 233. On the Saturday, Mayaná fasted, and on the Sunday, she made arrangements for the marriage. 234. They planted five plantain trees in King Harís' 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, ulu" were heard around. 236. He gave Aduná in marriage, he gave Paduná, 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 Sanyásí. 242. A hundred beautiful damsels, weeping, fell at his feet, "O 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? 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, every† mother and sister of a man of modest wealth shall have her master to sleep upon 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 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.

<sup>†</sup> Lit. ten. This use of "ten" for "every," is of frequent occurrence in Rangpur. Thus Das' jan ki kay? is the stock expression equivalent to "What do people say?"

<sup>1</sup> 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.† 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. \$\frac{1}{2}\$

264. "O! the pipe of Syam. 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."
- ‡ This Duya forms the first verse of a song in honour of Kṛishṇa, 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. 268. 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. tiger slayeth and eateth the woman that goeth with her husband? 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, O 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, O king."

279. He had chosen Aduná and Paduná, and had married them. A bhaifa bráhman 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 QUEEN 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."

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## THE KING SPAKE.

285. "Now also wait thou with thy hand upon thy heart. Until I return after fifty years have passed away."

# THE QUEEN SPAKE.

285. "Lift up thy head, O 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 SPAKE.

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 SPAKE.

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 SPAKE.

296. "What thou desirest is not a chini chimpa 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 QUEEN 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
- Lit. Died. A popular song makes Gopí Chandra charge his wives with intriguing with Khetuwá 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.



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 supárí trees and thirteen tál trees, and in its shade sat the king's son. 306. The bráhmans and the relations all sat in a row, and Bír Simh, his Bhándárí, 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 Mayaná stood. 309. When the king saw his mother, he made obeisance; as he made obeisance, he tied his cloth around his neck.

# MAYANA' SPAKE.

"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. 312. 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. 313. 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 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. 818. 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 BURDEN 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.
  - I. c. That your heart contained nothing but cowardice and treachery.



# 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 Mayaná—('Thy son) would put thee to the test (of burning oil')." 329. Hearing these words, Mayaná 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 eighty† 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; O Mother, come quickly'."

## MAYANA' 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?" 342.
- Note the force of any here, and in vv. 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.
  - + 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 flung 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 págarí on thy head? Behold (I am unclean) and the assembly of brahmans 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 Mayaná's body was within the fire. 357. Sixteen 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 *Dub* grass. 359. Suddenly Khetu began to weep, and when she heard the sound of his weeping, Mayaná 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 SPAKE.

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 SPAKE.

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!

# MAYANÁ SPAKE.

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 ghi: but that Hádi feedeth his lamp with merely Gangá water. 870. As many lamps as there are in the houses of thy subjects, so many hath that Hádi in his little hut 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. king sat in his audience chamber and could not make up his mind. peatedly he called his servant Khetu, his younger brother. 373. "Where hast thou gone, my brother? First would I eat pan,\* 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, O 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.

• That is to say, "immediately." Chewing  $p\acute{a}n$  is such a mechanical and continuous action with a Rangpurí man or woman, that the phrase "to do a thing after eating  $p\acute{a}n$ ", means to do it at once. Cf. vv. 398, 553 and 692.



## THE BOOK SPAKE.

386. "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 Sunday the king shall take in his hand a beggar's platter; on that day the king shall set out for a far country. 390. He will take thee from thy home and will give thee advice and hope. 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'rikalá. He will pawn thee for food in the house of Hirá the Harlot. 392. The Harlot's dress will be a linen sari bright as fire. Thy dress, O king, will be a knotted rope. 393. Unsifted rice will she give thee and brinials full of seeds. She will give thee brinials 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 thou rise, and she will beat thee with a broom. Thou shalt lift up the bed of her sins, of countless, countless sins. 396. Bhángí ropes will she give thee and a bhángí stick and two water jars. Twelve loads shalt thou measure out every day."

## THE KING SPAKE.

397. "Hear, Reverend Sir. Happiness and misery are written in our destiny. Methinks, I see death written by the Creator in 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 Bráhman 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 throne†; 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 very leaves of the trees began to weep. The forest deer bent their heads



<sup>·</sup> Not a literal translation.

<sup>†</sup> The word used is "pát". A pát 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 them, and there to have dispensed justice. One of them, however, (Harts' Chandra Rájár Pát, see fig. 3), is almost certainly a tomb.

and wept. 404. At the ghát of the Ghátwál there were twenty-two káhans 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 summer-house. Even the school of harlots wept. 406. The Titiyá Manjar wept within its cage. And nine budis† of dogs wept as they were hunting. 407. The hospital and the toshá-khána wept at intervals. Water-houses, summer-houses and cow-houses‡ (?) 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.

## MAYANA' 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 Lakshmana. 422. In different directions descended the five Pándava brothers. There
  - A káhan = 16 pans of 20 gandas or 1280.
  - † A budi = 5 gandas or twenty.
  - ‡ 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, Mayaná 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 SPAKE.

433. "Depart, depart, O 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 Munic 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, he had 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 SPAKE.

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 káorí. 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 he drank a little water. 443. He washed his face and hands with water. Then what did he do? He uttered the words "S'rí Krishņa" and ate the food. 444. One mouthful, two

· Lit. at a stroke.

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 Vaishnava 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 country."

# 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 káorís in his wallet. "See that thou tellest not thy guru about these káorís." 455. "In dust and ashes will I spend the money. Following the Hádi will I go to Yama's abode."
- 456. The hundred queens went to Khetu. But Aduná and Paduná went to their own palace. 457. In that palace, there were guards in twelve places, and thirteen thánás. No Atíta or Vaishnava 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 set 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 kroś, two kroś, five kroś he went. And the king's feet were cut and covered with blood.

# THE BURDEN OF HIS SONG.

- 463. "Alas! Fate, sitting in a lovely place, hath written misery on my destiny." 464. One day, two days, seven days passed. Night and
- S'ani and Ketu of course mean ill-luck. If, however, by "Devi' is meant Durgá, she is certainly not S'ani's sister.

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

# THE HA'DI 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 Hádi 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 summened an hundred Yamas.

## THE HA'DI 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 kdoris, that I may buy happiness and enjoy myself. 483. I would buy and eat

twelve káorís 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, O 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'DI SPAKE.

489. "His mother excelleth me in charms. She hath put sixteen káhans of káorís in his wallet." 490. He cried "Tudu, Tudu" with a loud voice, and took the sixteen káhans of káorís, 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 bhát and began to eat. 492. "Give me, give me the káorís," he began to coax. But after saying so twice or thrice, he became angry. 498. The king opened the wallet and became amazed. Wonderful thing! No káorís 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 káoris 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 HA'DI SPAKE.

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

## THE GOWALINÍ 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, O mother, thou seller of turmeric. A man for pawn, a man for pawn, O mother, thou seller of ság. 507. A man for pawn, a man for pawn, O mother, thou seller of vetch. A man for pawn, a man for pawn, O 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 him." 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, O 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. man for pawn, a man for pawn, O house of a halwa." 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 Hirá, 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 Vijaya went away with them, and showed them the harlot's door." 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

• Lit. "a king over his bhát."

† Lit. over the vessel.



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-SERVANT SPAKE.

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

# THE HA'DI SPAKE.

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

## THE MAID-SERVANT 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.

# THE 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 HA'DI 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 gánjá." **539**. ing this, the harlot did not delay, but sent to the bazár for a sáud banker. She collected the paper and pens and counted out twelve káoris. 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 also the twelve káoris. 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 Hirá, the harlot, turned her head to one side, he buried the twelve káorís 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.

"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 pán 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. † 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 khilit of pán, and eat a single betelnut, O 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. 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. householder will eat, and then he will think of thee. 562. When thou seest an Atita or a Vaishnava do not thou despise him. With thy head touching the ground, reverence thou him who weareth a rosary. thou seest a flower, thou shalt not pluck it. If thou seest a bird, thou shalt **564**. If thou seest another's wife, thou shalt not not break its eggs. When thou shalt see the mustard plant scanty, and smile at her. **565.** the dub 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 pan? For thy sake I have been doing penance these twelve years." She took five khilis in her own hand, and put them in the pious king's mouth, but he cast them out, saying "thu, thu." 569. As the king moved

See note to v. 373.

<sup>+</sup> A kind of blanket.

<sup>1</sup> See note to v. 53.

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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, O 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 Krishna) as Rádhá was. 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 dhaturá\* flower. 575. I see a harlot's dealings to be like a ferry-boat. káoris at the landing-stage, and pass over. 576. I see thee, O 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 bráhmans, 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. Unsifted rice and brinjals full of seeds she gave him; brinjals full of seeds, and he burned them, and made chutney of them. pitiless harlot was she; she forbade him salt and oil. 582. In the cold month of Mágh, she gave him an old tattered sári, and a goat hut 583. Bhángi ropes she gave him, and a bhángi stick, and to live in. 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 Karátová 586. One, two, or three loads he filled. The whole day the Mahárája 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. Hírá, 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 neck and thrust him out. 591. What with to-day and what with to-morrow twelve years passed. 592. He took bhángi ropes and a bhángi stick and two water-jars, and went to draw water at the river Karátoyá. 593. On the bank of the river, the king became giddy and fell into the river. "Alas! I heard not the words of Aduná 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 BURDEN 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.

"O parrot, my elder brother, let us see why our mother 599. 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?" The 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 "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. seven days the birds flew, but found no trace of the king. 608. On the banks of the river there were a banyan and a pippal 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 Mayaná'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 SONG.

621. "My son left me in the morning. I fear that he hath died in the fierce 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 sea; 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 Hádi 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 gánjá.

#### MAYANA' SPAKE.

628. "If I find that my son hath learned only a few charms, I will burn thee, O Hádi, to ashes, and send thee to Yama's house." 629. The Hádi started, and arrived at the ghát where the king was sitting. 630. As soon as the king saw the Hádi'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 uttered a loud cry, 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.

• i. e., if this concerneth thee.



She said unto the harlot, "It is not an Atita, but the Hadi the lord of Lanka." 637. When the harlot heard this, what did she do? 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 káoris. 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 swaved upon her in mounting, he crushed the harlot's thirty-two ribs into small pieces. 647. As soon as the Hádi 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 dhuți.

# THE HA'DI SPAKE.

649. "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, O Hírá 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'DI 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, O Chápái, 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 páik for thy husband. He will beat thee and kick thee and break thy thirty-two ribs. 658. Go forth, O wealth of Hírá, I give to thee a boon. Come into the town of Kholáháti, and be a petty bazár made of tiles." 659. He utterly destroyed Hírá's house, and then took the king away to teach him magic arts.

# THE HA'DI SPAKE.

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

#### THE 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'DI SPAKE.

"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. Sail seeds, kelá seeds and durá seeds he added to the mess. 670. Meanwhile the pious king went about crying for alms. He bent forward 671. entreating for alms, and they set dogs at him. He was unsuccessful in his quest, and returned to the presence of the Hádi.

#### THE KING 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'DI SPAKE.

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. "Tudu, 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

\* Lit. covered.

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 sixteeen 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 Godá Yama. 681. By his charms, in his meditation, he tied up his top-knot as a man ties it, and lamed Godá Yama himself. 682. The Hádi uttered the words "Tuḍu, Tuḍu" with a loud voice and thereupon the affairs of his home came in the king's remembrance.

# THE KING SPAKE.

"Give me leave, O guru, and let me journey forth in the bark 683. Travelling in a chariot of light, would I see my wife and home. of virtue. 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 Hadi laughed 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 QUEEN SPAKE. THE BURDEN OF HER SONG.

691. "A pilgrim hath come, and standeth in my door. 692. Where is the maid-servant. I would first eat  $p\acute{a}n$ ,† and then (would I enquire) whence the pilgrim hath come, and dismiss him." 693. The maid-servant made ready alms. 694. "Take alms, O 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."

· Lit. coldness.

† See note to v. 373.



#### THE MAID-SERVANT SPAKE.

697. "Wait awhile, O pilgrim, thou who sittest and beggest shame-lessly. 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 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 pán.\(\frac{1}{2}\) 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.



<sup>•</sup> I. e., thy husband.

<sup>+</sup> So explained to me. It means literally, "First one gave a blow, and then another gave the last blow."

<sup>‡</sup> See note to v. 373.

#### THE QUEEN 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.

#### MAYANA' SPAKE.

"Come, come my son, the darling of an unhappy one." The king divided his hair and fell at the feet of his mother. sent for Mathu the barber. He began to clear off his vow, and the Bráhmans 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 lotus of water, and laughing returned quickly! 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 Hádi 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. Then the king immediately fixed the land revenue at one and a half scores of káorís, (as it had been in old days) and ever since reigned happily within his kingdom.

- By cutting his nails and hair which he had allowed to grow.
- † This is most essentially a "Satya yuger kathá." What does it mean?
- # Lit. At a bound.

#### 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.

स्वामर बांगीरे मन मजानुरे।
रण् १ नयान कोरे॥
माय् बच्चेरे यादु उत्तरे।
मभन पुष्पर पाचकः ।
पेन्ने पार कत निष्पः ॥
माय्र वचने यादु उठिया विश्वः ।
सेन्नितं ना पारे चांचि विश्वते लागिनः ॥
यादु मेल दिनाने यमदा रक वरे।
रचिनां नवनि वाटे चरे १॥
दिनान करिया वरे नामि याय्।
उत्तम पिक्षन विश्वते दिल माय्।
चानस्ति द्या यादु चिर नि चाय्॥
चिर नि चाया यादु तुष्ठ दक्षी मनः।
उत्तम किकार वाने करे चानवनः।।

O the pipe of Syám (Krishna). My mind whirls, my eyes continually run with tears. The mother said "O Yádu, 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. वनतीतेनाभ्यञ्चन्ति॥ † रचित == र चिर॥ ‡ चात्रवन == चाचमन॥ The Lokaniti translated from the Burmese Paraphrase.—By LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B. S. C., Offg. Wing Officer, 1st 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 Pali respectively Dhammanîti, Râjanîti 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 Sayas or learned men. According to one account, it was written originally (date unknown) in Sanskrit (? Påli) by the Pôngnå (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-bì, 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 Pâli" 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 Pâli verses, and by the many grammatical and other errors observable 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 Pâli, 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 Hpôngyî 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 assistance 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,† the Law, and the Assembly of the Perfect,‡ I have written in one book, called the Book of the Proverbs of
- This is the usual heading of Buddhist books. In Pâli it runs as follows: "Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammâ Sambuddhassa."
  - + Or Buddha or the All Wise.
- ‡ Or to the Three Precious Things. The "Three Precious Things" are (in Pâli) Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, which are translated by Childers in his Khuddaka Pâtha as Buddha, the Law, and the Church.

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;† 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? 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?
- 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; 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
- Or Pali Language or Magadhi Language. The Pali language is literally "the language of the Scriptures." The following is from Childers' account of the Pali language—"The true or geographical name of the Pali language is Magadhi, 'Magadhese language', or Magadhabhasa, 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. Palibhasa therefore means "the language of the texts," which is of course equivalent to saying "Magadhi language." Childers' Pali Dict. Preface, footnote.
  - + Or solid thing, or pith, or core, or best part.
  - 1 Or the night of perfect rest, or nirvana, or någban.
  - 6 Or life to follow.
  - Or hill of white ants.
  - ¶ 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 statutes\*: 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:† the knowledge of medicine: the knowledge of jesting: the knowledge of the stars:‡ 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,¶ 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.

1 Or Vedas.

T 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 growth in the valley? my son,† it becometh sharp of itself. My son,† hath any given his keen eyes to the deer? my son,† they are keen of themselves. Doth any give the sweet smell to the lily that is in the mud? My son,† the smell is sweet of itself. Doth any teach his good manners to the child of high birth? My son,† 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.
- 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 the 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 he 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.¶
  - 27. In the world, if he lose his wealth, if there be sorrow in his mind,
    - · Or paddy-bird.

- or the meanings are known.
- + Or Sir, or my masters.
- | Or beareth happiness.

- 1 Or sacred verse.
- · ¶ Or 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; disputing 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† thinketh, Now am I a lion, but when the crow snatcheth him up he coaxeth 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? 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 he 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 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. Whose 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-
    - . Or troubleth the water by shaking.
    - + Or sitteth on his haunches as a lion.
    - I Or agati flower or the beautiful acacia flower.

come goodly; so the teacher beateth not the scholar to make him miserable, 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‡ 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 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 transgress even for a moment, saying, Behold! the sun that hath rays innumerable riseth in the West: Myinmo¶ boweth his head: or the fires of hell are cold, or the lily flowerth on the mountain-top.
  - · Or that the state of life changeth continually.
  - + Or jack-fruit tree.
  - 1 Or dried up.
  - or guardeth his nobility.
  - Or almug tree.
  - T Or Mount Myin-mo or Mount Meru.

- 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.

- 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† 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; is not for thy profit, but the medicine that cometh from the deserts 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 he be good or bad when thou usest him: so only canst thou know thy brethren in the
  - \* Or Pôngnâ or the Brahmin.
- # Or within thy body.
- † Or obey his will.
- or forest.

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.
  - · Or the kingdom of death.

#### 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.
- 8. A priest is comely 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 away 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 woman 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:
  - · Or the rice.
  - + Or be the beginner or the original cause.



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 that 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 carriage†: thou shouldest wed such an one even if she be of low birth.
- 15. The eighth month; 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 life¶ 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.
  - . Or goeth to the country of the spirits or of the Nats.
  - + Or habits.
  - 1 Or November.
  - § Or in each state of life.
  - | Or Nats.
  - ¶ Or in each state of life.
  - \*\* Or speaketh evil of him behind his back.

#### 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+ 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; 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¶ 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.
  - + Or quiet or desolate.
  - 1 Or Brahmans or Pongnas.
  - § Or saints or gods and the holy.
  - || Or followeth their teaching or doeth the law of their meaning.
  - ¶ Or chiefs.



- 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.†
- 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.
- 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 || 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 fire, thy whole body to the great man, and thy wisdom to the world to come.
  - † Or the Parchit or Chief Brahman.
  - 6 Or without anger.
  - Or are the medicine or charm for.
  - ¶ 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.

- 28. 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 kinsman†; the king is not my wife's brother‡; 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 guardest 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. Here endeth the book concerning kings.

## 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.
  - 1 Or sister's husband.
  - § Or lord.
  - || Or the refuge that is called the king.
  - T 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 sleepeth over much, that is forgetful, that taketh his ease, that hath much sickness, that is lazy, that is strong in his lusts,† that is eager for whatsoever is new: these seven know not the Scriptures.‡
- 7. Go to the poor, thou gift: for he that hath many gifts is surfeited. Go unto the valley, thou Angel of the Raia; 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 when thou hast aught to do, leave undone a remainder thereof.
- 9. In the world cotton is light, but lighter I is he that is wanton, and lighter still is he that hearkeneth not unto his parents and his teachers, and lighter yet than all is he that heedeth not the word of the excellent God.
- 10. In the world the sunshade\*\* that is of stone is of worth,†† and of greater worth;† is it to hearken to the Angels, and greater still is the worth;† of the instructions of thy teachers and parents, but the word 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 slave of the ear and the nose and the eyes, 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 spirit¶¶ 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 degree † † guardeth the tablets; an angel of
    - \* Or nature.
    - + Or hath great desires.
    - 1 Or the books.
    - 4 Or this is not the law of nature, but the deed is the original cause.
    - Or careth no more for it.
    - T Or more worthless.
    - . Or htie er umbrella.
    - tt Or heavy.
    - 11 Or heavier.
    - 66 Or heaviest.
    - Or nat or spirit.
    - ¶¶ Or belu or sprite or yakkha.
    - ••• Or he that is evil.
    - ††† Or a Brahma.

X X

lesser degree\* guardeth the bindings† thereof; therefore it behoveth him that learneth knowledge to propitiate the angels both of the higher and lower degree,‡ 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¶: 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 coccanut 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.
  - ‡ Or both the Brahmas and the Pisanas.
  - 6 Or the Vultures.
  - Or that he float on the water.
  - T 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,† that dwelleth in the building that is built of brick‡ 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¶ and the seventh of the waning moon, in the eleven hundred and ninety-sixth year.
  - Or Saddhamma Dhaja.
  - + Or Mahâ Dhammarâja Guru.
  - 1 Or in the Ok Kyoung.
  - § Or Mahâ Oung myê bôngtsan.
  - Or intercalary month.
  - ¶ Or Sunday.



# JOURNAL

OF THE

# ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.-HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. IV.-1878.

The Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhábád—A Chronicle, (1718—1857).—By WILLIAM IRVINE, C. S., Fatchqarh, N. W. P.—PART 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 Nizam of Haidarabad represents the family founded by Nizam-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 Játs of Bhartpur first rose into importance at the time when Churáman became the ally of 'Abdullah Khán, Kutb-ul Mulk, the rebellious Wazir of Muhammad Shah. The Bangash house, which founded Farrukhábád 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. 1746—Jan. 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. × 6½ 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 Parshád, 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 peshkár 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 Sháhjahánábád 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 (1713—1718) entered the service of Nawáb Muhammad Khán as Munshi or Secretary. The period of his death is not known. His grandson, Dalpat Ráe, 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 Farrukhábád in Muhammad Khán's time (before 1745) 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 Fakír 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 trustworthiness. The MS. was lent to me by Mír Fazl 'Ali from the Madrasa library of Mufti Wali-It measures  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$  5 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 Rájah of Almora, pp. 226-249-The Wazir with the Mahrattas arrives and besieges Ahmad Khán, pp. 249-264-Interview between Ahmad Khán and the Rájah, 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. 313-340-Marriage of Muzaffar Jang, pp. 340-353-The Wazir 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-Furukhá-bád written about 1245 H. (July 1829—June 1830). Sayyad Wali-ullah, son of S. Ahmad'Ali (who died 1187 H.=1773 A. D. aged 51), was born at Sándi, Sirkár Khairábád, on the 14th Shawwal 1165 H. (26th August, 1752). The family had been settled for ten generations at Sándi, about twenty-six 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 Farrukhábád, 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 Kádiriva 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 still kept there, but there are no scholars and nothing is taught. 29th August, 1805, he was appointed Mufti, which office he held till the 13th October, 1828, when he was succeeded by his relation, Mufti Wilayat-ullah. Wali-ullah died on the 5th Jamadi II, 1249 (18th Nov., 1833). The following táríkhs give the year of his death. The first is by Bahadur '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. × 6½ 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 Fakirs; (3), Learned men; (4), Poets, 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 Patháns. 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-Túríkh 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 94 in. × 6 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

· He was the author of several other works.



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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.

Manavvar '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 Lauh-i-Tárikh. A poetical táríkh, 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, Ustarzai Karláni Pathán. 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 Manavvar '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 Láhor, 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-

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war 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 Sándí, to Márahra and to Sakatpur. 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 1768— May 1769, d. 1231 H. Dec. 1815—Nov. 1816). The grandfather was at one time in the service of Najib 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 Nawab Daim Khan, chela of Nawab Ahmad Khan, 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 Bhonganw, a town on the Grand Trunk Road in the Mainpuri district, about 22 miles west of Chibramau. She was the second daughter of Shekh Khalíl-ur-rahmán Khátib, son of Shekh Khair-ullah Khátib.

Bahádur 'Ali was born on the 20th Shawwál 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

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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 holy 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 Bahadur '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 Bráhmans, employed in the service of Rájah Tikait Rác, 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 frequented 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 Wamik. It was at this time that he wrote a Persian diwán entitled Juwálá-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 Wazír'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 Rájah 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 Rájah's influence he obtained the appointment of Thánadár of Chibramau, which he held for two years. Afterwards, at the Rájah's request, he acted as Wakil for him and his brother, Kunwar Pitam 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, Kávath Sribástab. "Chaoni-wala;" and subsequently he was for some years in the service of Rác Chandi Parshád, Káyath Saksena, of muhalla Sadhwara. For two years he was with Mr. Martin, Indigo-planter, on Rs. 15 a month, as a parvananavis at the Shamshabad 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, t 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 exertions to recover the property, but "ba-sa-"bab-ná-insáfi aur rúdígí hákimán-i-Furrukhábád 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 Sákí-í-má rekht, 'ain altáf ast."

He furnishes a list of thirteen works composed by him, besides short tales. The thirteenth is the History of Farrukhábád called 'Anwán-i-

\* Rájah 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.

+ The Sirhpura Joint-Magistracy existed from 1816 to 1828, Gaz., N. W. P., IV. pp. 3, 4.

Khándán-i-Bangash or Lauh-i-Táríkh. From about 1814 or 1819 he adopted the poetical title of "Sayyad." He also wrote in Hindi (Bhákhá) 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 objects Káida or Fáida, 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—" Amín sam Amín."

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 Muharrum 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 Maharbat-i Mughuliya ba-Afghaniya, 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 atten-So much of it is in verse, and the rest is tion to the Lauh-i-Tárikh). 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), I 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 94 in. × 64 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 Khuláṣah-i-Bangash, apparently almost contemporary with Muhammad Khán (1713—1743), is quoted once in the Lauḥ-i-Táríkh.

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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 Sigar-ul-Mutákharín, Táríkh-i-Muzaffari, Khiz-ánah-i-'Amira, Amád-us-Sa'dat, Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, Futhgarh-námah Curwen's translation of the Balwant-námah and the Miftáh-ut Tuwáríkh (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 Ḥadíkat-ul Akálím, of Murtaza Husain, I have also put under contribution.

# NAWÁB MUHAMMAD KHÁN, 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 Patháns, 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, Sharfud-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 Karlânis are the Dilázák, Afrídí, Khatak, and Malak-mírí subdivisions. Relying on the truth of the above story, the Karlâni believe themselves to be Sayyads. Karlâni 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 Shalúzám. 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 Khatkán; 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 Paiwár 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 a 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 Mau-Rashídábád, 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 Khán, 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 Koháti, of the family of Shekh Adam Banúrí.

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 Pathán colonies, such as Ráepur, Pathaura, 'Aṭaipur; and the inhabitants of these places are all known outside the

Haiyat-i-Afgháni, p. 448.

district under the generic name of Mau Patháns. 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 Patháns 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 Rájahs 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 Ajauri 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 Rashid Khán and the Khánzádahs, Note A.



Any money collected was forwarded to the Rájah 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, Yasın Khan was killed by a shot from a villager's gun. The Pathans then chose as their leader Shádi Khán, Bangash, of Mau, Yásín Khán's maternal uncle. Soon after, Muhammad Khán having quarrelled with Shádi Khán, left him, and with his seventeen followers, sought employment on his own Gradually all the Mau Patháns joined Muhammad Khán's stan-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 Rájah 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 Patháns had hardly reached Mau with their plunder when an emergent call for succour was received from Madár Sháh of Siprit and Jalaun. He reported that Muhammad Amín Khán, with more than forty thousand imperial troops, was coming to overwhelm him. Muhammad Khán, hastily collecting all the men he had ready, marched to the Rájah'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 five 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 Rájahs 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

<sup>•</sup> Gazetteer, N. W. P. I, 554. On the Betwa, 142 miles S. E. of Agra.

<sup>†</sup> 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 Rájah, 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 Muhammad 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 jiu, tum manai náhin, deotá ho, tumhari sanmukh ke "ham náhin hain." In his old age, the Nawab Sahib 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 free-booter, 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.) Bahádur Sháh, successor of 'Alamgir 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, 'Azim-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 Farrukhsiyar 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 Farrukhsiyar 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)† 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.‡

- In the Fathpur district, on the Grand Trunk Road, some twenty-one miles northwest of Fathpur.
  - + This date seems impossible, it is, however, that given in the "Lauh."
- ‡ The "Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán" (p. 32) says he had only twenty-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 correct, seeing that Muhammad Khán had been leading a predatory life with success for over twenty years.

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 Mutákharín,"† there can be no doubt that Muhammad Khán bore himself bravely in the van under the immediate eye of Sayyad 'Abdullah Khán.‡ One of his lieutenants, Sher Muhammad Khán, lost his life. Jahándár Sháh quitted the field near sunset, and after a time his chief supporter, Zúlfikár Khán, also withdrew. Victory thus declared itself for Farrukhsiyar.

On the 15th Zi'lhajj, the day after the battle, Chin Kilich Khán, 'Abd-us Samad Khán, and Muhammad Amin Khán were presented by Sayyad 'Abd-ullah Khán, and made their submission. 'Abdullah Khán, with Lutfullah 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 honour 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 Khán for the support of his troops.

- 1. Irichh.§
- 3. Kálpi.¶
- 2. Bhánder.
- 4. Kúnch.\*\*
- Proc. B. A. S., for August, 1870, p. 252.
- † The author of the "Siyar-ul Mutakharin" 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 Afgháns. In one passage (Sul-M. Translation of 1789, Vol. III, p. 240,) he denounces them heartily as all bad.
- ‡ 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.
- [Gaz. 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 Paháj, is 24 m. from Jhansi.
- ¶ 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. Kúnch was a mahál of Sirkár Irichh.

- 5. Seondah.\*
- 7. Síprí.‡
- 8. Maudab.+
- 8. Jálaun §

The following men were deputed to manage these maháls—Daler Khán, chela, was posted to Kúnch, Seondah, 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.

## Muhammad 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 Dáúd 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 Ķáimganj in honour of his eldest son Ķáim 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 Muhamdábád, 14 miles southwest of Farrukhábád were founded, portions of five villages: (1), Kilmápúr; (2), Kabírpúr; (3), Rohila; (4), Muhammadpur, and (5) Takipúr 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 jágírdár 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 ká khera", built on it the fort

- 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. A town and parganah in the Hamírpur District. The town is 20 m. from Hamírpur.
- ‡ In the Gwáliar state, some 60 miles north of Sironj in the Tonk state, and about 55 m. west of Jhánsi.
  - § Gas. N. W. P. I, 433. A parganah, tahsil, and town in the district of Jalaun.
  - Kálí Rác's "Fatchgarhnámah," p. 117.

of Muhamdábád. In one of the bastions, still known as the "Ráe Sáhib ká burj", Har Parshád, kanúngo, 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 Farrukhábád 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 Nawáb Muhammad Khán, but the date of foundation is not known.

### The City of Farrukhábád.

Nawáb Muhammad Khán's next undertaking was on a very different scale. He now set to work to found a 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 Patháns would not allow him to ride on an elephant through the streets, for fear of their women's privacy being infringed. Afridis, Toyahs, and Khánzádahs were numerous, but the Bangash were very few. If the Nawáb ever did pass by, the Afridi 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 complain to the Bibi Sáhiba of the way these Patháns 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 Nawab 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 Rájah of the Bamtelat 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. Kásim 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 Fatehgarh cantonment.1

• See note on Khanzadahs. † Note No. B. on the Bamtelas. ‡ Kali Rae, p. 120.



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 Farrukhsiyar who, by way of price for her father's blood, made over to the Bibi Sáhiba the whole fifty-two of the Bamtela 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 Bamtela 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 Farrukhábád there is a well in every house. They say that before the city was founded the Nawáb 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 Nawáb took a liking to the place, and said that a dwelling-house there would be very pleasant. In the tarai or low land the Patháns 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.†

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 Farrukhábád. 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 ruins of the once magnificent pleasure-house of the Nawáb in the Páen 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

<sup>\*</sup> Farrukhábád was sometimes styled Ahmadnagar Farrukhábád, as in the coin of Sháhjáhán 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 Khán's time (1750-1771).

<sup>†</sup> 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."

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 Nim 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 Ghaní" 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 falús a day, and those imperfectly skilled four falús. The wages were to be paid direct to the men every night.

The Bamtelas did not resign their ancient possessions without a struggle. 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 Bamtelas 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 Bamtelas, 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 Bará Mahal. In 1839 only the Bárahdari 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 (koṭhi) 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 a trace left of any building in existence at the time of the mutiny.

There were twelve gates to the city: 1, Kutb gate; 2, Páen gate (also called the Husaini gate); 3, Gangá gate; 4, Amethi gate; 5, Kádirí gate; 6, Lál gate; 7, Madár gate; 8, Dhaláwal gate; 9, Khandiya gate; 10, Jasmai gate; 11, Taráen gate; 12, Mau gate. The first, eighth, and eleventh are now closed; Amethi, Dhaláwal and Jasmai are the names of adjoining villages; the other names explain themselves.

To seven of the gates, saráis 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 sarái 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 sarái at the Amethi 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 guns, 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 working-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

• This was done by Mr. Newnham, Collector, in 1825.



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 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 Nawab's sons and chelas had orders to plant groves outside the city wherever they pleased. The soil is very favourable to the mange and it comes to great perfection; the water-melons are also very large and sweet and plentiful.

Two entire villages, Bhikampura and Deothan, 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 Kasarhatta (braziers), Pasarhatta (druggists), Saráfá (money-changers), Lohai (iron-mongers), Núnhai (salt-dealers), Khandhai (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. it is observed to some extent, for I doubt if a single Sádh lives outside the Sadhwara, and its offshoot the Sahibgani muhalla.

#### Events from 1719 to 1726.

During the reign of Farrukhsiyar, Nawab Muhammad Khan 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.+ (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 Shawwall (end of August 1720). On the 9th Zi'l Ka'd, 1182 H. (3rd Sept. 1720), the Emperor made a first march from • Siyar-ul Mutákharin 418 (Lakhnau Edition). † S-ul-M 422,

t S-ul-M. 433.

Agra of three kos, accompanied by 'Abdullah Khán. He wished to halt till the 15th, the anniversary of his accession. Husain Ali Khán, however, urged an advance, and on the 14th (8th Sept. 1720) the army marched to a little beyond Fathpur Sikri. After four or five days they moved on southwards 'Abdullah Khán remained behind, and on the 19th Zi'l Ka'd (18th Sept. 1720), he started for Delhi.

Then follows in the "Siyar-ul Mutákharín" 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, 1132 H. (30th Sept. 1720, when about thirty-five kos beyond Fathpur Sikri, 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 Sultán Ibráhim, son of Raf'-ul Kadr, son of Bahádur Sháh.† 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. It is said that 'Abdullah Khán had written to him reminding him of the many favours 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

<sup>\* 8-</sup>nl-M. 433.

<sup>† 8-</sup>ul-M. 437 and 438.

<sup>‡</sup> S-ul-M. 439.

<sup>§</sup> Hasanpur lies, I believe, close to the town of Ol, in Parganah Faráh of the Agra District, some twenty-four miles north-west of Agra.

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 Ráe'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 Nawab's elephant, seated behind him, were Mukim Khan and Daud 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 Muhammad 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 Nawab Amin-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 Khwája 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 Shamshábád, both

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 'Amils 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, chela; for Shamshábád, Dáúd Khán, chela; for Budáon, Sahaswán (now both in the Budáon district) and Mihrábád (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 † Jai Singh soon after marched against Churáman Ját, to punish him for having sided with the late Wazír, 'Abdullah Khán. Muhkam Singh, son of Churáman, insulted‡ 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 Rathor, Rájáh of Márwár. 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 alias 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

<sup>•</sup> The local MSS. say Agra, but I think this must be a mistake. For some disparaging remarks about Muhammad Khán in regard to this Allahábád appointment, see S-ul-M. 461, line 5 from end.

<sup>+</sup> S-ul-M. p. 456.

<sup>1</sup> S-ul-M. p. 439.

 $<sup>\</sup>S$  Tod (Madras Reprint, 1873,) Vols. I, 636 and II, 81 gives the date about 1780 S., corresponding to July, 1723.

Muhammad Khán is not named in the list of Musalmán 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" mentions Muhammad Khán [Dowson's Elliot, VIII, 44.]

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 he 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† and Tálgrám,‡ 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 hundred 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 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,†† Irichh,‡‡ 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 Burhán-ul Mulk then asked that the Mughuls might be sent against the

- \* Grant Duff, 218, Bombay reprint, 1873.
- + In the Mainpuri District.
- 1 In the Farrukhábád District.
- $\S$  Gaz. IV. 550, 552. Jaswant Singh's accession took place in 1783 S. = 1726 A. D.
  - I P. 274.
  - ¶ Twelve miles south of Bánda.
  - •• In the Hamirpur District.
  - ++ On the Jamna, in the Jalaun District.
  - 11 In the Jhansi District.



invaders, but the Emperor confided their chastisement to Muhammad Khán. Daler Khán, chela, 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.† Some of his enemies considered that Muhammad Khán had been favoured by the late Wazír, and they caused letters to be written to the Rájáhs 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,‡ 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.

- In the Hamirpur District.
- + He died in Rabi 1133 H. (January 1721).
- ‡ In the Bánda District, 42 miles east of Bánda. Gaz. N. W. P. I, 593.
- § The "Siyar-ul-Mutakhárin," p. 452, says Daler Khán had 1000 men with him, of whom 700 or 800 were killed.
  - | S-ul-M. p. 452,



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 his 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 hundred 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 Patháns and the Bundelas on account of his bravery, styled him "Súrmán" (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 Rájah Chattarsál, who came out with a large force. Both sides began to fire. Nawab Daler Khan'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 Rájah'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, + 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 his 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.

<sup>•</sup> The motto on his seal was "Az lutf i Muhammad Daler ámadam." Hisám-ud-dín says he was uncle to the Ráná of Gohad living in 1753. If this be true, Daler Khán was a Ját, but the accepted story is that in the text.

<sup>†</sup> Gaz. I, 27. In the Hamírpur District, 20 miles from Hamírpur. The tomb is one mile outside the town (Gaz. I, 545) on the Hamírpur road. The date there given, 1730, seems to be a mistake.

I Note C. on Bundelkhand traditions of Daler (or Dalel) Khan.

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 Amínud-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 reached Mairtha\* on his way to Court with Abhai Singh, son of Ajít Singh of Márwár,† a farmán and an order sealed by the Amír-ul-Umrá (Khán Daurán Khán) were received. These stated that Chattarsál 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. Burhán-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. Furmáns 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 Chattarsál had overrun the whole of Baghelkhand to the frontiers of Subah 'Azímábád,

- About forty miles west of Ajmir, in Jodhpur territory.
- + See back, page 283.

1878.1

- In the Cawnpur district, on the road to Kálpi, about six miles from the Jamna.
- § Mubáriz Khán, governor of Haidarábád, was killed in battle with Asaf Jáh in October 1724. Elph. 615.

and approaching Allahábád had raised disturbances in that quarter. In the 9th year (1139—1140 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 sixteen 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)† as far as Haldi:‡ 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 Wazír to aid him with contingents from Udait Singh, Rájah of Orchha, Ráo Rámchand of Datiya, Pirthi, zamindar of Sahendah, Durjan Singh, zamindar of Chanderi, Rajah Jai Singh of Maudah, Khánde 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¶ and Mau\*\* in the Sankrát-Barsinghpur†† country were reduced. They also obtained Ramnagar‡‡ the forts of Katauli,§§ Sahrah, and Kalyánpur, || || with a

- 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.
  - I Query, 10 miles north-east of Ríwah.
  - § In Riwah, east of the Tons. Long. 81.29, Lat. 24.55.
- | Long. 81.29½ Lat. 25.1. About 10 m. S. of Bargarh Railway Station, in the Riwah state.
  - ¶ Long. 81.17 Lat 24.26, west of the Tons, in the Pannah state.
  - •• Long. 81°9 Lat 25°21 about seven miles S. of the Dabhaurah Railway Station.
  - †† Long. 81°1 Lat 24°48 about 7 m. east of the Jabalpur Railway.
  - 11 There is one Ramnagar about 2 m. west of Kalinjar.
  - §§ Long. 81°15 Lat 24°59'.
  - || Long. 81°7' Lat. 25°.

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hundred kos of the country belonging to Mándho\* and Bándah. For a time the enemy hung about the hills near Tarahwán, 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 Bhind,† Maudah,‡ Pailáni,§ Agwási|| and Simauni,¶ 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'lfikár, 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 mud 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 Chattarsál, 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

<sup>•</sup> Mádhogarh, Long. 80°58' Lat. 24°34'.

<sup>†</sup> Mataundh, to the south-west of Banda, is suggested by Mr. Cadell.

<sup>1</sup> In the East of the Hamirpur district.

<sup>§</sup> In the Banda district, the next parganah to Maudah on the east.

Augásí, in the Banda district, the parganah next to Pailáni on the east. Mr. Cadell tells me that the name is spelt Agwási on a slab in the mosque at Augási built by Sháh Kuli on the site of the Hindu fort.

<sup>¶</sup> About 10 miles south-west of Augási.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Bargarh, a station on the E. I. Railway (?)

river. 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.†

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 had 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-ul-Akalim 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 Muhammad 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 Kháu, 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 Chattarsál, 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



<sup>\*</sup> Kalyánpur Khás is about 17 miles south-east of Tarahwán.

<sup>†</sup> There is a Mokengarh in the Indian Atlas, 5 miles south of Tarahwan on the Pysunni-nadi.

<sup>‡</sup> This name is spelt Sattarsál throughout Sáhib Ráo's MS., but I have adhered to the more usual form. The author of the Hadikat-ul-Akálim 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, Chattarsál 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 Khan 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 hundred thousand foot, were made up by the troops of the Rájah of Mándo,† of the Gahilwárs of Bijipur,‡ of Khánde 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, 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 Chattarsál made his preparations. His army consisted of one hundred thousand foot and seventy thousand horse. Several other Rájahs 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

- \* About 6 miles north-east of Mahoba.
- † Mándogarh, 22 miles west of Riwah.
- † 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.
- The authority for these details is Khalifa Né'im, son of Káli Miyan Jí, the teacher of the Nawáb's chelas, who told the author of the "Lauh-i-Taríkh."

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. Chattarsál'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 outery, 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 elephant-driver what this fighting meant, it had never occurred before, when the man explained that intending to fight Chattarsál'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 Bundels 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 Nawab." 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 Nawab's elephant; he then made a thrust with his spear. The Nawab 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. † 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 Patháns 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 Bhúre Khán the Nawáb wept, and for many days after the battle wore orange-coloured clothes in sign of mourning, saying, "What Bhúre said was true, he said he would die before me."

About two hours to sunset the elephants of Nawab Muhammad Khan and Rajah Chattarsal met face to face. Chattarsal seated under an iron-

- Musenagar, parganah Bhognípur, Cawnpur district, on the left bank of the Jamna some 13 or 14 miles east of Kálpi.
- † 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 (1813—1823) there were several of these arrows in the Armoury, and Chaudhri 'Alim-ullah, bearer of the Fish standard, had several of them.



plated canopy was encouraging his troops to the final onset. Nawab Muhammad Khan aimed at the canopy with a steel javelin (sing) 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." Chattarsal's elephant was turned round and it fled for many miles. His troops began to retreat, and Ani Rao, sister's son to the Rajah, was killed. The Pathans 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 insensible we retreated eight or ten miles, to-morrow morning we will renew "the engagement." Chattarsál 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 Nawab Muhammad Khan and his men remained 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 Nawab's mahaut driving his elephant up to the tree collected some of the plums, part of which he gave to the Nawab.

On the 29th Shawwál, 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 1st 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,† the residence of Khán Jahán, the sister's son of Chattarsál, and Lahuri-Jhumar,‡ 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 Sálhat,§ 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 Sálhat. That very

<sup>•</sup> In the south of the Hamírpur District.

<sup>†</sup> Ten miles S. E. by E. from Mahoba.

<sup>1 16</sup> miles S. E. of Mahoba.

<sup>§</sup> Mr. Cadell tells me that Sálhat is still a well-known jungle between Mahoba and Jaitpur.

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 soon 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 21st Ramzán (20th April, 1728) Muhammad Khán started for Mundhári† 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.

- . About 6 miles N. E. of Jaitpur.
- † This I take to be Moorhari of the maps, 4 miles E. of Jaitpur.



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 Sálhat, 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,† 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 Panwári. Darak Singh, an ally of Chattarsál'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¶ on pretence of conciliat-

- \* Six miles S. of Jaitpur.
- † Now in the Cawnpur District.
- ‡ The parganah N. W. of Jaitpur, in the Hamírpur District.
- Mr. Cadell suggests Seonri, on the Dassan, 6 miles N. W. of Panwari.
- About 12 miles N. of Panwari town.
- ¶ Query. Orái 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,† 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 Rájah Pirthi Singh. With the assistance of the Bhadauriya forces, these orders were 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 Bargarh || and Hindu Singh, with a force of five thousand horse and ten thousand foot, had broken into revolt. Káim 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 1st 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. (1st 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¶ pursued by the Muhammadans who, after the victory, occupied the fortress of Tarahwán.

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-

- Hamírpur District about 24 miles N. E. of Ráth.
- + Rájah of Datiya?
- 1 Of Sahendah?
- & The Bhadauriya family history will be noticed hereafter.
- About 34 miles east of Tarahwan, near the Jahbalpur line.
- ¶ Barhat ?



sál, 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, Chattarsál 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 Khán'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 "mulkgíri." The only difficulty was a want of carriage, and Káim Khán was requested to send Yákút Khán with money for expenses, and carriage for fifteen hundred horsemen. Those men with Káim Khán 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 jágirs, 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 thánas 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 Chattarsál to resist and recommence hostilities. The Bundelas had by this time learnt that Muhammad Khán 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. Chattarsál 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 (February—March 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-

<sup>• &</sup>quot;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 kos 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 Rájah 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. Kunwar Lachman Singh, brother of the Rajah 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 diwán 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 zamindárs, 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. = 12th 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 Bándí.

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, mahrach or manders, 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

<sup>•</sup> Atout 8 miles N. W. of Mahoba, and 14 miles N. E. of Jaitpur.

"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. Mahrattas having defeated Káim Khán soon returned, and completely invested the town and fort of Jaitpur, into which Muhammad Khán 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 which 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 Nawab to his fate escaped from the fort. Báji 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 Nawab.

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 Supá, 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 Rájahs 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

\* These details are confirmed by the author of the Haddkat-ul-Akdilm, who got them, he says, from a book written by a man who was present throughout.



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 Bibi Sahiba, mother of Kaim Khan, 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 Patháns, who were of Mau, Farrukhábád, Sháhjahánpur and Anwala, 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 Kaim Khán and Neknám Khán visited 'Abd-ul Mansúr 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 sixty Patháns 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 Patháns in 'Abd-ul Mansúr 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. moved to Bangarh,\* the abode of 'Ali Muhammad Khán Rohéla, from whom they obtained further re-inforcements. Then coming to Mau, numbers of recruits 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 Nawab'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 Khan was approaching with a strong force, hastened to make terms with Nawab Muhammad Khan. 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 Khan at this time did not know that Kaim Khan was marching to his relief. He had come several marches from Jaitpur when he met his son. Kaim Khan proposed they should return to renew the war, but Mu-

<sup>\*</sup> In the Budáon District about 10 miles N. of Budáon.

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-Mutákharin".\*

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 Khán's connection with that part of the country. For the rest of his life he continued to press on the Emperor and his unwilling wazir 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 Malwá did he write to his quandom ally, Harde Sáh, reminding him of an agreement made at Kharelat to give up the government cannon, and to refrain from interference with the jágir mahals. There was also an unfulfilled promise that Jagat Ráj's agents would pay eight lakhs for Sahendah. 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 jágirs 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, T Kanár, & Rámpúr, Kúnch and others from Lachman Singh. The same course he hoped would be pursued in respect of Kálpi,\*\* Jalálpur.++ Sahendah,11 and Maudah.§§ 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 Málwá, but there can be little doubt from the local histories, confirmed by the "Siyar-ul-Mutákharin" and the "Tárikh-i-Muzaffari", that Muhammad Khán received the Málwá appointment after he had been unsuccessful in Bundelkhand and had escaped from Jaitpur. I also doubt the correctness of the date 1732 in the Gaz. N. W. P. I, 27. On p. 29, the year 1738 is given, which must be wrong: on p. 426, the date is 1731. On p. 545, Dalel Khán's death is given as having taken place in 1730 instead of 1720.
  - † In the Hamírpur District, Parganah Jalálpur, about 34 miles S. of Hamírpur.
  - † Query. Orái, in the Jalaun District.
  - § In the Jalaun District. See Gaz. I. 191. Now in Parganah Madhugarh.
  - Query. In Parganah Madhugarh, Jalaun District.
  - ¶ In the Jalaun District.
  - \*\* On the Jamna in the Jalaun District.
  - ++ In the Hamírpur District.
- ‡‡ This is I fancy some place in the Hamírpur District and not the parganah of this name in Bándá.
  - 66 Hamírpur District.



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 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 (tankhwáh) on the maháls recovered from the enemy in Bundelkhand, and a sanad for the Sarkár of Ghorát in the name of Káim Khán, from the year of the campaign against Sayyad 'Abdullah Khán (1721), when a petition, with order granting this Sarkár, 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 Nawáb reporting that the whole of the men had crossed the Betwah, they would speedily reach Kálpi, 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 tankhuáhs, 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 clanship, 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.

Parganah Jalálpur, Hamírpur District.

<sup>†</sup> See article Ghord in Elliot's Supp. Glossary, p. 391.

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 Mutákharín states† that his removal from the Allahábád Subah was caused by his failure in Bundelkhand. This does not seem quite correct for, if the Tabṣírat-un-Názirín is to be trusted, the appointment to Allahábád 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 12th year (1143 H. = 19th 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 Sharáif-i-Usmáni. When Muhammad Khán reached Kanauj on his return from Bundelkhand, Rúh-ul-Amín Khán Bilgrámi, one of the leaders who had enlisted under Káim Khán'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 Hindustán lived like a God upon earth.

On his arrival at Delhi, Muhammad Khán at his first audience demanded the Subah of Allahábád; 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

<sup>\*</sup> Bakhshi-ul Mamálik, Roshan-ud-Daula, Zafar Khán Bahádur, Rustam Jang.

<sup>+</sup> n. 465.

<sup>†</sup> The Sharáif-i-Usmáni was written in 1188 H. by Ghulám Hasan, Sadíkí, ul-Farshúri, Bilgrámí, poetically styled Samín.

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from the Emperor's own pándán, 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?" 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 Nawáb 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 Khúbullah. 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 Patháns 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 Málwá.

On reaching Delhi in the latter part of 1729, Muhammad Khán seems to have entered into prolonged negotiations. He could not succeed, 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 Málwá is dated the 17th Rabi I. of the 12th year (1143 H. = 19th Sept. 1730), and is "ba-mashrút, ba dastúr-i-ma'múl, hasb-ul-zimman."

Roshan-ud-daula it was, through whom the appointment was obtained,† 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 douceur to the employés of the elephant stables, to facilitate the delivery of four elephants. The balance appears to have been appropriated by Roshan-

<sup>\*</sup> p. 168, Calcutta, 1246 H.-1830-1.

<sup>†</sup> 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 Jiú\* 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 a most insignificant amount, although Rájah Jai Singh Siwáe had received thirty-two lakhs for a two months' campaign.

When Muhammad Khán left Delhi, it was agreed by Amír-ul Umrá Khán Daurán Khán and Roshan-ud-daula that, on his arrival at Mathura or Akbarábád, 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 jágir of parganahs Mauránwah,† Sarsendi,‡ 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 Ḥisár¶ his native country; thirty lakhs of dám for 'Abd-un Nabi Khán from parganah Aunth\*\* which was held by his father entirely in jágir; ten lakhs of dám for Shekh Beche on parganahs Shergarh†† and Thána,‡‡ the jágirs of his family; five lakhs of dám for Sayyad Sharif 'Alí Khán on Kanauj§§ his native country; fifteen lakhs of dám for Sayyad Ja'far Husain Khán on Sháhpúr;|||| ten lakhs of dám for Kále Khán and Shuj'at Khán from Budáon;¶¶ 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 Mustafá-bád†††; five lakhs of dám from Jhúsi‡‡‡ and five lakhs from Cháil§§§

- A favourite mistress of Muhammad Shah's, who was intrusted with his private signet. Seir Mutaqharin I, 264.
  - + Unao district, about 30 miles S. of Lakhnau.
- ‡ In the Lakhnau district, written generally Sasendi—it lies 16 miles S. of Lakhnau.
  - § I fancy this is in the Faisabad district—see Elliot's Supp. Glossary, p. 337.
  - In the Sitapur district, 18 miles S. W. of Sitapur.
  - ¶ West of Delhi.
  - •• I have not traced this parganah.
  - ++ This might be the Shergarh in the Mathura district.
  - 11 Possibly this is the Thana Farida in the Aligarh district.
  - §§ In the present district of Farrukhábád.
  - III In the Cawnpur district.
  - ¶¶ In Rohilkhand.
  - \*\*\* North of Delhi and west of the Jamna,
  - +++ In the Mainpuri district.
  - 111 In the Allahábád district.
  - §§§ In the Allahábád district.

for Sadákat Khán; and five lakhs of dám for Ḥaidar 'Ali Khán from parganah Akrábád.\* The Nawáb's agent was instructed not to take siáhas (collection accounts) for these allowances unless they were without the condition "páe-bákí."

On the 5th Jamadi I. of the 13th year (1143 H. = 5th 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 canuon 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 three 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 Mukim 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 Dholpur Bari, had brought more than 2000 horse. There were 500 horse under Sháistah Khán, Misri Khán, Khudádád Khán, Muhammad Khán and others, seven leaders from Firúzábád and Shikohábád. Fath Khán Yusufzai, Ghairat Khán and others came with about 200 horse: and the same number was sent by Rác Har Parshád, 'Amil of Rájah Jai Singh Sawác, 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,† Daler Khán,‡ and Yár Muhammad Khán, son of Dost

- In the Aligarh district.
- † Faujdar of Mándú near the Narbada.
- ‡ Apparently of Korwáe near Sironj. Dowson's Elliot, VIII, 58.

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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.‡ 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 Utangan river, nineteen miles south of that city. The next morning, the 7th (7th Nov. 1730), a march was made and the army 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. The mercenaries had thus found service near their homes and went to join the combatants. If once these Rájahs 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, Ráo 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.
- ‡ About 102 miles S. of Gwáliár, 4 miles N. of Saráe Nau, and 16 miles N. of Sádhaura.
- § I take this to be the Sipri of the maps, 67 miles S. of Gwáliár, but there is a Shiupúri 97 miles S. W. of that place.
  - | About 74 miles S. of Gwáliár.
- ¶ Or perhaps the Pichor in Lat. 25° 57'; Long. 78° 27' in Gwaliar territory, some 25 miles S. E. of Gwaliar on the left bank of the Sind river.

'Ali Khán, faujdár 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 Udepúr reported that he had sent Ráo Mukráj Dhabhai from Udepúr towards Mandeshwar† 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 Nawáb 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 ‡

When Muhammad Khán reached Sádhaurah, seighteen 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. 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 Fardán-pur\*\* in order to quell a revolt in Laklána, †† 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 the country, sent his baggage and heavy stores across the Narbada, and lightly equipped continued the investment of Sháhjahánpur, a town about eleven miles

- Now in the Jhansi district.
- + About 78 miles N. W. of Ujain.
- ‡ About 52 miles N. E. of Ujain.
- 4 Lat. 24° 37'; Long. 77° 39'.
- | Lat. 24° 48'; Long. 77° 39'.
- The 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, Rájah 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 between Aurangabad and Burhan-pur.
  - †† This place is not traced.

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. Of all the contingents, that of Kunwar Bahádur of Orchha was the only one which had arrived.

While Muhammad Khán went towards Dhár, he sent his son, Ahmad Khán, with Muķím 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 Sháhjahánpur. 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,‡ and the traitor told Holkar that the country of Ujain was left

<sup>•</sup> About 47 miles N. E. of Ujain and 14 miles S. E. of Sháhjahánpúr.

<sup>†</sup> About 50 miles S. W. of Ujain.

<sup>‡ 20</sup> miles N. of Ujain and 38 miles W. of Shahjahánpúr.

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 (Mukim 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 Mándú, 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'bán (26th Feb. 1731).

For some time no word had been heard of Nizám-ul Mulk's departure from Burhánpur.‡ 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 rendezvous 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, 1148 H. (20th Dec.

<sup>·</sup> Query. The same as Indúr.

<sup>†</sup> Or perhaps Mandloi—See No. 7 of Index to Vol. III, of Aitchison's Treaties, ed. 1876.

<sup>‡</sup> On the north bank of the Tapti, 132 miles S. E. from Ujain. Thornton, 141.

About 28 miles S. W. of Ujain.

1730), to suppress the rebellion in Zila' Laklána. He reports having heard that Báji Ráo had reached Sultánpur† and Nandurbár‡ on his way to Gujrát. It was 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 viá Ghargún || His brother would then come through Dohad¶ 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 Punwár had opened negotiations with Nizám-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 Punwár 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 Bájí 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,†† 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 Tapti, and 30 miles S. of the Narbada, and 102 miles W. of Burhanpur.
  - 1 About 10 miles S. of the Tapti and 30 miles S. W. of Sultanpur.
- § 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 Burhánpúr.
  - ¶ On the boundary of Málwá and Gujrát, 100 miles W. of Ujain. Thornton 284.
- •• About 120 miles S. W. of Burhánpúr, 165 miles N. E. of Bombay, in the Khándesh District. Thornton, 433.
  - †† About 70 miles S. W. of Burhánpúr.



counted as thirty kos from Burhánpur, Nizám-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'bán (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 vid Ghargún to the Narbada. Muhammad Khán was recommended to come 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 distance into two marches. hammad Khán, in answer to one of the letters, had complained that the allies Kanhaya Jí, Chimná Jí and others had sent him no men. Nizámul-Mulk reassures him by pointing out that they were far away near Mandavit 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 Rájaur and Nadáwáli, the residence of Mohan Singh on the other side of the ferry. By the 4th Shawwal (1st 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.

About 35 miles S. of Indúr and 40 miles S. E. of Dhár.

<sup>†</sup> On the Tapti about 32 miles east of Surat.

The explanation of Nizám-ul-Mulk's anxiety and haste would appear to be that he had heard of the defeat, on the 1st April 1731, between Baroda and Dobhoi in Gujrát, of his allies, Pílájí 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-ul-Mulk. 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† 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 his 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, 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

<sup>\*</sup> Grant Duff, p. 225.

<sup>†</sup> p. 225.

<sup>‡</sup> On the coast, 55 miles S. of Surat.

above the ghát. Thank God! the Subah of Gujrát was freed from Bájí 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 Shawwal 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, while Rájah Abhai Singh was opposing him. Muhammad Khán hoped to march that way after clearing the country and destroying the forts.

This capture of Udá Jí's forts provoked a strong remonstrance from Nizám-ul-Mulk. He had told Muhammad Khán that Udá Jí and his friends were at enmity with Báji 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 Rái 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

Chakaldah is about 110 miles S. E. of Ujain, on the right bank of the Narbada,
 Kálkli has not been traced.

<sup>†</sup> There is a Jabwah 100 miles W, of Ujain.

Máwáe Bhilán,\* which possessed four strong citadels connected with each other, and surrounded by a 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 Anthú, another Mahratta leader, had ravaged the country round Kánth. The two leaders then united with Mathwárah 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 Sárangpur. At this time too, Fath Singh Wáulbánsi and other Mahrattas had crossed the Narbada, and unopposed at any point by any of the Hindustani armies, had plundered the country of Mándú‡ 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 heartily 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 Rájah Kishor Singh, son of Rájah 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 approached that place. When these dispositions had been made, Muhammad Khán on the 19th Zi'lka'd (15th May, 1731) left Ujain.

Máháráo Durjan Sál of Kotah, Kunwar Bahádur of Orchha, and the sons of the Rájah of Chanderi were asked to take some of Muhammad Khán's troops and attack Anthú, who was reported to be then near Kánth 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 Kánth. Anthú now withdrew. But next day, when the Nawáb reached



<sup>•</sup> Or perhaps Wama Rae Bhilan; or Mawasi, the title generally given to the chiefs on the Narbada. (Malcolm's Central India, I., 516.)

<sup>†</sup> There is a Rámpura 40 miles N. E. of Mandeshwar.

<sup>1</sup> Near the Narbada about 60 miles S. of Ujain.

Sháhjahánpur, word came from Dáud Khán, náib of Sárangpur, that he would be overwhelmed by Mulhar unless he were reinforced at once. Forthwith, at midnight, the Máháráo, Kunwar Bahádur, and the sons of the Rájah 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, Anthú 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 thánas were still in the hands of Kantyá and Udá Punwár. 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 Rájahs 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 Kotah, 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 Jográj, son of Rájah 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 Rájahs, Udait Singh of Orchha, Rám Chand of Datyá, Chattar Singh of Sháhábád, and the Bhadaurya Rájah, 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 Mulhar and Anthú had recrossed the Narbada, Muhammad Khán went to extort his revenue from one Umán†; and in two marches having reached Rájgarh,‡ he defeated the zamindar 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 Gwáliár, 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 Súbah 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 Thákurs 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 Khán made repeated reports of these facts, stating his want of money, the mutinous conduct of his troops, the impossibility of getting any revenue from Málwá, and the necessity for help in men and money. These urgent appeals were left unanswered.

His difficulties were further increased by the fact that Málwá, from one end to the other, was granted out in tankhwah 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 Fathá-

<sup>•</sup> Apparently Hindu Singh of Chachendi in the Cawnpur district. He was ejected from his estate in the tenth year by Burhán-ul-Mulk and Rájah Gopál Singh Bhadauriya. [Dowson's Elliot VIII. 46.]

<sup>+</sup> Or Admiyan.

<sup>‡</sup> Long. 76°, 46' and Lat. 24°—32 miles N. of Sárangpur and 66 miles W. of Sironj.

About 44 miles S. E. of Sironj.

bád,\* 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 Múlráj held Kadraulah in Dhámoni;‡ 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'lukahs 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 Sawái remonstrated at Court, and Muhammad Khán was rebuked. In defending himself he gives an instance of what was done. Sítá Rám Nágar had been chief writer of the zamindars of Rámpurah till Ráj Adhiráj took possession. This man then became a jama'dár in the regiment of Mukím 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 Kankrál to pay peshkash to former názims; one lakh of rupees had been paid to Rájah 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 Munír

About 12 miles S. of Ujain.

<sup>†</sup> There are several Rámpurahs, I suppose this to be the one 56 miles N. W. of Sironj.

<sup>1 69</sup> miles E. of Sironj near Khimlása.

Mother of Muhammad Shah.

Killed in 1149 H. in fight with Báji Ráo outside Delhi. Grant Duff, p. 236.

Khán and Ghási Rám. After settling Ujain, Muhammad Khán intended, he said, to go to Dhámoni to recover the jágir of Rájah Múlráj.

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,† 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 Nawáb's misdeeds, and no doubt formed one of the causes of his sudden recall.

Rájah Chattar Siugh Narwari, who was specially recommended to Muhammad Khán by Háfiz Khidmatgár Khán as his "friend and companion". held 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 Sironi. He also held Narwar, t 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 Atik-ullah Khan, 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 Bhadawar being closed by the Bhadauriya Rájah. 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 Rájah 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 Jamádi, I. 1144 H. (23rd October, 1731), the army surrounded the village

- About 90 miles N. W. of Sironj.
- + About 68 miles N. of Sironj.
- 1 About 44 miles S. of Gwáliár.



of Labkara. 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-suvairi); many of the garrison were killed or left for half dead. The following day, an attack was made on Chandaur\* where there was a strong fort, and the zamindars 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 Chargún, 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,† 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 Khán 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,‡ 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 brother, Mulhár and others with a force of thirty thousand horse were in the

<sup>•</sup> Perhaps the Chandoria of the Indian Atlas—Sheet 52 N. E. in Lat. 24°, 59½' Long. 77°, 35½' to the N. W. of Saráe Nau.

<sup>†</sup> Perhaps the Bhadaura of the Indian Atlas—Sheet, 52, N. E. Lat. 24°, 48'; Long. 77°, 27½', about 13 miles N. of Gunah.

<sup>‡</sup> Sewi, or Sewli.

I cannot find this Fath Singh in Grant Duff, is it another name for Báji Ráo?

country of Umatwarah.\* There was a further force of twelve thousand men which had not crossed the Narbada. Another army, supposed to number ten to twelve thousand men, was directing its steps towards Málwá by way of Gadh.† Eighty or ninety thousand of the enemy were thus advancing 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 Rájahs, 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 Rájah of Orchha, the Bhadauriya Rájah, the sons of Chattarsál, and the Rájah 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, ‡ 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 Umatwárah with fifty thousand horse, and after levying black-mail from the Maharáo (of Kotah) had arrived within fifteen or sixteen 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 "khila'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 Malwa, of which it occupies the centre, it is bounded by the Kali Sind and Parbati rivers. The principal towns are Chaunchra, Rajghar and Kujnir. Hamilton's Hindústan, I, p. 367. See also Aitchison's Treaties, Ed. 1876, Vol. III, p. 446.
  - + Perhaps Garh Mandala, 90 miles S. E. of Sagar.
- ‡ From the remarks of the author of the Hadikat-ul-Akdilm, 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 Málwá 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. 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 lakes 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 Shahjahanabad 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-míl, " Chú pur shud, na báyad guzashtan ba píl."

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 sent

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 Diwani made objection that it was khálisa, 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 Khin 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 Mustakirrul-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 Kaim Khán, his son, Mangal Khán, who had gone to Delhi to raise men and money, and Pir 'Ali Khan, his representative at Court. Orders were at once issued to Mukim Khan to report himself to Muhammad Khan 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 Nawab's family and dependents started on their way home. The men engaged by Mangal Khán 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 Akbarábád 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 Khán'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, Háfiz Khidmatgár Khán, and others, (8), the friendship which

• In the Cawnpur district.



appeared to have sprung up between Muhammad Khán and Nizám-ul-Mulk, 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 Amír-ul-Umrá, backed by all the forces of the empire, were able to accomplish.

Compaigns 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-ul-Mulk, '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 wazír. When they reached Akbarábád, 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 Khán Fírúz Jang and Mahámid Jang beyond Narwar to Lodah-Dangar, south of Kaláras. There he heard that the infidels had crossed the Narbada, but Rájah 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 wazír, who had received a letter from Rájah Jai Singh Sawáe, 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 wazír at Shiupuri.

They then marched to punish the son of Udárá, who had instigated the murder of Ján Nisár Khán, faujdár of Kora and brother-in-law to the wazír. On the 9th Muharram, 1146 H. (11th June, 1733), they drew near to Gházipur.† 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 Súthar, a place of strength belonging to him. Muhammad Khán then encamped on the Jamna at the

His full titles are Wazír-ul-Mamálik, Jamdat-ul-Mulk, 'Itimád-ud-daula, Kamr-ud-dín Khán, Chín, Nasrat Jang.

<sup>†</sup> In the Fathpur district, about 11 miles S. W. of Fathpur, and about 8 miles from the left bank of the Jampa.

ferry of Char Khajari, while troops went in pursuit of the fugitive. One account\* states that Muhammad Khan adjusted the matter by exacting a contribution, but 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 17th 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 Emperor wrote that the sons of Chattarsál 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 Gwáliár. 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 Málwá. 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 Gwáliár. 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 kror 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 Akbarábád, 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,



<sup>\*</sup> That of the "Sa'adat-i-Jáwed" in Dowson's Elliot, VIII, 842. See also Elliot, VIII, 50, and Supp. Glossary, p. 526. From the *Hadikat-ul-Akálim*, Second Clime, art. Itáwah, we learn that the Wazir had hurried to Dehli, to thwart a combination between Khán Daurán, Burhán-ul-Mulk, and Mubáriz-ul-Mulk.

was also on his way with a strong force. Ráo Badan Singh Ját would soon be at Akbarábád. All these would aid in the protection of the city. Nasrat Yár Khán and Ráe Shiu Dás, the náibs of the Názim (Rajah Jai Singh Sawáe), would also assist. The great object was to defend the subah, to tranquillize the city, and to preserve the name and fame of Hindústán. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk would soon arrive at Gwáliár, and the Bhadauriya Rájah, if freed from anxiety 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 Muhammad Khán's only reply was to taunt Jai Singh, pointing out that he held one-third of Málwá, one-fourth of the Delhi subah and the whole of the Akbarábád 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 (filosofi), who knows where they will stop, not only have they reached Hindústán 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 jágirs and money payments, Rájah Jai Singh succeeded in overcoming Muhammad 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 Ajít Mall in the Etáwah district, had plundered Khánpur, Derapúr, 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, Bijipúr† had been surrounded, and the inhabitants of Antri‡ had taken refuge in Gwáliár. The latter were suspected of being in league with the invaders. The zamindárs of Raojhá (?) had 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 Mahrattas 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 Akbarábád, and that another party was near

<sup>•</sup> The first is, I suppose, our Cawnpore, the other places are in the Cawnpur district. There is, however, a kasbah Khánpur just south of Aurúyah.

<sup>†</sup> Lat. 26°, 2'. Long. 77°, 28', fifty-two miles S. W. of Gwáliár.

<sup>1</sup> Twelve miles 8. of Gwáliár.

Fourteen miles N. W. of Gwáliár.

Antri in the country of Bhadáwar. Accordingly on the 21st Ramzan, 1148 H. (24th Jan. 1736), a division of two thousand horse and two thousand foot, under Zabardast Khán, Rasul Khán 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 náib faujdár of Dholpúr had retreated. A party of the enemy posted themselves at Núrábád 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 Akbarábád, 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 Báji 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 Gházipúr in the Fathpur district) had agreed to pay them lakhs, and to levy krors of rupees for them in that country; other Hindu Rájahs and zamindárs beyond the Jamna and Chambal had pricked up their ears, and even some parties of Muhammadans from Málwá had entered their service. The Bhadauriya Rájah like the rest had come to terms with the invaders. In no way had Báji Ráo 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 Rájah Abhai Singh of Márwár to his home.

At length Rájah Jai Singh Sawáe wrote to say that, on the 8th Rabi I, 1149 H. (5th July, 1786), Báji Ráo and his son had submitted to the Imperial authority. With Ránújí Sendhia, Mulhár Holkar, Baswant Ráe Punwár, and other companions, he sought an interview with the Rájah at



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Dholpur. He gave an agreement under his seal, with sureties, not to act contrary to his word. Báji Ráo left on the 13th of the same month, while Rájah Jai Singh proceeded towards Subah Ajmer, where the Ráthors had raised disturbances. Apparently this was the occasion on which Báji Ráo received the appointment of náib Názim of Málwá.\*

Shortly afterwards, in the same year, the Mahrattas crossed over into the Duáb and plundered Firúzábád, 'Itimádpur and Jalesar. Burhán-ul-Mulk, 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 Khán at the head of twelve thousand men. They met Burhán-ul-Mulk near Mathura early in Zi'l Hajj 1149 H. (March—April, 1787). As they were returning to Delhi the Játs 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.†

## Muhammad Khán asks for Bengal and Patna, but gets Allahábád.

Káim Khán was now at Court, and through his influence, the Emperor promised to appoint Muhammad Khán to Patna and Bangálá. 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 náib 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 Sarfaráz Khán, thing signing any undertaking that might be demanded. 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 *peshkash* 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, Gházipur, Kuhna Saráe, Banáras, Ḥádah, Mánikpur, Ghorá, Kálinjar etc.; that Korá and Kanauj should be made over to him as dependencies; and that Sarkár Gwáliár should be given to Khizr Khán as Súbah, with Muhammad Khán as Názim. Without entering Korá, he could not bar the way to the sons of Chattarsál and Bhagwant, and if he had no

<sup>•</sup> Grant Duff, 234, 235.

<sup>+</sup> Dowson's Elliot, VIII. 54, 55, 56.

<sup>‡</sup> Son of the former Subahdár, Nawáb Shuja'-ud-daula. He had been ousted by 'Ali Wardi Khán Mahábat Jang.

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 Wazir, and Muhammad 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. Muhammad Khán seems to have obtained afterwards promises of re-instatement, but his claims were postponed to those of Amír Khán 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, who was appointed to Allahábád in the year 1739.† On Amír Khán's assassination in 1159 H. (Jan. 1746 to Jan. 1747),‡ 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|| who when at Court had been made a . Sihhazári, 2000 horse, with the title of Rájah and the gift of kettle-drums. He was appointed to the charge of the rahdári from Banáras to Allahábád, and he performed well the duty of keeping the roads open. Rájah Jai Singh of Maudah had, however, interfered, and had collected much money from Bhadoi. Rájah Jaswant Singh would he hoped be preserved from further oppression.

Muhammad Khán's interest in Rájáh Jaswant Singh arose from the fact that the Rájáh had given to the Nawáb a daughter in marriage. Jaswant Singh had also taken the field on one occasion in Muhammad Khán'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, Rájáh of Bijipur and Kantit. 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 Allahyár, author of the Hadákat-ul-Akálím, having

- Both dates are taken from the "Tabsírát-un-Názirín."
- + Dow, II, 438, ed. 1803.
- 1 Miftáh-ut-tawárikh, p. 489.
- § 'Amád-us-Sa'dat, p. 50.
- In the Mirzapur district, on the left bank of the Ganges.
- ¶ Both in the Mirsapur district.

command of the van. Marching all night, they crossed the Ganges at the ferry of Kasondhan.\* Before their arrival, Jaswant Singh attacked Savyad 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 Allahyar's troops. Many of the horses, owing to the uneven ground of the tank, fell and threw their riders. Shekh Din 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 Din Muhammad, when Sayyad Muhammad, a retainer of Shekh Allahyár's, rode up and was about to dismount. Din Muhammad told him not to interfere. Two of the assailants now fled, another tripped and fell, and Din 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 Allahyar, 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 Shah Nawaz Khan 83 men were wounded and 7 killed. +

#### 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 Nawáb 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 (khawás) were sent. No longer able to excuse himself, Nawáb Muhammad Khán told his companions that his last hour

<sup>.</sup> On the left bank of the Ganges, in parganah Kewail.

<sup>†</sup> Hadikat-ul-Akdiém Iklím II, art. Arail, and Iklím III, art. Bilgrám, Account of Shekh Dín Muhammad.

bad come. Putting on his chain mail-shirt (zarrah), his breastplate and back-piece (bagtar and chahár-aina), his helmet (khuz) and gauntlets (dastyána), 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 Wilayatis 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 Nasir Khan, Khan Dauran Khan 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 Majesty 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 wazir, 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 amirs 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,† very clever but very thin and very short. He was a perfect master of the art of archery, and possessed arrows of every sort.‡

- Pir Muhammad Khawas is named as the authority for this story.
- † A village close to Kamálganj, on the Cawnpur road, 8 miles south of Farrukhábád.
- † 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. Kalandra. 3. Kohar-tarásh. 4. Gherá, with a head three fingers broad; it makes a wound like a

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 Shekhzáda offered to go instead. The Nawab laughed at him, and said he did not want to be turned into the laughing stock of the army. The Shekhzada would not listen. Meanwhile, the perspiration poured down Muhammad Khán's body from auxiety, 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 Sháh 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 plunder.

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 Sháh 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-áb o ziyáda az 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.

spear. 5. Nukta, without head, it inflicts a blow but no wound. 6. Thuth. 7. An-kri-dár, with a bent head like a saddle-maker's needle. 8. Náwak, this is a kind of pipe of steel like a flute (púngi) attached to the bow. In this district Siroli Chand Thok, in parganah Shamsabád East, is celebrated for its bows and arrows.

#### Death of Akbar Khán.

It was about this time, 1152 H. (1739), that Nizám-ul-Mulk and his son, Gházi-ud-din, now at the head of affairs, disgusted 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 without leave and retired to his estates. Sher 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-ka-Sikandra in the Aligarh district. Now, Muhammad Khán 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 Pathans 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 Patháns gained the day. Then Ahmad Khán out of revenge turned his camel swivels in the direction of Akbar Khán, and ordered them to be discharged. The ball from one of the zambúrak 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), Rájah 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 hæd 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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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 Rájah 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. Mukím Khán and 'Abdullah Khán were sent with him, and they took with them the wazír'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 Rájah 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 Khán 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 thánas 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.† 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 Sarjú, while the zamindár 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-

<sup>•</sup> In the Bareli district.

<sup>†</sup> Life of Hafiz Rahmat Khán, pp. 16, 17.

tiers, he says, looked on a settlement as a victory, and he advised 'Ali Muhammad Khán 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 Dás, an officer of Rájah Jai Singh Sawáe, 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 wazír, 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 Káim Khán then at Farrukhábád. Káim Khán came out to meet it with honour as far as Soron†, through which, before the founding of Kásganj,‡ 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

- · Both in the Manipuri district.
- + On the Burhganga, 27 miles N. of Eta and about 60 miles N. W. of Farrukhá-bád.
  - † Nineteen miles N. of Eta and about 8 miles S. W. of Soron.
- § Similar honours were paid in the time of the late Nawab of Rampur to the tree "Samar-bihisht" in a village just east of Thana Bhowan in the Muzaffarnagar district. This tree has an entry in the khewat or Proprietary Record all to itself. I think the Nawab paid Rs. 300 for the tree.



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 Khan'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 Khan. The Hakim's treatment was of no avail, and on the 2nd Zil Ka'd 1156 H. (9th December 1743), Muhammad Khan breathed his last. When Muhammad Shah heard of his death, he wrote this chronogram—

## Sitún-i-báb-i-mulk-i-Hind uftád.

About three hours before his death, the Nawab, 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.† 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"; 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—1818) it somehow got

Another "Tarikh" is "Dakhl-ul-jinnat wálá."

<sup>†</sup> Káli Rác, p. 53.

<sup>‡</sup> See Kali Ráe, p. 127, for a description of what is evidently the same Gaja as that referred to in the text.

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.\*

Nawab Muhammad Khan to the last maintained very plain and soldier-like habits. His manner was not overbearing, he had no pride, and was free from self-glorification. He always were 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 Pathans and chelas and all persons, high or low, had to be content to sit. The Nawab sometimes sat on a cushion, sometimes without one. As the Pathans presented themselves, they uttered an "Auji Nawab, salam 'alaik' then sat down in rows. At meal times five to six hundred Pathans 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 palao, or whatever else there was, all receiving an equal share. The same food was placed before the Nawab Pathans generally eat palao 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.† 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‡ and told his father. Next morning the diwán-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 Maû. Before him were a pán-dán of painted wood

Káli Rác, p. 127.

<sup>+</sup> It lies outside the Kádiri gate, east of the city, between it and Fatchgarh cantonment.

I Half a mile from the Ganga gate, at the N. E. corner of the city.

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 betel-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 Káim 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, Pathán 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 Nawab'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 Bará 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 Káim Khán was there to provide for them. About four hundred women elected to leave with all their property, and four hundred only remained to eat the Bibi Sahiba's barley bread.

\* Just outside the Mau gate.

### 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 Patháns 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 Farrukhábád. 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 Rájputs 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 Islám. 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 (Súbahdars) had orders to send him all the Hindu boys, whom they could procure between the ages of seven and thirteen. When they grew up, they were placed in his police or army, or were appointed to manage the Nawab'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 Nawab had made some four thousand chelas. Many of these were killed in battle in the Nawab'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 Nawab 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 mixed together, so that one caste cannot be distinguished from another. Among the chelas were the sons of powerful Rájahs, 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 Yakut 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 firelocks of Lahore, accourrements of Sultáni 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 standing 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. Muhammad 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.

Only one or two other chelas founded any ganj, and the fact will be mentioned under each man's name.

### 1. YÁKUT KHÁN, KHÁN BAHÁDUR.

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 named 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—

### Yákút surkh-rú ba-tufail-i-Muhammad ast.

In his case, the Nawab removed the prohibition against building or founding towns, saying that as he had no children it did not matter. Seven ganjes were founded by Yakut Khan.

- 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 Eof Eta, and about 30 miles N. W. of Farrukhábád. The date of the fort is 1143 H. (6th July 1730—25th 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.†
- 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.‡
- 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 1855-6 to make way for the metalled road to Fatehgarh.
- 5. Nabiganj. This is a small bazár 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 Farrukhábád district, about seven miles S. E. of the city of Farrukhábád. Kali Ráe

<sup>•</sup> Gaz. N. W. P. IV, 152.

<sup>†</sup> Gaz. N. W. P. IV, 110. The date, 1747 A. D., must be wrong, if the date in the Persian inscription, 1143 H., is correct.

<sup>‡</sup> Gaz. N. W. P. II, p. 572.

Káli Ráe, p. 133.

<sup>[</sup> Gaz. N. W. P. IV, 746.

(p. 133) says five villages were absorbed: (1), Jakhá; (2), Jyáuţi; (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 latáfat Núr Bakhsh-i-Faiz-zá Sál táríkh-ash Khirad guft andar ín "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.

YÁKUT KHÁN 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. † In the statement, on the page just cited, that Yákút Khán was originally a Katiya 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 Bahádur 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 "Fatehgarh 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 Khán. 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.



<sup>•</sup> Gaz. N. W. P. IV, p. 218.

<sup>†</sup> Gaz. N. W. P. IV, p. 110.

- 8. SHAMSHER KHÁN. 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 Kanaui. all, except the latter, now in the Cawnpur district. Abdul Mansúr 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: Naváb námdár salámat. Shamsher-ikhud rá dar miyán bakun, wagarna áb na khwáhad mánd. "Respected Nawab, 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, Naváb 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 Nawab Kaim 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. Mukím 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 was—Nuh falak az nám-i-Muhammad Mukím. 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 KHÁN. 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. ISLÁM KHÁN. One of the five principal chelas executed at Delhi. There is an Islamganj 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. Sardár Khán. He, too, was one of the chelas executed at Delhi.
- 8. DÁUD KHÁN. 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. Bhứre Khán. 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 Muhammad Khán and Káim Khán, he sat down between the Nawáb and his son. Káim Khán 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 Amethi. 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 KHÁN. 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 Mahál, and received an allowance of a rupee a day. Another descendant, Ghairat Khán, was alive in 1889, 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 Khán Gwáliári, were paid in at Mandeshwar.
- 11. Neknám Khán. 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;
- $\bullet$  Thornton, 645. In Scindiah's territory and the chief place of a parganah. It  $li_{e8}$  350 miles S. W. of Gwáliár and 80 miles N. W. from Ujain,



he also built a mosque at Chibramau near the tomb of Sadr Jahán, the martyr, on the edge of the tank. His motto was, *Hastam az lutf-i-Muham-mad neknám*. We have seen him employed (p. 301) to extricate Káim 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. Jahán Khán. 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 Khán. 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 Khán. 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. DILÁWAR KHÁN. 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 Khán. He was a son of the Gaur Rájah of Siroli (see p. 278). He was Darogha of the camel establishments.
- 17. FAKHR-UD-DIN KHÁN. 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 KHÁN. 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."

\* Káli Rác, p. 120.

- 19. Rustam Khán. He was killed with Káim Khán in the battle of Dauri (1748).
- 20. 'ABD-UR RASÚL KHÁN. He was killed in 1728 at the battle of Ichauli, (see p. 290).
- 21. Háji Sarfaráz Khán. 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. Ján Nisár Khán. He held charge of Ujain in Málwá as the deputy of Muķím Khán. Having incurred 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. Jowáhir Khán. He was Darogha of the stables.
- 26. SALÁBAT Khán. He was the "Mír 'Imárat' or superintendent of buildings.
  - 27. SHAMSHER KHAN, II. He had charge of the poultry.
  - 28. Mahtáb Khán. 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. Námbáb Khán, 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. Nakki Khán.

### The Nawab'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 Nawab's dominions was popularly described by the following doggrel verse—

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Miyan do áb o miyan do káf Shuda hásil ín mulk jumla mu'áf Shavand kasba-i-Kol o Korú hadúd Ba daryáe Gung o Jaman insaráf.

There is a certain amount of exaggeration in the east and west boundaries thus given, and the parganahs across the Ganges are ignored. Taking the existing division into districts, one may say roughly that Nawab Muhammad held the western half of the Cawnpur district, the dividing line being drawn from Bithur 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 Farrukhábád 'Amil against some zamindárs, that Dáud Khán caused Sháh Alam 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 Allahábád, 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 Muhammad 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.

• Gaz. IV, 158, 162.

+ See p. 9.



SHÁHPUR. 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 held 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 harvest 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.

ITÁWAH. 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 jógirs in this parganah. This produced an objection from Násir-ud-daula Sádát Khán Zu'lfikár Jang, and the Emperor addressed a farmán to Muhammad 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 jágir of 'Amír-ul-Umrá, Khán Daurán Khán; the latter that of Farrah Khán Bahádur and Muhamdi Khán Bahádur.

BARNAH SOHÁR with a revenue of ten lakhs of dám was taken on ijára or lease by Yákút Khán from the jágirdar.

NIDHPUB, AKBARÁBÁD, and SIKANDABPUB 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 Sikandrain are stated to have been in the Nawab'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.

KURÁOLI. Káim Khán received 17 or 18 lakhs of dám from this parganah as payment on account of the faujdári of Kanauj.

Shikohábád. 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 Tálighám were in 1726 in the  $j\acute{a}gir$  of Khán Daurán Khán.

ANWALAH. This parganah was at one time the jagir of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk 'Amír Khán.

### Muhammad Khán's wife and children.

The Nawab seems to have had but one legal wife, Malaha Bana or Raba'ha Banu, alias the Bibi Sahiba, daughter of Kasim Khan Bangash. She has been often mentioned already, and will be often mentioned again. She had two sons, Kaim Khan, the second Nawab, and Daim Khan, who died in childhood; also two daughters, Roshan Jahan, wife of Roshan Khan 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 Bagh a little to the south-west of Nawab Ahmad Khan's mausoleum. There is a handsome masjid in the city built by her, called the Bibi Sahiba ki masjid, and the quarter round it is known by that name. There is also a Muhalla Bibi ganj near the Mau gate.

The unsettled times of the 18th 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. Murid Khán. Full brother of Murtazza Khán (No. 4). He was killed with Káim 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 Maḥal 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-Khánnán 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 Káim 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 absolutely 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-dhám)."



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 chaunri, 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 Sáhibzádah families visited 'Abdul-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-Masjíd Khán would only get the more angry, and request them never to come near him again. Then the Sáhibzádahs 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 he was killed with Káim Khán, another that he was one of the five sons executed at Allahábád. He left one daughter.
- 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, Amín-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 Káim Khán; he left two sons.
- 16. Shádí Khán. He was killed by a cannon shot at the siege of the Fatchgarh fort by the Mahrattas in April—May 1751. He left no issue.
  - 17. Salábat Khán. He was living in 1802; he had four sons.
  - 18. Manavar Khán. He left six sons.
- 19. Muḥammad Amín Khán. He gave abuse to some zamindár, who thereupon cut him down with his sword. Miyán '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. 'Azim 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 Sáni 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 Sáhibzáda 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

• The MS. says near Kádirganj, which is in the Etá District near the Ganges, some 45 miles N. W. of Farrukhábád (Gaz. IV, 151) while the place meant is in the Tarái between 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.



many sons that he did not know them all by sight, so when he met any well-mounted 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 (maḥal) it was. The Bíbí Sáḥiba 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 Roshan Jahán, the full sister of Káim 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-cháh-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 Fatehgarh (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) Sultán 'Ali Khán, (2) Rustam 'Ali Khán.
- 3. Karim-un-nissa. She became the wife of the above 'Ináyat 'Ali Khán 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, Muhammad '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) Kuth 'Ali Khán.
- 6. Begamá Şáḥiba, 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 Khán and full sister of No. 7. She had no children.
  - 9. Bíbí Daulat Khátun. She married Khudá Dád Khán, Bangash



Ustarzai Karlâni, and was the great-grandmother of Manavar 'Ali Khán, one of the joint authors of the "Lauḥ-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)

Manarar A. K. Haiyat A. K. Husain A. K. Sa'dat A. K. Shuja't one b. 1798 d. 1868 A. K. daughter

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 Khandiya, 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

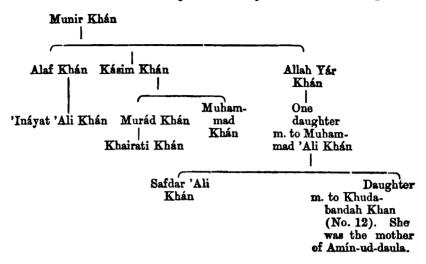
<sup>•</sup> On the Sai about 20 miles S. E. of Rác Bareli in Audh.

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. Sarfaráz '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 Office.

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 Patháns dwell called Kirpá Khund or Kirya Khund (?), he married again. His son by that wife married the daughter of Wáhid 'Ali 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." 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 Wali 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:



Murád 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 Pathán" or noseless Pathán. 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 Karim 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. (No. 15), and the wife of Sardár Khán.
- 16. Sáhib Khátun, wife of Johar Khán Bangash. She had no full brother.
- 17. 'Abida Khánum, daughter of of 'Arifa Khánum, and wife of Hurmat Khán Bangash. She had no full brother.
  - 18. (Name unknown), wife of Bábar Khán.
  - 19. Alif Khátun, wife of Ḥak-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 A.

### RASHYD KHAN AND THE KHANZADAS.

The few Khánzádas, descendants of Rashid Khán, now found in a state of poverty in Mau, state the descent of their ancestor as follows:—

Maulána Shekh Ibráhím Dánishmand Shekh Siráj-ud-din Shekh Mahmud Shekh Ahmad 'Abdulla Kázi Khwaja Bayazid (alias Pir Roshan) Shekh Shekh Shekh Shekh Núr-ud-Jalál-ud-din Kamál Khairud-din nd-din din Nawab Nawab Nawáb Mirzá Khán Rashid Hádi Dád Khán Khán (left descendants 'Abd-ul 'Abd-ul Khuda 'Abdur 'Abd-us in the Karim Hakim Dád Nawab Habib- Asad- Sahib Dakhin.) Subhán Rahmán Khán Ilhám- ullah ullah Dád d. s. p. ullah Khán Khán Khán Khán d. s. p. 'Abd-ul Muhammad Báqi Ma'sud Rahmatullah Khán (Rahmat

The above is all that the Khánzádas know; they are ignorant of the part played in history by Jalála, of the events of Rashíd Khán's life, where he served or when he died. Maulvi Manzúr Ahmad, Deputy Collector, then Tahsildar of Káimganj, 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 Muhammad

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 Khán, founder of Mau, with Rashíd Khán, son of the historical Jalála. From the "Maásir-ul-Umrá," 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 Báyazíd who was descended in the seventh generation from Siráj-ud-din Ansári, 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 Tahyapúr (?) 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), † (3) Jamál-ud-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 Afridis, 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‡ 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 Afridis. He then went to 'Ali Masjid and inflicted considerable punishment on Jalála. Shortly after Zain Khán Kokah arrived, having been appointed to super-

<sup>•</sup> For notices of Jalála and the Raushánis see Blochmann's "Ain-i-Akbari," Vol. I, pp. 340, 345, 356, 361, 397, 403, 411, 469.

<sup>+</sup> Elphinstone, p. 508.

<sup>†</sup> Mr. Blochmann's "Ain-i-Akbari," Vol. I, p. 897.

<sup>4 &#</sup>x27;Ain I, 389.

sede the Rájáh, 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† and Şádik Muhammad Khán‡ 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 37th year (20th March 1591—to 10th March 1592), Jalála returned from Túrán and again raised the 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 45th 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 Khwája Abúl Hasan, náib of Mirzá Intizám Bakhsh, 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 Sa'íd 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 11th 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,) with her two sons-in-law (1) Muhammad Zamán, (2) Sáhib Dád, and (3) Kádir Dád, the son of

<sup>• &#</sup>x27;Ain I, 344.

<sup>+ &#</sup>x27;Ain I, 360.

<sup>† &#</sup>x27;Ain I, 355.

<sup>§</sup> The Mau tradition is that he was no relation, but usurped the succession.

<sup>1 &#</sup>x27;Ain I, 466.

<sup>¶</sup> A sanad dated 15th Zi'l Ka'd of the 12th year, 1048 H. gives Jamál Khátun as the name of Abd-ul-Kádir's wife.

Muhammad Zaman. The Emperor took pity on them and sent them on to Rashid Khan, who was then in Talingana.

In the same year Karim Dád, the younger son of Jalála, who was leading a wandering life among the Lohánis, was sent for by all the tribes in order to renew the struggle. Sa'id Khán sent Rájah Jagat Singh\* against the Patháns; all the other tribes submitted, except the Lakan and two others with whom Karim Dád had taken refuge. Reduced to extremities, these saw themselves forced to deliver up Karim Dád. By royal order he was sent to the Emperor. Afterwards Jamdat-ul-Mulk Sa'd-ullah Khán married the daughter of Karim Dád, and she bore to him Lutf-ullah Khán and others.

Allahdad, son of Jalal-ud-din, was either one of the children captured in 1591—1592 and made over to Wahdat 'Ali, or else came to Hindústán 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 Rashidabad would seem a little too early. The first notice of Shekh Allahdad is in Jahangir'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 Rashid Khán with the rank of two thousand five hundred. In the 14th year (7th June 1618-27th May 1619), he 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 Jhujhar Singh Bundela, son of Bir 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 Nizam-ul-Mulk. His brothert and many personal followers were slain in the same battle. In the 5th year (26th Dec. 1632-15th Dec. 1633). Rashid Khán was appointed faujdar of part of the Akbarábád Subah. In the 6th year (16th Dec. 1633—5th Dec. 1634), he went with Shah 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-



<sup>•</sup> By the "Tazkira-ul-Umrá" this would seem to be the son of Rája Basú of Mau in the Núrpúr State in the hills. See also Proc. B. A. S., 1872, p. 157.

<sup>†</sup> Or rather, I should say, his cousin Mirzá Khán son of Núr-ud-din.

ticed for his bravery in capturing a fort. In the 10th year (28th Oct. 1636—17th Oct. 1637), he was appointed Názim of Burhánpúr and raised to be a Chahár Hazári. In the 11th year (18th Oct. 1637—7th Oct. 1638), he was made Faujdár of Sarkár Bijágarh in addition to Burhánpúr. 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 Mau, a town which he had founded near Shamshábád.†

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 Rashíd Khán, 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.

Rashid 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 'Idgáh of Burhánpúr, 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 Rashid Khán are named in history, (1) Asadullah, (2) Ilhámullah (Rashid Khán). Asadullah, the eldest son, on the death of his father in Sháhjáhan's 22nd year (20th June 1648—9th June 1649), was made a Hazári. In the 24th year (29th May 1651—18th May 1652), he was appointed Thánadár of Chándaur in the Dakhin Súbah, and in the 27th year (25th April 1653—14th April 1654), faujdár of Dabdauri (?) in Sarkár Saukhar (?). In the 28th year (15th April 1654—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.

A town on the north or left bank of the Godáveri, 145 miles N. of Haidarábád.
 Thornton, 682.

<sup>+</sup> In the "Ma'asir-ul-Umra' Shamedbdd is quite distinct, and so is Man, but I cannot read the word which follows.

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 Hazari, three thousand horse, and at the same time his father's title of Rashid Khan 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, commander-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. † 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 Aghat in parganah 'Azimnagar, formerly called Tappah 'Azimnagar, a modern off-shoot from Shamshábád. ‡

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

Námrúp in the MS. of Maasir-ul-Umrá and Tazkira-ul-Umrá.

<sup>+</sup> Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri, p. 249.

<sup>‡</sup> Gaz. N. W. P. IV. 197, and Proc. B. A. S., for 1874, p. 104.

Khán, after which he was rewarded with the rank of Three Thousand, 2000 horse, and the title of Bahádur. 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-Umrá" 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 Pír Aziz-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.† The Muhammadans under 'Abd-us-Samad, alias Mirzá Khán, Muhammadzai, Dáud Khán, Yár Khán, Burhán Khán, Toyah, and Mír Khán, Khaṭak, gained a signal victory near Khemsipur. 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.‡ At its side, surrounded by a wall, is the masonry tomb of the Nawáb's wife. The tombs are surrounded by ancient ásupalú and ním 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 Bara 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

<sup>•</sup> In parganah Azimnagar of the Eta district. Gaz. IV. 180.

<sup>†</sup> Seventeen miles from Farrukhábád on the Mainpuri road.

<sup>‡</sup> Káli Rác, p. 114.

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 Rashid Khán, built a saráe and well with stairs in Mauza Kuberpúr, south of Mau and east of Káimganj; the Afridis knocked the sarás down and used the bricks, the Báoli is still there half in ruins. The place near it is called "Saráe Bíbí Raba'h" to this day. A separate village, formerly called Sayyad Firúzpur, lying between Mau and Chak Mau-Rashidabad, is known as "Katra Rahmat Khan" (marketplace of R. 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 Kaimgani, and called it after himself Suhbanpur. In the lands of Hamírpur, the next village west of Mau, is a shrine dedicated to Pir Roshán, the ancestor of the Khánzádahs. The Putwari who pointed it out to me gave the correct pronunciation, with the long & 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 Bamtela. 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 Bamtela. The other story is, that this Rájah having seized a Bráhman woman and made her his concubine, her children by him were called Bamtelas.

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, Awájpur, Na'matpur and Baraun (8 Bíswahs); (2) Nandan Sáh, whose family held Adúli and Rashídpur; (3) Chattar Singh, whose family held Baraun (12 Biswahs) and Bábarpur. The founders of these families are said to have lived fourteen or fifteen generations ago, but the Awájpur zamindars, when enquiry was made by the Settlement Officer, could not carry back their genealogy more than six generations.

The Bamtelas are not found outside pargana Pahára, and there 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 fifty-two 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. Khán is called the son of Muhammad Khán Bangash. He was given, they say, by his father to Rájah Chattarsál who adopted him, and when he grew up endowed him with the pargana of Sondha (or Sihonda). Dalel Khán appointed his nephew, Murád Khán, to be thánadar of Sihonda. 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 Bán-Dalel Khán was told that twenty-two Rájahs and thirty chiefs had come with intent to kill him.

Dalel Khán marched from Sihonda 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, Ingotha, Pipronda, all villages three or four miles to the north-west of Maudha. Jagat Ráj'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 Padhori 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 Sihonda. 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 Patháns. 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 Patháns then left him. With the rest he marched from Padhori to Maudha.

Now Himmat Khán was Dalel Khán's chief friend, and he usually rode by the Nawáb'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 Padhori, 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 Patháns and three hundred Bundelas were killed, the second day one hunand fifty Patháns 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 Shahíd. 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 Bándá 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 Khán 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 Shahid. 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 dohá (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 Ráj set out alone. The poets on this occasion put the following dohá into Chattarsál's mouth—

### में चन माटी छैर दे चिरदे शास मये रिशाय। जमत समें छ इस दें वस दस परें। न जाय॥

"Mohan has decided not to join, Harde Sáh is angry, Jagat fights "alone, but he cannot bear the weight of it."

2nd.—Chattarsál wrote a long letter to Dalel Khán trying to dissuade him from fighting. The inhabitants of Maudha remember these verses.

हिरदे गांच से नहिं क्ली कीरत सेन कपूत।
वेटा किंदिये दक्षेत्र से नंग्र वंत सपूत॥
भाई मच्चाद खाँन ने डार्गी मेरी नोद।
तब से तुस वेटा मेरे जनत समान सुने थ॥
मोचन टारा दें नये हिरदे रचे जुकाय।
तमहाँ कम्यावा देख ती मैं जनते से कुँ सम्भाय॥

"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."

8rd.—The following answer was sent by Dalel Khán:

तुम राजा महराज है। सब राजन में हळा। सब दक्षेत्र की सब्दें दें। इस दीन की सब्जा।

"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.

## बक्रत जगीरे तुम चरी चाया घी चक चाँड । जो ना दखेंसे मारिका ती घर घर करिके राँड ॥

"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 Sáh.

बाड़ी चाकी भार में वक्ष्यन करी न पेश । अब बाड़ी डरकाय दें देवस देस सिरदेश ॥

"Our cart has stuck in the clay, make no childish excuses, help us now to shove on the cart, lend aid to your country, O Hirdesh! (Harde Sáh)."

6th.—Harde Sáh's answer was-

धीय मार मानी नची जगत विठाई कोन। सैंचे चव मूँडे परी फोर सर्च सस सीन॥

"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.

मज भर काती द छेल की वीस विसे का जाज ।

जो ति में जो ति सका गई पाया पद निर्वान ॥
सारी सरन सकेल के मरन किया एक ठीर ।
कों पतंग दीपक जरे या विधि भैसी द छेल ॥
दिश्वी से द केल कां पत्था कह गिर वांकि ॥
जगत राज सकराज सें मार मी दक्षा वीच ।
भई युद पहान की बद्या रकत की कीच ॥
तीन दिवस पहान के करा बड़ेंग समसान ।
जगत राज कम्पित भया केड़ भग्या मैदान ॥
वीचे दिन दो पहर की हेर बुक्लन कीन ।
तब द लेल भई सा निरे कहन साई 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 (Paṭṭhán, a play upon the word Paṭhán); the blood flowed and turned the earth into mire. For three days the Paṭháns 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:

मेलोतो चिछड़ें बढ़ में जिम जानके शिक किये छड़ना।
बिच तीर कमान जि जर मेलेड मुंगस के रमना॥
सब कां के उपर कूद परें। जस चीक्त भकोर घरे जिरना।
सब राजन के घर सेच गया अब पेल दलेल घंस्रो परना॥ १ ॥
मुंगस दें हैं पठान चको पपरेंड़ में कीन मुकान दलेला।
चेल फिकार इने सग जाल सुनोत्तिन मार कियो भवनेला।
पपरेंड़ जि डाँड़ चलें।न रूपो करूवानी के तट कीन भनेला।
मुजसी डाय चान पंढोरी टिक्सो खड़ाो जाय बुन्देलन में। बचरेला॥ १॥
कव्यत्त से कार मदमतवारे उठे दतारे इक्त जिली।
मचमद का मन्दन उठा जकन्दन यारन वेली चली चली।
चलीं चठना से चा मतना से जीर बड़ी जैजाल चली।
वडमाति चले बरहों के देला मद दलेला बड़वली॥ १॥

तोपन की तड़क कड़क किरवानन की बानन की जानक बदरी आर लावा है। कड़ी चपनाल चऊँ बार देखा एक वेर मुगुछ चा वृष्ट्छा एक छदर छगावा है॥ खादे के दरियाव में दरियाव राव देखपत चिछी मुग्छानी तुरकानी बड़कावा है। छीजिया छड़ाई छाँ खड़न की बाई बार मैं। द्वा के मार बीच बेत अदवावा है॥॥॥

"They gathered in Sihunda-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 Rájahs hesitated, when bold Dalel began to drive his way through them. The Pathán 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 Pandhori, 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 Janjáls. 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 Mugalanis and Turkanis are disheartened. Hear thus, O friend! the fighting, the sword wounds, in the battle of Maudha, and how the field was won."

• The MS. has chilh, a falcon, in place of which I suggest chitah.

9th.—Verses in praise of Dalel Khán's horses.

बोदत बुरन धरन दे ही रकेव पाँचें वायु से उड़ायें यही जिनी रंग हैं। पाछे बाँड वी महेला मिर्च मुद्द पाव पुद्रन पनारी पर्री यही माते तंग हैं। जकरें जंजीरन से पकरें सईस दुई सकरें दुरावत करत जोर जंग हैं। कबेदार नुकरें निकन्दर जुरावर आम बंचन से डारे हैं बनाये चन्न चन्न हैं। भूछ ताम बादकी की पाँच रंग रंग हैं। घरी पेरी खाह सेत वैजानी कुरंग हैं। चंग से चढ़त जोर जंग से मतेंग हैं। साहब क्सार हसे सेंद के तुरंग हैं।

"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.

सदसाद खान का पूत सपूत दखेल करी भिक्त भोत् वृन्देखों थे। कड़ी बड़ तंत्र ख़ती निर्देश में इस्पर फोर करेजों से॥ जुरे दख बीर कड़ें बखबीर मुद्देश मुद्दारे फोड़ों से। बद्दे किरपान दखेल पठान बद्देश कर फेर सुमू हों से॥

"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 Pathán 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.

में द्खेल का का की मोचि नंत्रम की कान।
मे। इ पर पंजा महबाद शांक का किनकी यह किर पान ॥ १ ॥
दें पठनैते वाँचे दें वे समुख जूकींगे जंगी।
कानी के भीचा करमसकीचा हैं न वरेंगे करदंगी॥
मागेंगे राजा एवं सहराजा देखि हमारी कह नंगी।
कहि सह देखेला रन में पेला करी कशी कर कररंगी॥

"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 Maharajah 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:

वेडा मरे मुराइ चाँ भाई इवराषीम । चामिइ चेंदर फ़्राते चाँ चाय चाय मरे चामीम ॥ मरे इनायत चाँन पुन पिडल नान पहान । मेरो जीवन चव नृषा यस कदि मसी कपान ॥

"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 Pathán. 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—

# वृन्देल की इस्लेख में दसेस भगे जात पै।

"Dalel flees before the waves of the Bundelas." A Bundela reproved him, and said he should say—

## दसेल की उसेस में बुन्देस भगे जात है।

"The Bundelas flee before the torrent of Dalel's attack."

### NAWAB KAIM 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 Jaitpúr. 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 verse 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 Nawib gave him a house at Amethi and entertained him for six months. In this interval he made enquiries from Mau Patháns 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 Mahmud Khan Bakhshi's exhortations. All the Patháns 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 Nawab 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 Nawab 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 Nawab succeeded in untying it with his lance and carried it off on the point. The Mahratta was offered presents which he 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 Amethi, 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 Amethi, 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 Lakhúla Bágh from the number of trees (Lakh == 100,000). It lies within the bounds of Khánpúr, Barhpur, 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 adorned. In the Biradari and Buland Mahal, canopies of Sultani 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 Kamani gate. No one's horse, or palki or elephant was allowed 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 niece of Kásim Khán, (2) Bibi Jowáhir, a Pathán 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 Amethi 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 Amethi to visit her mother-in-law at Farrukhábád the whole of the bázár was closed. The shopkeepers called this "Hartál" or "Hát-tára," from háf a shop and tárá a lock, that is, they had to put locks on their shop doors. The conveyances were four-wheeled 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

<sup>•</sup> Daryábád is 43 miles E. of Lakhnau.

<sup>†</sup> Panni is the name of a tribe of Patháns.

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 Afghanistán; 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 Amethi, 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 Amethi 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 Bangarh† and opened his batteries. 'Ali Muhammad Khán came out and defeated him, so that the imperial army fled to Delhi.‡ Muhammad Sháh was very angry and a second time, after an interval, he prepared an army, which he put under Khwájah Aşli Şáhib. He too opened batteries against Bangarh, 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 Kamrud-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, 32 miles N. E. of Eta. Shuja't Khán was killed with Káim Khán at Dauri, as we shall see further on.

<sup>†</sup> In the Budéon district, 14 miles N. E. of Budéon. Misprinted Bangash iu Elliot, VIII, 116 and 350.

<sup>‡</sup> Life of H. R. K., pp. 16 to 18.

case his Wazarat 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 Muķím 'Abd-ul-Mansúr Khán Safdar Jang commanded the vanguard. One night the Patháns 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 Patháns. 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 hand-kerchief, 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 Súbah of Sarhind, to the west of the Jamna. The Emperor and all the nobles then returned to Delhi.†

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.‡



<sup>\*</sup> Scott's Farishta II, 218. The Life of H. R. K. p. 20, gives 1165 H. which would be before the death of Muhammad Khán, although in the same passage Káim Khán is spoken of as the reigning Nawab. The Persian text mentions the 27th year, which fell in 1167 and 1168 H.

<sup>†</sup> The author of the Hadikat-ul-Akálim who was in Naval Ráe's army, confirms the fact of 'Ali Muhammad Khan's presentation through Káim Khán.

<sup>†</sup> Life of H. R. K. pp. 20 to 28.

## Accession of Ahmad Sháh.

Muhammad Shah 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 wazir in place of 'Itimád-ud-daula, Kamr-uddín Khán, killed in the fighting against Ahmad Sháh Durráni. dar 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, Kaim Khan's, hereditary enemy. The Emperor and the Wazir were enraged. The Wazir laid plans of revenge in consultation with Jawed Khan. 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. 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 Nawab 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 Nawáb seems to have been reluctant to attack his fellow Patháns. Shuja't Khán Ghilzai, who had formerly exchanged 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† 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-

<sup>•</sup> For the name see 'Amad-us-Sa'dat, p. 44, line 15, where a doubt is suggested, but the despatch of some farmán is proved by the statements of Hisám-ud-din, an eyewitness.

<sup>+</sup> In the Bareli district, twenty-one miles S. W. of Bareli.

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 Compassionate, 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,† Rájah Hindu Singh of Chachendi,‡ and the Rájah of Shiú-

- The "Gulistán-i-Rahmat" tells us that after 'Ali Muhammad Khán was captured and taken to Delhi, Háfiz Rahmat Khán and his relations for six months sought a shelter with Shuja't Khán Ghilzai at Kádirganj.
- † Rúrú, 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 Rájah (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 Káim (brother Káim) was slain," she exclaimed that he was no son of hers, and could never have been in the fight. When the Rájah had bathed, he went to the cooking-place to eat his food. Then the Ráni called to the slave girl Ai cheri, kabardár rasoi men lohá na ján páwe, Rájah lohá se bahut darat hai. The story concludes dramatically by saying the Rájah then and there committed suicide, by swallowing the diamond out of his ring. But the sober truth seems to be that he lived for many years, and died about 1786 A. D. (Gaz. IV. 299).
- ‡ Chachendi (or Sachendi) lies in parganah Jájmau of the Cawnpur district, fourteen miles south-west of Cawnpur, on the Kálpi 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 Rájah Indarjít of Shiúrájpúr, he left his home, and took service with the Ráo of Sapihi in parganah Jájmau, a minor branch of the Shiúrájpúr house. After a time Hindú Singh set up on his ewn account, raised an army, built forts at Bihnor and Chachendi, and having acquired a large territory took the title of Rájah. He was contemporary with Rájahs Mándhátá and Hindúpat of Shiúrájpúr.



ájpúr,\* In answer to the appeal they joined Káim 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.† 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.\(\frac{1}{2}\) 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 darbár, 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 Mahmúd 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.

<sup>•</sup> 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 Rájahs were Chándels, and the Ráj was founded by Shiú Ráj Deo, who is said to have migrated from Kanauj about 1336 A. D.

<sup>+</sup> Now in the Cawnpur district.

<sup>†</sup> The Life of H. R. K. says Sayyad Ahmad, alias Sháhji Miyán, was sent, and the 'Amdd-us-Sa'dat, p. 44, tells us he was Sayyad Ma'zum's father.

<sup>§ &#</sup>x27;Amád-us-Sa'dat, p. 45, says 40,000 foot and 7000 horse.

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 Rájahs 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 pretext, 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,† (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 Nawáb'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 Káim 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 were 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

<sup>•</sup> Or "under charge of a European," Mata'na-i-farangi.

<sup>†</sup> There seems some conflict as to the correct year of Kaim Khán's death. In the MS. of Hisám-ud-din, the 3rd year (1163-4 H.) has been written first, then crossed out, and the figure I substituted. His poetical táríkhs yield 1161, 1162, and 1163, H. The only other contemporary authority I know for 1162 H. is the Tabsirat-un-Názi-rín, from which probably the author of the Miftdh, p. 497, copied that year. The Fatchgarh Náma, a modern work has the same year. On the other hand, the Khizána 'Amirah, the Siyar' ul-Muta'kharin and the Táríkh-i-Musaffuri all agree in naming Ahmad Sháh's first year (1161 H.) The Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, Wali-ullah, the Lauh-i-Táríkh, and Dow, all follow the above and fix the year 1161 H. The Ma'asir-ul-Umra, without naming the year, leads one to infer that it was 1161 H., while the Akhbár-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 Káim Khán'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 15th of that month.

Dauri Rasúlpúr, four miles south-east of the town of Budáon. On the morning of Monday the 12th Zi'l Hajj\* (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,† and the principal leaders and relations of Mahmúd Khán 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, Mukim 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 Rohela leaders, Háfiz Rahmat Khán, Donde 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 bágh. 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 bágh, and the whole of the Bangash leaders and their elephants came under fire. Ma'zúm Khán, 'Azim Khán, Salabat Khán, Jalál Khán and other Afrídi leaders were killed.

- Wali-ullah and the Siyar-ul-Muta'kharin give the date, 15th Zi'l Haji.
- † The brothers with their number in the list of Muhammad Khán's sons (p. 350-852) 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, Shádi Khán, No. 16, Mansúr'Ali Khán, No. 13, Manavvar Khán, No. 18.



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 and-the 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 "alike in the hand of God."

Three accounts + attribute the Nawab's death to an ambuscade, an incident omitted by others. I 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, Rájáhs Hindú Singh and Gangá Singh and Kusal Singh, who were on Káim Khán's right, turned for flight. Their bad example was imitated by the Mahrattas from Kálpi. Seeing this, the other Rohelas, Háliz Rahmat Khán, Donde Khán, Fath Khán and others, came out of the bágh, joined Mullá Sardár Khán, and with their united forces turned against Nawáb Káim 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

- Died 7th Safar 1184 H. (2nd June 1770).
- † The Siyar-ul-Muta'kharin, the 'Amád-us-Sa'dat, and the Lauh-i-Tárikh.
- 1 Life of H. R. K. and Shah Hisam-ud-din.
- § Uneven land, full of ravines.

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 Háfiz 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 pálki, meanwhile will you get down?" Diwán Mán Ráe, who was standing close by, said in Pushtu,† "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 Nawab Ahmad Khan, who was wounded, his son Mahmud Khan, Husain Khan, Fakhr-ud-din Khan, Isma'il Khan, Imam Khan, Karim-dad Khan, brothers of Kaim Khan, and the chelas, Shamsher Khan, Mukim Khan, Islam Khan. 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 zamindars of that part, they re-assembled near the banks of the Ganges. At first a bridge of boats was thrown across, but Nawab Ahmad Khan 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 Nawab Kaim Khan was slain and his army defeated, there

<sup>•</sup> A b d g h just outside the Kádiri gate of Farrukhábád is called after this man Rání Bágh Narkasse.

<sup>†</sup> An unlikely language for a Hindu to know, but thus in Hisám-ud-din's MS.

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 Farrukhá-bád.\* 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 Káim Khán's death:

I .- Kaim-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 Káim 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, Auseth, 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 Robelas 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.+

(To be continued.)

years by giving himself out to be Káim Jang.

† The battle of Dauri will be found in "Siyar-ul-Muta'kharin, III. 874, "'Amád-us 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 ud-din almost entirely.

<sup>•</sup> The Gulistán-i-Rahmat describes in some detail the finding of the body; but the Hadikat-ul-Akálím says it was never found. Reports spread of Káim Jang's being still alive, and Shekh Allahyár once saw a man who obtained notoriety for several years by giving himself out to be Káim Jang.

## On the Pála and the Sena Rájas of Bengal.—By Rájendrala'la Mitra, LL. D., C. I. E.

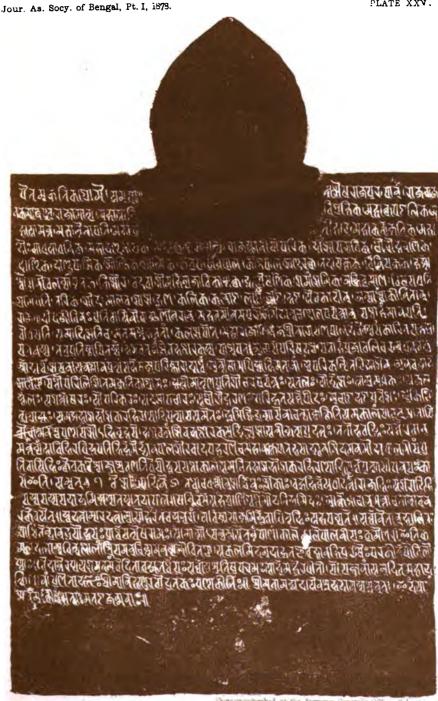
The Society has lately received from Mr. Smith of Bhágalpur a copperplate of one of the Pála Kings of Bengal. It measures 15.5 × 12.7 inches, and has a scalloped top 6 inches high and 6.5 long at the base. The centre of the top is enclosed in a circle, 3 inches in diameter, and around it is a band of 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 Náráyana-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.

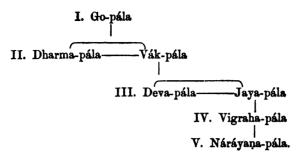
The record opens with a stanza in praise of Go-pála, who was a devout Buddhist, and a follower of Sugata. His son and immediate successor was Dharma-pála. The latter had a brother named Vák-pála, who lived under his sway. On his death Deva-pala the eldest son of his brother succeeded him. Vák-pála had 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 Náráyana-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 Vaisakha, when this prince was encamped near Mudgagiri, modern Mungher, he presented the village of Mukatika for the support of Siva Bhattaraka 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 Sahasráksha, 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 Budál pillar, and engraved by Meghadása, son of Subhadása. The genealogical table deducible from this record may be thus arranged:



Photosincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.







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 Pálas, 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 translated 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-pála, a pious king, who acted according to what is written in the Sastra, 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 Sastra being intended either to imply his tolerant character, or to the scriptures of the Buddhists. 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 Devi, bore him a son, Prince Deva-pála, 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.\*

\* Journal, As. Soc. XVII, p. 493.

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 Márgasírsa, (November—December,) in the 33rd year of his reign, bestowed the town of Misika in Krimila, a department of Srínagara, modern Patna, to one Bodha Bhikshurata Miśra. The imprecations against the resumption of the grant are given in the usual Puránic 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 Rájás. 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 Náráyanapala 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 Drávida 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. Pánchála.

IV. Garga, married Ichchhá.

V. Sri Darbhapáni, minister of Deva-pála, married Sárkara.

VI. Someśvara Miśra, married Taralá.

VII. Kedárnátha Misra, 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. 356f.

names of four members of the dynasty under notice, viz., Mahi-pála, Sthira-pála, 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 Buddha. 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 Gauda, caused to be built in Kásí hundreds of monuments, such as Isána and Chitraghanta.

"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 (śaila) with an inner chamber (garbha-kuţi), 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-pála; two or three subsequent names are yet undeciphered; then follow Rája-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 Marshall in 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.

<sup>·</sup> 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 Pála Kings of Bengal, and the formula therefore does not apply to it. General Cunningham takes the temple to date from the 1st century B. C. The donor was one Baladitya, a native of Kausambi 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 Tailádhaka. 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 well-known rule, añkasya vámá gatí, "figures run to the left," and I had no Ante XLI, pt. I, p. 310.

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hesitation, therefore, in adopting it, particularly as the character of the writing, the Kutila, which had a range of between four or five centuries from the 8th to the 12th, fully justified my course. The symbolical meanings 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 adva 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 Vaisakha, 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 Krishna 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 Kutila 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-pála at the same place, two of Madana-pála and Vigraha-pála respectively at Behár; three of Mahi-pála, and one each of Ráma-pála and Deva-pála at Ghosrawáñ and Titrawáñ. The Ghosrawáñ inscription was first noticed by Major Kittoe.‡

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:

• Ante, XLI, pt. I., p. 810. + Loc. cit. # Ante XLV.



The Pála Kings of Bengal and Bchar.

	Táránáth in Bas-relief.	Go-pála. Deva-pála. Raso-pála. Dharma-pála. Masurakshita.	Vans-péla. Mahi-péla. Maha-péla. Shamu-péla. Srestha-péla.	Chanaka-péla. Beira-péla. Neis-péla. Amara-péla. Hasti-péla. Kahati-péla. Kahati-péla. Yakana-péla.	
	Ain i Akbari.	Bhu-péla. Dhir-péla. Deva-péla. Bhupati-péla.	Dhanapat-pála. Bijjen-pála. Jaya-pála. Rája-pála. Bhoj-pála.	Jagat-pála.	
	Small inscrip- tions, each a single name.	Go-pála (*) Deva-pála (*).	Náráyana-pála (*). Bijjen-pála. Jaya-pála. Vigraha-pála (*). Bhoj-pála.	Naya-pála (*).  Mahendra-pála (*).  Ráma-pála (*).  Madana-pála (*).  Govinda-pála (*).	
•	Sárnáth stone.			Mahi-pála. Shhira-pála. Vasanta-pála.	
	Dinsjpur Plate.	Loka-pála. Dharma-pála. (Illegible). Jaya-pála. Deva-pála.	(Illegible.) Náráyanapála. Rája-pála. — pála. Vigraha-pála I.	Mahi-pála. Naya-pála. Vigraha-pála II.	-
	Budál Pillar.	Deva-pála. Sura-pála.	Nársyaņa-pála.		
	Mungher Plate.	Go-pála. Dharma-pála. Deva-pála.			
	Bhágalpur Plate.	Go-pála. Dharma-pála. Vák-pála. Deva-pála. Jaya-pála.	Vigrahá-pála. Náráyaņa-pála.		
	No.	12640	8 8 10	113 123 14 16 17	

 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 Go-pála; but in a fourth, and that the most defective, it is Loka-pála; and the Ain-i-Akbari changes it to Bhu-pála. Assuming Colebrooke's reading of the Dinájpur 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 verse. 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 Bhagalpur 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 Dinajpur plate it is illegible. It appears, however, from the first record that Vák-pála 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 next name Jaya-pála 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 Bhágalpur 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 Pála dynasty, but to record the names of the ancestors of one Gurava, the minister of Nárávana-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 Náráyana-pála, and his name is illegible. We may reasonably assume it to have been Vigraha-pala.

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 Dinájpur 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 Táránáth, which are unreliable and quite irreconcilable, we have only the Dinájpur plate to supply the names of the descendants of Náráyaṇa-pála down to Mahi-pála, and it gives us four names viz., Rája-pála, —pála, Vigraha-pála and Mahi-pála, which we must accept as correct pending the discovery of some more authentic document. I accept the Naya-pála 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

\* As. Researches, IX, p. 434.



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 Bhágalpur 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 Rájás 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. 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 Mahipála Dighi of Dinájpur, is still in existence, his reign may be fairly assumed to have been 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 Patháns 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. Report, III, 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	VII.	— pála, 975
II.	Dharma-pála,	875	VIII.	Vigraha-pála, II, 995
III.	Deva-pála,	895	IX.	Mahi-pála, 1015 to 1040
IV.	Vigraha-pála, I	915	X.	Naya-pála, 1060
v.	Náráyana-pála,	935	XI.	Vigraha-pála, III, 1080
VI.	Rája-pála,	955		

The inscriptions noticed above clearly show that all the Pálas 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 Pálas 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 neighbourhood, including Mungher. The Budál pillar occurs in the Dinájpur 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-pála, 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. 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 Dinájpur, and the neighbouring parts of Bagurá, remains of Buddhism, and of the Buddhist Pala 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 Kútí, the residence of a very ancient family, close to Govindagani, on the Karatoyá. Mr. Fergusson, in his paper on Hiouen-Thsang, quotes from an account of Paundradeśa in the fourth volume of the 'Oriental Quarterly Magazine,' that Vardhana Kútí, 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 Kútí, and other Pála kings, were ruling east of the Karatoyá long after Bengal had been subdued by the Senas, before whom indeed the Pálas probably retreated by degrees to the north-east, and were supplanted without any great catastrophe." + 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-pála, is said by the ignorant pujáris to be represented by one

\* Ante, XLIV, p. 188.

+ Loc. cit.

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-pála'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 Budál 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 Náráyaṇa-pala. A dozen miles north of that again was found the Amgáchi plate, containing a grant of Vígraha-pála, 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, &c., also bear remains of the names of former Pála kings.

The evidence thus is on the whole sufficient to show that the Pálas exercised sovereignty on the west of the Bhágirathí, 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 Rájás of Bengal.

In my paper on the Sena Rájás,† 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,‡ 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-sarvasva, &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 Lakshmana is distinctly mentioned,

• Loc. cit. † Ante, Vol. XXXIV. | Ante, XLIV, pp. 1 f. | Ante, V, p. 659.



but he overlooked it. In that record the date is given in these words:

त्रीमस्वाक्षेत्रवेषादानामतीतराको सं॰ ७४ वैशासवर्द १२ गुरी।
"On Thursday, the 12th of the wane, in the mouth of Vaisakha, 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-karnámrita,' dated Saka 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 वीमस्वाक्षेत्रवित्यस्य रहेक्शिंश। The author was the son of a confidential friend and a general under Lakshmana 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 Rájakrishna Mukarji announced that the era of Lakshmana Sena was still current in Tirhut, and its date in 1874 was 767, its distinctive mark being we, 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 Lakshmana 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,† 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, Pandit 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-tíká, a gloss by Madhusúdana Thakkura on the Anumána Khanda of Gaâgeśa, is dated अ अ अवस्थानिक प्राथम स्थानिक स

\* 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-karnámrita MS. some date which corresponded with the Saka 1127=1205 A. D. Then comes the Siva Sinha 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 1st of the luni-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 Lakshmana Sena in my paper on the Sena Rájás.\* This settles the date of Lakshmana Sena on infinitely more reliable data than what we have for any other Hindu sovereign of the pre-Muhammadan 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.† 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 Lákshmaneya alias Aśoka Sena, the Lakshmaniyá 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 Aśoka Sena's reign, the sovereignty of the Hindus in the delta passed to the Muhammadans; but the exact time when this

<sup>·</sup> Ante, Vol. XXXIV, p. 139.

happened, yet remains undetermined. When writing my paper on the Sena Rájás I accepted as a fact the opinion then prevalent, that this happened in 1203 A. D. This, however, has since been questioned. 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 H. = 1194 A. D., while Mr. Thomas placed it at 599 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 Lákshmaneya, to mean that his master was then reigning at Nuddea. He could 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.† Dr. Wise believes that there must have been a Ballála Sena reigning in Vikrámpur or Sonárgáoñ after Lakshmanívá, and Susena and Sura Sena, whose names I once took to be aliases of Lakshmaniya, 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 have 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 Rájás, 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.

+ Ante 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, Pandit Lálamohana Vidyánidhi states that he had been informed of a tradition current in the Varendra 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 pandit 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 Adisura brought from Kanauj. All those villages were situated within the delta, and none out of it." This is of course an indirect evidence, but it 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 Ballála's nobility. The Várendras have 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 Saiva or of the Vaishnava sect. In the Rájsháhí stone and the Bákerganj copper-plate, Siva is the divinity invoked. In the Tarpandighi plate preference is given to Vishnu or Náráyana, and the epithet Parama-máhesvara 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 Pálas 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-pala, 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 12th century. Ballála, the father of Lakshmana, 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 Gauda." 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 have taken place between 1046 and 1055. As it is not likely that Mahi-pála'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 Kings.		SENA KINGS.			
In Western & Northern B	engal.	In Eastern & Deltaic Be	ngal.		
I.—Go-pála,	855	I.—Vira Sena,	986		
II.—Dharma-pála,	<b>875</b>	II.—Sámanta Sena,	1006		
III.—Deva-pála,	895	III.—Hemanta Sena,	1026		
<ul> <li>Ante, XXXIV, p. 144.</li> </ul>					

•		In the whole of Bengal.
IV.—Vigraha-pála, I,	915	IV.—Vijaya alias Sukha
·		Sena, 1046
V.—Náráyaņa-pála,	935	V.—Ballála Sena, 1066
VI.—Rája-pála,	955	VI.—Lakshmana Sena, 1106
VII.— — pála,	975	VII.—Mádhava Sena, 1136
VIII.—Vigraha-pála II,	995	VIII.—Keśava Sena, 1138
		IX.—Lákshmaneya alias
		Aśoka Sena, 1142?
IX.—Mahi-pála,	1015	In Vikrampur.
to	1040	Ballála Sena,
X.—Naya-pála,	1040	Su Sena,
to	?	Sura Sena, &c.,
In Behar.		, ,

In Behar.

XI.—Vigraha-pála III and others.

In my first paper on the subject I started the opinion that the Senas were Kshatriyas 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-ságara, written by Ballála himself. It has now the support of another inscription. 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 Kávastha; 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—1st, 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 Puranic 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 Kshatriyas could call themselves descendants of the lunar race; 4th, that Adisura, who is described as a descendant \* Ante, XLIV, pt. I, p. 13.

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 Kshetriya 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 Kshetriya, condemned to be a Chaṇḍála, has never been permitted to call himself a Bráhman or a Kshetríya Chaṇḍála. 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 Loka-pála. 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 authentic contemporary records.

## Transcript of a Copper-plate from Bhágalpur.

- १। खिखा भैनीङ्गाक्त्यग्लप्रमृटितस्दरः
- प्रेयशी मन्ध्यानः सम्बन्धार्द्धविद्याम्रिद्यस्त्रज-
- स्वालित जानप्रकः। जिलायः वाम
- कार्रिजनवस्थितवं शासतीं वा \* \* \* वशोऽव्यं न श्रीसान् स्रोतनांशे जय-
- ति दशक्ता न्यस मे। पासदेवः ॥ सुस्ती समानिके तर्वस (श) सकरे । द वे दि समा चाभरं पचचेदभवाद-
- पिखातवतामेकात्रथा मुख्दां। मर्यादापरिपाछनैकनिरतः मै।र्यालये। खादभूद् दुमाभोधिविद्यास-
- । इतिमिक्ता श्रीक्षेपाको स्थः ॥ किलेन्द्रास्त्रश्यतीयरातीन्पाकिता येन सको-इयकीः। इत्ता प्रमः
- म। सा बिलनार्थिपने चक्रायुधायानित बासनाय ॥ रामखेन स्टबीतरुत्यतपस्त्रस्तान् क्षा गुषैः शैमिनेदद्या-
- () दितुस्त्रमिक्ता वाक्पास्त्रामानुकः। यः त्रीमाद्वयविक्रमैकवस्तिभातुः स्थितः मा-सने ग्रान्थाः भन्पताकिनी-
- १ । भिरकरोदेकातपना दिशः ॥ तकादुपेन्द्रचरितैर्कमतीन्पुनानः पूने वसूव विवाधी क्रयपालनामा । धर्याहि-
- ११। यां शमयिता वृधि देवपाछे यः पूर्वके भुवनराव्यस्यान्ववित् ॥ विसन् धातुर्विन देशाइस्वति परितः प्रस्थिते
- जेतुमामाः शीदवाकीय दूराविजपुरमजवादुक्त लागामधीमः। वाशावके चिराय प्रकथिपरिष्टता विश्वद-
- १३। चेन मुद्री राजा प्राम्ख्योतिवाकाम्प्रसितसमित् स(क्र)क्षया यस्य चाक्कां॥ वीमान्
- विश्वत्यास्य सम्बन्धान्य मृत्यात सन्ति व । स्वातः सनुवनिताप्रसामनिकापिविससाधिक सधारः ॥ रिपवा येन मृत्यिः। विषदामास्यदीकृताः। प्रवासु-
- षदीर्घाणां सुद्धदः सम्पदासिष ॥ स्रक्षेति तस्य अस्रभेरिव अङ्ग्रस्था पश्ली श्रमुव कतरेरयवंशभूषा । यस्याः ग्रामी-
- ९९। नि चरितानि पितुच वंग्रे पत्युच पावनविधिः परमा वभूव॥ दिक्पासीः चिति-पासनाय दश्तं देशे विभक्ताः

- १०। भिषः श्रीमारायभपास्त्रदेवसङ्जनक्षां स पृथ्वानरं। यः चौषीपतिसः श्रिराविक-यचास्त्रिटाषुरोठोपसं न्यायोपा-
- १८। त्रमञ्जादार चरितैः सेरेव वर्षायनं ॥ यतः पृराकन्तेशानि चतुर्वर्गविधीनि च । चारिपाको यतस्थानि चरितानि मचीस्रतः ॥
- १९। सीडातः युज्ञनमनेतिः सत्यायितः सच्चाचनैः सीचैः। त्याने न यो स्वथनाद्य देव मेऽङ राजन् कथां॥ भयादरातिभिर्यस्य रच-
- २०। मूर्धनि विस्कृतन्। चिसित्स्दीवरम्बामा इडम्रे पीतले। दितः ॥ यः प्रच्रया च धनुवा च नगडिनीय नित्यं न्यवीविष्ट्-
- ११। नाकु समाता धर्मः । यसार्थिनः सविधमेत्य स्टब्सं कतार्था नैवार्थितां प्रति पुनर्विद्धु-संनीषां ॥ त्रीपतिर कथकसी विद्या-
- ११। घरनायको सञ्चाभेनी। चनलपद्याःऽपि धान्ना यश्चित्रज्ञज्ञसम्बरितेः ॥ बाप्तैर्यस्य निजनति ग्ररचन्द्रने।रेथोग-
- २२। भिर्मान्ये में।भात कसु विभरासास बङ्गाष्ट्रचासः। सिव त्रीकासिप विरस्तिकेम्बर्णिताः केसकीनां पचापीड्यः सुचिरस-
- २४। भवन् सङ्ग्रब्दानुभेयाः॥ तपा सभावु राज्यने हास्यासुन्नसिद् हयोः। यस्मिन्
  वियत्पालीन समरेक् भमीरये॥ + स कल् भा-
- २५ । भीरथीपयप्रवर्षामाननानाविधनैवाटसम्पादितसेतुवस्थविश्वितं ग्रेस्टिश्वरश्रेणीविश्व-सात् निरांत्रभयसमासमस्याः
- १६। स्थानायमानवासरलक्ष्मीसमारअस्य तक्षक्षदसमयसन्देशम् ७६ विज्ञाने कनरपति-प्रास्तिकताप्रमेयस्य वास्त्रिनीकर-
- २०। खुरात्वातभूलीम्परितदिगमरास्नात् परसेश्वरसेवासमायाताभेषस्रमुदी०भूपासा-नमपादात् भरनमद्वनेः त्रीम्-
- १८ । द्वितिरसमावासितत्रीमक्कयस्कर्णावारात् परमसीमतो मदाराकाधिराकत्रीविश्वपा-सदेवपादानुष्यातः परमेश्वरः पर-
- १८। समझारको संचाराकाधिराजः चीमाबारायणपालदेवः कुमली। तीरभक्तकचवैद-चिकसुणम्बदाविच्छतस्त्रोः-
- २०। पेतमकुतिकापामे समुपन्नताज्ञेषराजपुरवान्। राज्ञरा<del>-</del>
- ११। मकः। राजपुत्रः। राजामात्यः। मदासान्धिवियक्तिः। मदावपटिलकः। म-
- १२। चासामना । मचामेनापति । अचात्रतीचार । सचावर्षाङातिक । मचा-
- ११। देश्शिषताधनिक। सदादणः नाथक। नदाकुमारामात्व। राजस्थानीये।परिक। दाश्रापराधिक। चैरिवरिक्क
- १४। द्ष्यिकः। द्ष्यप्रशिकः। श्रीक्तिकः। मीक्षिकः। चेत्रपः। प्रामनपासः। कोषपःसः। चन्द्रसः। तदायुक्तकः। विभिगृक्तकः। चस्य-
- ६५ । बोष्ट्रनीवलकाप्टतकः । कियोर् । वद्या । ते।सच्छित्राविकायणः । दुतपेविकः । जसाजसिकः । चिम्निमानः । विषयपति ।
- ६६ । यामपति । तरिक । नोद् । मास्त्रय । चाग्रः प्रदूष । कुल्विक । कचाठ । साठ । भठ । सेवकादीम् । चन्यांचःकीः र्घतान् ।

- १०। राजपादीपजीविनः प्रतिवासिनी त्राचाकेकरान् । सदक्तनीक्तमपुरीनसेदान्यचखास-पर्याकान् । यदार्वं सामग्रति ।
- १८। बोधयति । समादिश्रति च । सतसमु भवतां । कस्रश्योते । सदाराजाधिराज । वीनारायणपास्त्रदेवेन सर्थकारितसच्चा-
- १८। यतमस्य तन प्रतिष्ठापितस्य । भगवतः विवसद्वारकस्य । पाद्यपतस्यायार्थेपरिषद्सः । यथार्थे पृज्ञावश्चित्रदस्यनगवकः-
- ४०। भ्रीदार्थं। ग्रयनासनग्रानप्रत्ययभीषच्यपरिच्याराद्यं । चन्येषामपि खासिसतानां। स्वपरिकल्पितविभागेन। चनवयभी-
- ४६। गार्थेच । यथोपरिचिचितमक्कृतिका मासः । स्वभीमाद्यकप्रतिगाचरपर्य्यकः । स्वतन्तः से।हेशः । साचमभूकः । स्वतन्त्रः
- ४१ । आसः । सम्मापरः । सोपरिकरः । स्ट्रियचारः । सम्रोते। बरकः । परिच्रत नर्णे-पीडः । सम्राटभटप्रवेद्यः । स्विचि-
- ४२ । त् प्रयास्तः । समस्रभागभे। नकरिरस्यादिप्रत्यायसमेतः । भूभिक्तिन्यायेनासन्दार्वे-चितिसमकासं यावत् मातापि-
- ४४। भोरातानम् पृष्ण्यकोऽभिष्टबर्थे। भनवनं शिवभद्दारकमुद्दिम् शासनीक्रत्य प्रदत्तः। ततो भवद्भिः सम्बद्धानु-
- ४५। मनार्थं भाविभिरपि भूपति भिर्धेमेर्दानफ स्रुगै। रवादपहरसे च महानरकपातमया-इ।नसिद्मनुमेख पालनीयं प्र-
- ४ (। तिवासिभिः चेनकरैचाजात्रवस्विधेयीभूय ययाकासं समुस्तिभागभागकरस्टिरखा-दिसर्भेप्रतायापत्रयः का-
- ४०। या इति। संवत् १० वैशासदिने ८ तथा च धर्मानुशक्षिनः श्वोकाः । वक्रभिवेसुधा भूता राजभिः समरादिभिः।
- ४८। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिसास्य तस्य तदा पासं॥ पष्टिवर्षेश प्रवाणि सर्गे मोदित भूमि-दः। आचेप्रा चानुमन्ता च तान्येव म-
- 8८। रके वसेत्॥ सद्ताम्परद्तां वा यो चरेत वतुन्धरां। स विष्ठायां क्रिक्षिक्षं पिक्षिः सच पचाते॥ सन्त्रानेतान् भाविनः
- पार्श्विक्तान् भूया भूषः प्रार्थयत्येष रासः । सामान्ये। यन्मर्थासे तुर्श्वपानां काले काले पालनीयः क्रमेण ॥ इति क-
- ५६। मलद्शाम्मविन्द्रशेखां त्रियमगुचिन्य मनुष्यजीवितच । धक्कमिद्मृदाइतच वृद्धाम चि पुरवे परकीर्यथे विश्वो
- ५१। याः ॥ वेदानीरसुमनतमं(?) वेदिता त्रश्चतयं(श्वं) यः सम्बोस त्रुतिषु परमः सार्व-मक्करपीती(ति)। ये। यज्ञानां समुद्दितमदाभू-
- ॥ । चिकानां प्रवेता भड़ः श्रीमानिक च गुरवा दुतकः पृक्षकीर्णः॥ श्रीमता मदा-दामेन ग्रामदासस्य ग्रा(छ)नुना। इदं सा-
- ५४। जनमुन्दीचे सत्यासस्टळाचामा ॥

#### TRANSLATION.

Be it auspicious! May Daśabala, 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 Indrarája and other kings, he (Dharma-pála) 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 Vákpála, who was in glory the counterpart of the son of Sumitrá (Lakshmaṇa). 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 heavy misfortune, and his friends long-lived. Lajjá, the ornament of the Haihaya 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 Náráyana-pála Deva, the virtuous whose feet became resplendent by the light of the crown-jewels 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.† 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 (Náráyana-pála) by Vigraha-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 Náráyána-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 (rájámátva), to the minister of Peace and War (mahá-sandhi-vigrahika), to the Chief Justice (maháksha-patalika) 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 (mahádanda-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 (dándika), to the keeper of the instruments of punishment (dándapásika),

- 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 rájan 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.
- + Nala, the famous king of Vidarbha noticed in the Mahábhárata. The comparison is forced for the sake of the alliteration in the words nata and anals.



to collectors of customs (s'aulkika), to commanders of divisions (gaulmika), to supervisors of cultivation (kshetrapa), to boundary rangers (prantapala), 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-vadavá-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, Kalláta, Láta, Cháta, and Bhata,\*-to all servants and others who are not specified here, to all who have assembled here in the village of Mukutika 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 Chandála-to all these he sends appropriate greetings and acquaints and commands them. Be it known unto you that in the village of Kalásapota, where Nárávana-pála Deva himself has established thousands of temples, and where he has placed the honorable Siva Bhatta and Pasupati Achárya, I, Náráyana-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 and 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 Mukutika, 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, honorable 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

• Bábu Pránnáth Pandit's paper on the Chittagong plate (ante XLIII, pp. 318f) and Mr. Westmacott's paper on the Tarpandíghi plate, (ante XLIV, pp. 1f) contain many interesting notes on the meanings of these official titles.



my commands. They should render to the donees their respective shares, privileges, rent, gold and all other dues. Dated the 9th Vaisákha, 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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# ASKETCH

OF THE

# TURKI LANGUAGE

AS SPOKEN IN

## EASTERN TURKISTAN

(Kashghar and Yarkand.)

BY

## ROBERT BARKLEY SHAW, F.R.G.S.,

Political Agent, late on special duty at Kashghar,
Gold Medallist, Royal Geographical Society.

PART II. VOCABULARY, TURKI--ENGLISH.

WITH LIST OF NAMES OF BIRDS AND PLANTS BY J. SCULLY, Esq., Surgeon, H. M. Bengal Army (late on special duty, at Kushghar).

Extra Number to Part I of the Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal.

### CALCUTTA:

PRINTED BY J. W. THOMAS, AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS.
1880.

#### NOTES FOR GUIDANCE

#### IN CONSULTING THE VOCABULARY.

In many words the letters اي and ي are either inserted or omitted according to the fancy of the writer. If not found under one spelling, then look under the other. Thus سكز = سكيز = سكيز ي ساكيز بيل = يل باراماق = يراماق ,كيلماك = كلمك

ساوروماق = صوروماق . end vios versů : e. g., ما مساوروماق = صوروماق . and vios versů : e. g. والله على المنافق المناف

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-mak 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 rù-ba-rù "face to face," P.).

The ordinary final aspirate s, which in many Persian words is pronounced merely as a short a (or, more correctly, is imperceptible after the fatha of the last consonant)—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. قدامالا ) properly, according to Arabic methods, قدامالا ); and even قياسالا (for يعامله) which are of course pure misspellings. It will save some puzzles if this be remembered in reading MSS.

The mark zamma (أورين) is often used to represent the ü sound which approaches the sound of t. Thus والله has been found for ديبي "faith." To Turki ears the sound ü seems nearly to approach the sound of t, (dyün for din). Hence in practice also and are sometimes interchanged: e. g. الريان irin. Final ü is pronounced by them almost like an English final y, as in "very;" e. g., ütrü 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 Turki 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 Kazzak, Khoqand, Kashghar, and Yarkand dialects. P. T. means partly Persian, partly Turki, &c.

Rec. and coll. mean reciprocative and collective, tr. and intr. signify transitive and

Kec. and cost. mean reciprocative and collective, tr. and intr. signify transitive and intransitive, refl. and pass. stand for reflective and passive, caus. stand for causative; p. p. means post-position, prd. stands for pronounced, pron. for pronoun.

أباد چيليق ábád-chi-liq (subs.) a well-inhabited or cultivated place, P. T. أباد ليق ábád-liq (subs. and adj.) an inhabited place; inhabited, أبدان dbdan (adj.) good.

أبكار ábgar (adj.) occupied, full of care, busy.

abuz (adj.) learned, well-read.

abushqa (adj.) old, advanced in years.

ap, intensitive particle prefixed to àq "white."

لِا مْعِهُ (subs.) elder sister.

[ing).

apár't-máq (v. caus.) to cause to take away (from followapár-máq (v. tr.) to take away [contr. from alip-bármák].

مُ مُهُونَا مُهُونِهُ مُهُونِهُ مُهُونِهُ مُهُونِهُ مُهُونِهُ مُهُونِهُ مُهُونِهُ مُهُونِهُ مُهُونِهُ مُهُونِه

أَيْنَابِهُ 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).

ابقوت apqut (subs.) the back part of the boot above the heel.

ش àt (subs.) name.

شاً át (subs.) horse.

ات which see.

Ul atá (subs.) father.

[sian dynasty).

atá-beg (subs.) father-king, patriarch (the name of a Per-اتاداش atá-dash (adj.) of the same father.

at-a'sh-máq (v. rec.) to name together; to assign to, to entitle so and so to. [nick-name.

atágh (subs.) renown, high name, sur-name, title; also والم المناقبة في المنا

أتاغلاماق átágh-la-máq (v. tr.) to give a name, sur-name or nick-اتاغليق átágh-liq (adj.) called, sur-named. [name.

átág (subs.) same as átágh.

átág-la'sh-mág (v. coll.) same as átágh-lash-mák.

átág-la-mág (v. tr.) same as átágh-la-mág.

أتاقليق átág-liq (adj.) same as átágh-liq.

atá-liq (sub.) one who is in the place of a father, a guardian, tutor. Title of a high official in Turkistàn.

át-a-máq (v. tr.) to give a name to, to name.

at-a'n-maq (v. pass.) to be given a name to, to be named, to be renowned. [but into large cylinders.

atbásh-chái (subs.) a sort of Tea compressed like brick-tea, أتباش عائ át-tur-máq (v. caus.) to cause to throw, to cause to beat out cotton (from át-máq).

أتداش át-dásh (subs. and adj.) name-sake, having the same name.

át-qu-chi (subs., from át-máq) a thrower, a shooter; or specially, a thrower or beater out of cotton.

at-qur-maq (v. caus.) the same as at-tur-maq, (but with-out its special meaning of beating out cotton).

at-kuz-maq (v. caus.) the same as at-qur-maq.

át-qu-làq (subs.) a kind of grass of which tinder is made.

أثلاماق át-la-máq (v. tr.) to stride across. [to step over.

át-la'n-dur-máq (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.

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أتليغ at-ligh-1, (subs.) a rider, cavalier; 2, (adj.) named,
     أتليق át-liq, the same as at-liqh.
     át-máq (v. tr.) to throw, propel, project, shoot; also to spin.
    أتميش át-mish (num.) sixty (for alt-mish).
      átiz (subs.) a bed, or portion of land divided off for irri-
   at-ish-mag (v. rec.) to throw, &c., at one another. [gation.
    أتيلماق dt-il-mag (v. pass.) to be thrown or shot; (of a gun), to
        ach (adj.) hungry.
                                                         go off.
        ich (subs.) the interior, the inside.
أجارجيليق áchár-chi-liq (subs.) famine (f from ach-ár, the con-
             tinuative of ach-mag).
   ajra-'t-mág (v. caus.) to cause to be in a divided state, to
  ajra-'sh-máq (v. rec.) to divide from one another. [divide.
   ajra-'l-mág (v. pass.) to be divided, separated.
   ajra-mág (v. intr.) to be in a divided condition.
    ajriq (subs.) dhub grass (whose roots run along under-
       aju (subs.) a black bear.
                                                       [ground).
     ách-qu (subs.) a key, i. e. opener (from àch-màq).
    أجليق فch-liq (subs.) hunger (from ach.)
    ach-mag (v. tr.) to open.
     ách-máq (v. tr.) to be hungry.
     dch-uq (v. adj.) open.
  ach-it-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become bitter or sour
              (see achi-mak).
   doh-ish-maq (v. rec.) to open to one another, or with one
 ach-ish-mak (v. rec.) to be made sour together (see achi-
      achigh (adj.) sour, bitter, angry.
                                                         [mak).
  achigh-tásh (subs.) alum.
 achiqh-la't-maq (v. caus.) to cause to become angry.
áchiq or áchuq (adj.) open.
  achiq-liq (subs.) openness, candour, good humour.
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achiq-tash (subs.) alum.

achiq-maq (v. intr.) to be hungry.



ach-il-máq (v. pass.) to be opened.

achi-mak (v. intr.) to become sour; to smart (as a wound).

آختا ákhta (adj.) castrated.

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ákhta-chi (subs.) castrator.

akhtar-t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to search, or seek.

akhtar-ish-mág (v. rec.) to search one another.

ákhtar-mág (v. tr.) to search, seek.

هُ اخشام (adv.) last night, yesterday evening.

akhsham-liq (subs.) the evening of this day, this evening.

akhlát (subs.) sweepings.

akhur-máq (v. tr.) to shout, to call loudly.

adásh (subs.) name-sake, (more specially) a friend, companion (for الداشي).

adash-máq (v. intr.) to lose the way.

adra-qálsun (part of verb) May he remain uncared for [an imprecation] KAZ.

أدمجي ليك ádam-chi-lik (subs.) humanity, kindness. P. T.

adir (subs.) uneven broken ground.

أديم ádim (subs.) a pace, step.

adim-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to pace against one another.

ádim-la-máq (v. intr.) to pace, step.

ار  $\check{a}r$  [ $\check{e}r$ ] (subs. and adj.) male, masculine, (see اير).

Ul ara (subs.) the midst, the middle (often used with da adverbially). Expressions: Ara-ga tüshmak = to intervene; àra-ga sàlmàq = to interpose; ara-gha kirmak = to interfere, to intervene.

Appl draba (subs.) a cart (generally with two wheels and shafts).

àra-cha-la-máq (v.) to separate.

فراده ára-da (adv. & post-p.) in the midst.

árál (subs.) island. (Qu. passive form from ára " middle.")

ara-la-t-màq (v. caus.) to cause to visit or inspect [see ara-la-màq].

ara-lash (adv.) middle-wards, intermixedly, confusedly.

أرالشتورماق dra-lash-tur-máq (v. caus.) to cause to be mixed, to mix آرالشماق ara-lash-máq (v. intr.) to become intermixed. [(trans.). هُ أَرَالُامُاقُ dra-la-mák (v. tr.) to inspect.

أراليق ára-liq (subs.) a bribe, present [to one who intervenes áraga "in the midst"].

árám-álmáq (v.) to take rest, to repose, P. T.

أرامدان àràmadàn (subs.) a tall tree whose leaves are made into Tea.

أران aran [prd. eren] (adv.) unwillingly, reluctantly, with farpa [often prd. apa] (subs.) barley. [difficulty.

أربا drba (subs.) cart, waggon (see áraba).

أرباتاق àrba't-máq (v. caus.) to cause to use incantations (for the purpose of curing wounds, &c.).

arba'sh-máq (v. recip.) to say charms in opposition to the supposed causes of ill, to say charms in company.

àrbá'q (subs.) a spoken charm for curing snake bites, or procuring fine weather.

arbáq-chi (subs.) one who uses such charms.

arba-máq (v. tr.) to say charms for curing bites, or procuring fine weather.

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.

art-mag (v. tr.) to load (a horse, cart, &c.).

art-maq (v. intr.) to remain over, to exceed.

art-tur-máq (v. caus.) 1, to cause to load; 2, to cause to remain over.

artugh-raq (adj.) more [comparative of artugh, much].

artugh or artuq (adj.) excessive, much, many. (From artmag.)

أرتوقلوق drtuq-luq (subs.) quantity, great amount (muchness).

artish (subs.) the pencil cedar, "Juniperus excelsa" кн.

art-ish-maq (v. coll.) to aid one another in loading (from art-maq).

art-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.

árcha (subs.) the pencil cedar [see ártich].

أرچيتماك árchi-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to clear, &c., (see archi-mak). [mak).

archi-sh-mak (v. recip.) to clear in company (see archi-feel) أرچيماك أرچيماك أرچيماك archi-mak (v. tr.) to clear, to free from obstructions, to peel (as a fruit).

arzán-chi-liq (subs.) cheapness, abundance, P. T.

arzán-liq (subs.) ار زانلیتی

aitto.

arzi-t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to please.

arzi-sh-máq (v. recip.) to please one another, to be agree-able to one another.

arzi-máq (v. intr.) to please, to be agreeable [gov. the person in gha].

arslàn (subs.) a lion.

argha (subs.) remedy, aid, method of action.

argha-sez (adj.) helpless, unfortunate.

arghamchi (subs.) rope, cord. (For following):

arghamchin (subs.) do.

arghumáq (subs.) a large horse, a charger.

árga (subs.) the back, the rear.

غاسيدة érqa-sí-da (post-pos.) behind, after (lit. at its back).

arqagh (subs.) the woof (of a stuff), the cross-wise threads placed by the shuttle.

arqaq (subs.) ditto.

[support.

آرفالاساق árqa-la-máq (v.) 1. to carry on the back; 2. to back up, أوالاناق árqa-la'n-máq (v. p.) to be backed up, supported, &c.

أرقان árqan (subs.) rope, KAZ.

árqào (subs.) the woof, KAZ.

آرکا ărka [prd. ĕrka] (subs.) a pet child.

اركيشي är [er] kishi (subs.) a male person.

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قركاك arkak (subs.) a male [of animals as well as mankind].
    أرماق dr-mág (v. tr.) to separate, divide.
  arman-lig (adj.) desirous, troubled with longing, P. T.
     arman (subs.) a kind of tall grass, a weed.
                                                         fto peel.
   arü't-mág (v. caus.) to make clean, to clean, to rub clean;
      מנץ arugh (verbal adj.) thin, out of condition (from aru-maq).
     ارق arug (adj.) ditto.
aruq-chi-liq (subs.) thinness, want of condition.
  aruq-liq (subs.) ditto.
    aru-mág (v. intr.) to be tired, fatigued.
   arü'n-mág (v. p.) to be cleaned.
      ري ari (subs.) a wasp.
      ari—1. (conj.) further, moreover, verily ; 2. (post-p.) beyond
             (see nari).
                                                          Clean.
   arit-mág (v. tr.) to clean [see arüt-màq] to cause to be
    ari-mág (v. intr.) to be clean.
                                                    [water-course.
       arigh, 1 (adj.) clean, (from ari-maq); 2 (subs.) an artificial
  arigh-la't-máq (v.) to cause to be cleaned.
 arigh-la'sh-mág (v. recip.) to cleanse together or one
  arigh-la-maq (v. tr.) to cause to become clean, to cleanse.
      ariq [prd. eriq] 1. (subs.) the whole ; 2. (adj.) clean.
      arig—1. (subs.) a water channel, small canal; 2. (adj.) thin.
  ariq-la-maq (v.) 1. [same as arigh-la-maq]; 2. to become
             thin, out of condition.
   arig-lig (subs.) 1. cleanness; 2. thinness.
     irik (subs.) any thing sorted out or selected for its size.
  ürik-la--mak (v. tr.) to sort out or select for size.
    اريلماق ari'l-máq (v. pass.) to be cleansed.
   ar-il-maq (v. pass.) to be separated, divided (from ar-maq).
       erim (subs.) inauguration, any solemnity or customary
             observance at the beginning of any work.
 " ürimchik (subs.) cheese
        j üz or iz (adj.) foot-mark, track.
        áz (adj. and adv.) little, small; not much.
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أولان dzáda (adj.) neatly clothed, natty, careful of one's appearance, P.

azár bir-mak (comp. v.) to scold, abuse, rebuke, upbraid, P.T. أزار بيرماك ázáq (adj. used also subs.) low, a low place, lower.

فرايتماق áz-aï't-mág (v. caus.) to cause to diminish.

áz-ái-mág (v. intr.) to diminish, to become less.

izda-mak (v. tr.) to search for, (from iz).

az-dur-mak (v. tr. caus.) to cause to break (tr.), to make some one break or tear.

az-dur-mák (v. t. caus.) to cause to lose the way.

أز راق dz-ráq (adj. and adv.) smaller, fewer; less.

áz-gháq (subs.) a person who often loses his way.

a torrent or inundation (when the water has left its usual bed).

áz-ghan (subs.) a thorn-bush or tree.

فنده (adj. and adv.) tiny, little.

az-ghu'r-máq (v. tr.) to cause to lose the way.

az-ghu'sh-máq (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).

azal-da (adv.) from eternity, A. T.

أزما (subs.) [see âzghal].

az-máq (v.) to lose the way.

ázmal-la-máq (v. tr.) to desire, wish for.

أزر (subs.) a back tooth, grinder, tush, KAZ.

أزوغ dzugh (subs.) ditto.

ázuq (subs.) ditto

ázuq (subs.) daily food.

aziq-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to lose the way.

aziq-ish máq (v. coll.) to lose the way in company.

أزيكماق áziq-máq (v.) to lose the way.

asán-ráq (adj.) easier, P. T.

هُ أسانليق ásán-liq (subs.) easiness, ease, P. T.

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شاً ásta [for ahista, A.] (adv.) slowly, quietly.
    ustá [ for ustád, A.] (subs.) a master workman.
 asta-ráq (adv.) more slowly, P. T.
   detina (subs.) a grand tomb of some celebrated person,
            (lit. threshold, P.)
   astin-(adj.) low.
 astin-da (post-pos.) below, beneath.
  üstin (adj.) high, superposed.
üstin-da (post-pos.) above, upon.
dera't-mag (v. caus.) to cause to take care of, attend to.
aera'l-máq (v. pass.) to be taken care of, attended to.
 dsra-mág (v. tr.) to take care of, attend to.
   ds-mág (v. tr.) to hang, to suspend.
" "is-mak (v. tr.) to strike with the horns, to butt.
us-ush-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).
    issigh أسيغ
                    (adj.) hot, warm.
    issia أسيق
     ash (subs.) food, [generally pilao]. Also the liquid in
           which skins are soaked. P.
     dshá (adj.) more, exceeding.
 ásha-t-mág (v. caus.) to cause to eat, to feed.
  asha-ráq (adj.) [comparative of áshá] more.
 ásha-máq (v.) to eat, to take a meal, KAZ.
   deh-paz (subs.) a cook, P.
    تشا تshta (adj ) bleached, washed white.
üehta-chi (subs.) a bleacher.
   üsktán (subs.) wide trousers, drawers.
 شدائر ash-dásh (subs.) a meal-fellow, one who eats from the same
  ásh-siz (adj.) without food, destitute.
                                                        dish.
   تهقار تishqar (subs.) potash.
   اشكاغة Iehk-daha (subs.) Lord of the Gate (a title) (see ايشك).
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deh-la-t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to tan (leather), to have tanned.

ish-la-t-mak (v. cause) to cause to work.

ásh-la-máq (v. tr.) to tan leather.

ish-la-mak (v. tr.) to work, labour, do.

ash-liq (subs.) food, provisions.

ashmaq, 1. (v. tr.) to cross, surmount (a pass); 2. (v. intr.) to remain over or exceed.

dsh-ur-máq (v. caus.) 1. to cause to cross, or surmount; 2. to cause to remain over or exceed.

ashugh-raq (adj.) more, more excessive.

dehuq (subs.) sheep's knuckle bones (for playing with).

áshuq (adj.) much, excessive.

dehuq-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to do quickly, to cause to make haste.

dshuq-maq (v. intr.) to make haste, KH. KAZ.

ashiq (adj.) much [same as ashuq.]

مْيقماق áshiq-máq [same as ashuq-maq.]

آت ممه آط

أغا ágha (subs.) elder brother, KAZ.

Elel ághách (subs.) wood, KAZ.

die agha-cha (subs.) woman, wife.

igh-dar-maq (v. caus.) to cause to fall, to upset, (spec.) to pull one off a horse.

ágh-dar-ush-máq (v. recip.) to cause one another to fall.

أغدارولماق ágh-dar-ul-máq (v. caus. pass.) to be caused to fall, (or simply) to fall.

أرش ماق dgh-dar-ish-máq (same as ágh-dar-ush-máq).

agh-dar-il-máq (same as ágh-dar-ul-máq).

(subs.) a rope.

أغريتماق aghri-t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to suffer grief or pain, to grieve (tr.)

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أغريغ aghrigh (adj.) ill, suffering.
  أغريق aghriq (the same as the last).
أغريقيا aghriq-chan (subs.) a person who is always ill, an invalid.
 aghri-mag (v. intr.) to be ill or suffering, to be in grief.
    أغز ághz (subs.) mouth.
                                                Subside, to faint.
  dah-máa (v. intr.) to fall on one side (as a horse-load), to
     aghu (subs.) a spur or projection of the mountain side
            over which the road has to rise in order to cross it.
    aghur (subs.) a stallion, an entire horse.
    aqhur (adj.) heavy, large, valuable, important.
   أغير aghir (adj.) [same as last.]
    أغيل ághil (subs.) a cattle shed, enclosure for cattle.
agh-in-a't-mag (v. refl. caus.) to cause to roll.
agh-in-a-mág (v. refl.) to roll one's self, turn over, roll (as
            a horse) [Qu. from aghmak with the sense of "to fall
      فَ dq (adj.) white.
                                                    [on oneself."]
àq-ar-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to be white, to make white.
 ág-ar-mág (v. intr.) to be white, to become white.
  aq-bash (adj.) white headed.
     أقتا ágta (adj.) castrated.
aqtar-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to search.
agtar-mag (v. tr.) to search.
  Aq-task (Prop. name) White-stone.
    àq-tágh (comp. subs.) lit. white mountain, i. s. snowy-
            range (as distinguished from mountain ridges on which
            the snow is not perpetual and which are called Qára-
            tágh). 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 Aq-tagh from the colour of its rocks.
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da-it-mag or da-iz-mag (v. caus.) to cause to flow, to pour.
      ag-tur-mág (v. caus.) [the same as last].
     ug-tur-mag (v. caus.) to cause to understand, to instruct.
        agsag (adj.) lame.
         ug-mag (v. intr.) to understand.
         ag-mag (v. intr.) to flow.
           aka (subs.) elder brother.
   اگری - اگری - اگری - اگری - اگری - اگری
           ál (adj.) pale red, pink.
            I ála (adj.) variegated, spotted.
         ála-bula (adj.) of intermixed colours.
          Alàch (Prop. name) a comprehensive name given to the
                 tribes of Kazzaks and Kirghiz, from some eponymous
                 ancestor.
          ála-cha (subs.) a kind of striped cotton cloth.
        dlar-maq (v. tr.) to look with anger upon, to change coun-
                 tenance with anger.
     ala-shàq-shàq (subs.) magpie.
         ألاقان álagan (subs.) the hollow of the hand.
         ألامان álamán (subs.) a robber, bandit.
        alanggan (subs.) a word used with repetition alanggan
                 shalanggan, to express a confused mass of things.
          Alaï (Prop. name) a high plateau north of the Pamir
         ألبات álbán (subs.) land-tax.
                                                         steppes.
       albán-chi (subs.) one who pays land-tax.
       albasti (subs.) a night-mare, an incubus.
          áltao (num. subs.) all six, the whole six.
         Altai (Pr. n.) a mountain range south of Siberia; also
                 the fox-skins brought thence.
        dltaï-lan (num. subs.) the whole six.
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ألنميش ált-mish (num.) sixty. ألتون áltun (subs.) gold.

dltun-chi (subs.) gold-smith.

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ألتين áltin (adj.) low ; áltin-da (post-pos.) below [gov. gen.] مائند (alti-'n-chi (num.) sixth.

diju-'sh-maq (v. rec.) to twaddle to one another, use empty talk together.

alju-maq (v. intr.) to twaddle, gossip.

alchin (subs.) a measure of length of about 28 inches (Russian arechino).

álda-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to deceive.

dlda-'sh-maq (v. rec.) to deceive one another.

álda-maq (v. tr.) to deceive, play off.

álda-'n-màq (v. pass.) to be deceived, &c.

غالف ألدى áldá (? àld) (subs.) front, presence.

aldi-da (post-pos. gov. gen.) in front of, in presence of.

aldera-'i-màq (v. caus.) to cause to do quickly, to hasten, to hurry (tr.)

diderack (adj.) quick, hurried (applied to the work not to the agent).

áldera-'eh-tur-mág (v. coll. caus.) to cause to make haste in company.

aldera-'sh-máq (v. coll.) to make haste, or be busy in company.

aldora-maq (v. intr.) to make haste, be busy.

alga (subs.) ear-ring, ear-ornament, KAZ. from A.

álqat (subs.) a small wild plum.

dlqash (subs.) the act of blessing, or praying for the welfare of another.

álqa-'sh-màq (v. rec.) to invoke blessing on one another, to invoke blessings together.

álqa-màq (v. tr.) to bless, invoke blessings on.

ألقيش álqish [same as álqash].

الما (subs.) apple,

Almati (Prop. name) a place north of Issiqkül, the site of the Russian cantonment of Vierny (called Almati from its groves of apple-trees).

ألماق ألماق dlmáq (v. tr.) to take; also to overcome in any contest.

Much used in composition: e. g. àlip-kelmak "to bring", àlip-kirmak "to take into", àlip-bàrmàq "to take away" &c.

الماليق Alma-liq (Prop. name) the name of several places in Central Asia.

alwan (subs.) "Turkey-red," the cotton stuff dyed that colour and so called. (? from A.)

ألو بخار álu-bokhár (subs.) plum.

àlu-cha (subs.) a small plum.

ulúgh (adj.) great, large, grand, venerable (referring to moral qualities or position chiefly), also elder.

ulugh-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to exalt one another.

ulúgh-la-máq (v. tr.) to make great, to exalt.

ulúgh-liq (subs.) greatness, dignity.

alish (v. subs.) a taking; spec. the head of a canal or derivatory water-course, where the water is taken out of the main stream.

dl-ish-máq (v. recip.) to mix (with the hands), (lit. to take together).

al-in-mág (v. pass.) to be taken.

dl-in-il-maq (a redoubled passive) to be taken.

amách (subs.) a plough.

amut (subs.) a large kind of pear, P.

amurut (subs.) the same, P.

Ul ana (interject.) here, this, look here!

Ul ána (subs.) mother.

ünak (subs.) a milch-cow.

ant (subs.) oath, engagement, vow; ant ichmak = to drink an oath, i. e., to swear.

anji (subs.) a stack.

an-cha (pron.) that much [from an, oblique of ul, which see].

'ncha (term.)—fold; e. g. yüz-ancha "a hundred-fold."

أندا dn-da (adv.) lit. in that; but specially: in that place, there.

أنداغ أمس dágh (pron. and adv.) like that, such; also like that, so. أنداغ أنداغراق án-dágh-rág (pron. and adv.) more like that.

in-dág [same as án-dágh].

án-dáin [same as ándàq] KH.

àn-din (adv.) lit. from that ; but specially : from that place, thence. - [sition.

in compokij an-ga [prd. anga] (pron.) to him, her or it [an, the oblique form of ul].

àn-ga-cha (adv.) to that amount, up to that time.

ang-siz (adj. and adv.) without understanding; also suddenly, without premeditation.

ang-la-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to understand, to instruct. فالتماق ang-la-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to understand one another.

áng-la-máq (v. tr.) to understand, to be aware.

ang-la'n-maq (v. pass.) to be understood or known, (refl.) to make itself known (of news &c.), to come to one's knowledge.

J u [for ul] (pron.) that, he, she, it.

du (subs.) sport, hunting, shooting, also game [? from dwa (int.) yes, well, all right. [Persian dhu].

| 1, 1 - 1, 1 ŭwwa (subs.) bird's-nest.

uwát (subs.) shame, modesty.

uwát-mág (v. intr.) to feel shame or modesty.

" wod-t-mag (v. tr.) to quiet a child.

نراق نسمور (subs.) crumbs, débris, (from uwa-maq).

awa-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to agree together, to consent together, to combine [from awa].

ن الماق شروالماق نسمه المسلم (v.) 1. to build nests; 2. to rub, to wring.
ن الماق نسمه نسمه المسلم نسمه المسلم نسمه المسلم نسمه المسلم نسمه المسلم ا

نوانعاق سن 'n-máq (v. intr.) to be quietly occupied (of a child).

ية أرب ub, an exclamation used in lifting weights.

waa (subs.) a pestilence, epidemic, from A. waba.

obdán (adj.) good.

upa (subs.) a white powder used by women to improve their complexions.

öp-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to kise [used of the person who submits to the operation].

öpchin (subs.) a set of four horse-shoes with the nails.

أرپراتماق öpra-t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to erumble to pieces, to break up, crumble (tr.).

öpra-màq (v. intr.) to crumble, to fall to dust; to grow old. اوپراماق öpruq (adj.) crumbled, rainous (from preceding).

öpru-'l-máq (v. pass.) to be crumbled [also öpra-'l-máq]. öpka (subs.) lungs; wrath, anger, offence.

öpka-qaqmaq (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.

öpka-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause one to be offended, to intr.) to be offended with one another. ويكالاشماك öpka-la-mak (v. intr.) to be offended, to take offence.

öp-mak (v. tr.) to kiss, to embrace.

יטיט *upup* (subs.) a kind of bird with a crest, a hoopoo (?). פֿענד öpüch (subs.) a kiss.

öp-üsh-mak (v. recip.) to kiss one another.

üt (subs.) gall.

ot (subs.) fire.

ot (subs.) grass.

uwüt (subs.) malt, sprouting grain used for making a sort of beer, KAZ.

ota-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to pluck out weeds (see otá-

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otá-'sh-mág (v. recip.) to pluck weeds in company.
       otágh (subs.) a temporary abode, a Kirghiz tent.
  otághat (subs.) a plume, a crest of peacock's feather worn
    ا ارتاغه
               by high dignitaries under the Chinese.
      otáq (same as otagh).
     utak (subs.) knee-boots worn in Turkistán.
    ütak-chi (subs.) a bootmaker.
    otá-máq (v. tr.) to pluck up weeds or grass.
   üta-mak (v. tr.) to read or say prayers, to recite.
       otáo (same as otágh) KH.
       otra (subs. & adj.) the midst; middle, intermediate; [otra-
              si-da = in the midst of it? for urta.
                                                          Imediate.
   otrá-n-chi (subs. &. adj.) the middle one; middle, inter-
       ütrü (adv.) opposite, facing (? from üt-mak "to meet").
    اوتروك ütrük (subs.) he, untruth, KAZ. ( ? for durogh, P.).
  " itrük-ohi (subs.) liar, KAZ.
     ot-qach (subs.) dry shavings &c. for lighting a fire. In
              the bazars of Yarkand and Kashghar 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
                     This is done with a special tool. The ends are
              dipped in sulphur before sale, so that they can be used for
              raising a flame from the embers of overnight.
  ut-qàz-mág (v. caus.) [same as following].
  ut-quz-máq (v. caus.) to cause to sit.
                                                           recite.
 üt-kar-mak (v. caus.) to cause to pass over or through, to
 " it-kaz-mak (v. caus.) [the same as the last].
     ütkür (adj.) sharp, (viz. 'which passes through').
" ارتكورماك üt-kür-mak (v. tr. and caus.) to sharpen, [also same as üt-
             kar-mak].
" اوتكوزماك üt-küz-mak (v. tr. and caus.)
                                              do.
                                                       do.
    ot-làq (subs.) a grassy place, a meadow, a pasture.
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أرتماك أ

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.

ütna (subs.) a temporary loan of any thing.

ütni (subs.) [the same].

utur (adj.) straight.

utur-la-máq (v. tr.) to make straight.

utur-mag (v. intr.) to sit.

توك ütük (subs.) high riding boots, KH. [(from üt-mak).

itin (subs.) pardon obtained by some-one's intercession

otun (subs.) fuel, fire-wood. (From ot "fire").

wuch (subs.) a handful.

öoh (num.) three.

uch (subs.) a feud, a state of enmity.

wch (subs.) an end, a point.

ucha (subs.) the posteriors, the back.

öchar-qush (compound subs.) a flying bird [from öch-maq to fly, and qush = a bird].

öchàr-liq (subs. and adj.) a creature that flies; also flying, possessed of the power of flight.

uchash (adj.) at feud, inimical.

ucha'-sh-mak (v. recip.) to be at feud with one another [from an un-used verb ucha-mak].

uchágh (subs.) a fire-place, cooking-place.

ucháq (subs.) [the same].

üchak (subs.) entrails, KH.

öch-ao (num. subs.) all three, the three.

öch-do-lan (num. subs.) all three.

üchaï (subs.) entrails.

öch-aï-lan (num. subs.) all the three.

ن مراتماق ن مراتماق ن خوراتماق ن مراتماق ن مراتماق

öchra-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to meet one another.

öchra-máq (v. intr.) to meet, to encounter on the road [gov-erns ga].

öch-qáq (adj.) flying about much [from öch-máq].

uch-qun (subs.) a spark.

uch-kak (adj.) burning badly, becoming extinguished rapidly (of fire-wood, or fire) [from uch-mak].

üchkü (subs.) a goat.

úwuch-la-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to take by handsful together [from next].

úwuch-la-máq (v. tr.) to take by handsful [from úwuch].

üjma (subs.) mulberry.

ujmáq (subs.) Heaven, the abode of the blessed.

öch-mag (v. intr.) to fly.

uch-mak (v. intr.) to become extinguished, to go out (as öchör (subs.) news, intelligence, answer. [fire).

öch-ör-máq (v. caus.) to cause to fly.

uon-ur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become extinguished, to extinguish, to put out.

öch-ösh-máq (v. recip.) to fly together.

uchuq (adj.) open [same as àchiq].

öch-ö-la-si (num. subs.) all the three of them.

öch-ö-lan-chi (num. subs.) third, KH.

uchun (post-pos.) because of, for, on account of [governs the genitive].

öch-ön-chi (num. adj.) third.

wh (interj.) an exclamation of pain or fatigue, (Cf. German "ach").

ukh-ra-'sh-máq (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 ما ارخشاش okhshash (adj.) like, equal to. [compare.

okheha-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to be alike, to resemble one another, ارخشاشاق okheha-máq (v. intr.) to be like, to resemble; to be probable,

to be likely; to be fulfilled (a promise).

ukhshu-máq (v. intr.) to retch, vomit.

ukh-la-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to sleep. ukh-la-'sh-máq (v. coll.) to go to sleep together. ukh-la-maq (v. intr.) to sleep, to go to sleep. ökhör (subs.) a manager (for horses). From P. ökhör-a-mág (v. intr.) to sneeze (of a horse). úra (adi.) standing upright. ura (subs.) a hole in the ground for storing grain, a garner, a caché. öradan (subs.) a colouring matter, madder. örágh (subs.) a covering, the cloth bound round a package. örág (subs.) a sickle, KH. KAZ. öráq-chi (subs.) a reaper, KH. KAZ. úra-lash (adv.) upwards, up-hill. öra-máq (v. tr.) to wind, wrap. örau (subs.) a cloth wound round anything (the same as öragh], KAZ. ענט wrta (subs. and adj.) middle; wrta-da (adv.) in the middle. ורנטה, urtag (subs.) partner; also friend, intimate. ערנטשוטן urtàq-la-máq (v. intr.) to be in partnership. urta-mak (v. tr.) to set on fire, to burn (chiefly the dry grass of a hill-side). Tenflamed. urta-'n-mak (v. refl.) to burn itself, to burn (intr.), to be úrtang (subs.) a staging post, a traveller's rest-house, a stage (? from urta, qu. half-way-house). urtang-chi (subs.) a man in charge of a staging post, a post-master or post-rider. [audience. úrda (subs.) a Royal residence, a Court, a Royal place of ördak (subs.) a duck [wild or tame]. úr-dur-máq (v. caus.) to cause to strike. ör-dör-mak (v. caus.) to cause to braid the hair. urgha-chi (subs.) a female (of man or beast), KAZ.

urghág (subs.) a sickle.

örkach (subs.) a camel's hump.

örgà-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to learn, i. e. to teach.

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örgà-'n-ieh-mak (v. recip.) to learn together.

örgá-'n-mak (v. refl.) to instruct oneself, i. e. to learn.

örgöt (subs.) winnowed grain prepared for the mill.

ör-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to climb.

ör-la-mak (v. intr.) to climb; to rise, to mount up.

" or-la-'n-mak (v. refl.) to climb, (cf. "se cramponner.")

úr-máq (v. tr.) to strike, to beat.

ur-máq (v. tr.) to reap, to cut grass.

ör-mak (v. tr.) to braid the hair.

örmak (subs.) a rough loom without treadles for weaving coarse carpets, &c.

unour-mak (v. tr.) to turn over, to reverse. Yüz uwurmak = to turn the face, to face round.

ürma-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to crawl together.

" irma-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-maq (v. recip.) to be each in his own place, to be respectively settled.

urna-máq (v. intr.) to be settled, fixed, (from urun).

ur-ush-tur-máq (v. caus.) to cause to fight.

ur-ush-qáq (adj.) given to fighting, quarrelsome.

ur-ush-máq (v. recip.) lit. to strike or beat one-another, i. e. to fight.

ör-ösh-mak (v. recip.) to braid one-another's hair.

urugh (subs.) seed; also offspring, family, clan.

urugh tuqqan (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].

urugh-la-máq (v.) 1. to get thin; 2. to sow seed; 3. to muster strong in family, to swarm.

see urugh; üruq (adj.) thin, in bad condition.

uruq-la-máq [the same as urugh-la-máq].

uruk (subs.) apricot.

ur-ul-maq (v. pass.) to be struck, to be beaten.

ör-öl-mak (v. pass.) to be braided [of hair.]

uwur-ul-mak (v. pass.) to be turned, reversed, upset.

שרעה (subs.) place, station.

[ing).

ur-un-máq (v. refl.) to strike one's self against (in pass-اورونوشاق ur-un-ush-máq (v. refl. recip.) to strike against one another ناوز (pron.) self.

uz (adj.) handsome, pretty, beautiful.

uza (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.

uzáq (adv.) far, (éloigné).

uz-la-mak (v. tr.) to top, or take the top off any thing, to skim [from uza].

uzangu (subs.) a stirrup.

Öz-bak (Pro. name) a certain tribe of Turki race, the ruling tribe in Bokhára and Khiva. [run.

öz-dur-máq (v. caus.) to cause to go a-head, to cause to outis-dür-mak (v. caus.) to cause to break by pulling, to cause

to pull in pieces.

öz-ga (adj.) lit. to itself ; i. e. separate, different.

أوزكاچة öz-ga-cha (adv.) in a separate or different manner, otherwise, changed (in a bad sense) [e. g. ish özgacha boldi "affairs have gone to grief"].

özga-r-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to change colour [from öz-ga-r-mak].

özga-r-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to change colour together.

özga-r-mak (v. intr.) to become different (of colour); to change colour, to become discoloured. [consciousness.

öz-lök (adv.) by one's self or selves; (subst.) self-ness i. c.

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öz-lik [the same as the last].
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öz-máq (v. intr.) to out-run, to get foremost in a race.

üz-mak (v. tr.) to break off by pulling, to pull in pieces, to uzuq (subs.) food, provisions. [tear away.

özök (subs.) a finger-ring.

üz-ük (subs.) a piece broken off, a fragment [from uz-mak]; (adj.) fragile, slender.

" ارزولماك " üz-ül-mak (v. pass.) to be broken by pulling, to be torn away ارزولماك للاست (subs.) a grape. [from üz-mak].

öz-öm (pron.) I myself; öz-ömiz = we ourselves.

ارزون uzun (adj.) long, tall.

öz-öng (pron.) thou thy-self; öz-öngiz = ye yourselves.

أوزي öz-i (pron.) he himself, &c.

öz-i-cha (adv.) of one's self, by one's self.

ussaq (adj.) thirsty.

usal (adj.) bad, evil, KH. KAZ.

usal-la-máq (v. intr.) to become bad, to go to the bad.

ussa-mág (v. intr.) to be thirsty, to thirst.

ustá (subs.) a teacher; an artisan, from P.

ارستارا ustara (subs.) a razor, P.

ustang (subs.) a canalized stream, a trunk canal.

us-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become large, to cause to increase, to increase (tr.).

ارستون astun (subs.) pillar, column [ for P. " situn" ].

ustun (adj. adv.) upper; above; ustun-da upon, (obl. possessed form of following word: for ust-in = "the top of it").

توستى ناها: üst-i (subs. poss.) its top; itst-i-da = on its top.

uema (subs.) a black dye for the hair, P.

us-máq (v. tr.) to fill up grain, &c. into a sack, to shovel or scoop anything into a bag.

is-mak (v. tr.) to butt, to strike with the horns.

ue-mak (v. intr.) to increase, to grow, to get big.

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u-sha (pron.) that [contr. from u-shal].
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usha-'t-máq (v. tr.) to break in pieces, to break up.

ushaq (adj.) little; (subs.) bits, débris, powder; also a menial servant.

u-shal (pron.) that [from ul and shul].

usha-'l-máq (v. pass.) to be broken up.

u-shan-cha (pron. and adv.), to that amount ; [shul becoming shan in the oblique cases].

u-shan-da (adv.) lit. in that very [place]; there.

u-shan-daq (pron. and adv.) like that, so.

ush-bu (pron.) this, this very [from shu and bu].

u-shan-ga (pron.) to that very (place), thither.

öshni (subs.) shoulder.

ush-ur-màq (v. caus.) to cause to exceed, to magnify, to increase, (see àshur-màq).

ushuq (subs.) sheep's knuckle-bones used for playing.

ushuq (adj.) much, very much.

ushuq-màq (v. intr.) to agitate oneself, to hasten (see àshuq-màq).

ushuk (subs.) frost, cold [as it affects vegetation].

ughra-maq (v. tr.) to encounter.

ughar-la-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to steal or rob.

ughar-la-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to rob one another.

ughar-la-máq (v. tr.) to thieve, to rob.

ughri (subs.) thief.

اوغول هوه اوغل

ughláq (subs.) a kid, also a game on horse-back played with the body of a kid.

ughlan (subs.) a male child, a boy.

ughuch (subs.) a rolling-pin for pastry.

ughut (subs.) malt.

ughur (subs.) a mortar in which grain is pounded.

ughuz (subs.) milk of the cow during a day or two after the birth of the calf, (not drinkable).

ughul (subs.) a male child, son, boy. [mag]. ufra-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to crumble [ same as öpra-'tufra-mág (v. intr.) to crumble, [same as öpra-màq]. ارفررق ufruk (adj.) crumbled, ruinous [öpruq]. اوفكا ufka (subs.) lungs; anger [see öpka]. ا, فكالماك المالاه ufka-la-mak (v. intr.) to take offence [see öpka-la-mak]. uf-mak (v. tr.) to kiss [see öpmak]. og (subs.) a projectile; an arrow, a bullet; also the pole of a cart or plough; the beam of an oil press. oga (subs.) gold lace (real or imitation). augat (subs.) subsistence, sustenance, maintenance [A. with a special meaning acquired]. màq]. ug-tur-mág (v. caus.) to cause to understand [from uqogshu-mág (v. intr.) to retch, vomit. ug-mág (v. tr.) to understand, to comprehend, to take in. oqu-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to read, to instruct, to teach. oqu-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to read in company. ogu-'l-mág (v. pass.) to be read. ogu-mág (v. tr.) to read, to recite. ارکا سلام (subs.) a younger brother. ugaï (adj.) step-: e. g. ugaï-bala, a step-son or daughter. uqta (subs.) defalcations in the matter of public revenue, by which either the prince or the private payers of revenue are cheated. uktam (adj.) same, KAZ. ukcha (subs.) the kernel (in any stone-fruit). ukcha (subs.) heel.

اوگزا ugza (subs.) a roof, generally a flat roof on which one can اوگنان uk-süz (adj.) left an orphan, without parents, Kaz.

uksu-mak (v. intr.) to sit aside in grief, to fret, also to dimiug-mak (v. tr.) to rub into powder, Kaz. [nish, Kaz. oöjöt (subs.) winnowed grain prepared for the mill [the same as örgöt].

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ukur-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to bellow.
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sgur-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to turn (tr.), to make someone turn something.

ukur-mak (v. intr.) to bellow.

ugur-mak (v. tr.) to turn over, to turn round, to turn aside.

ukur-ush-mak (v. recip.) to bellow at one another, to bellow in company.

ugur-ush-mak (v. recip.) to turn over together (tr).

ukuz (subs.) an ox, KH.

uguz [the same,] KAZ.

ug-ul-mak (v. pass.) to be crumbled.

ukun-mak (v. intr.) to regret, to be sorry.

ukunuch (subs.) regret, sorrow.

اركي الله (subs.) owl.

distribute.

[wn).

ul (pron.) that, he, she, it (oblique, generally an sometimes

alat (subs.) pestilence (on man or beast) [see ül-mak].

ular (subs.) a snow pheasant (Tetraogallus tibetanus).

ula-'sh-tur-maq (v. rec. caus.) to cause to catch up a party. تالاشتورماق ülash-tur-mak (v. rec. caus.) to cause to partition, or

ula-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to unite with others, [specially] to catch up a party,

du-la-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to hunt together [see du].

اولاشماك. ilash-mak (v. tr.) to distribute, to divide, see

ulágh (subs.) a beast of burthen, a baggage animal.

ulágh-liq (subs.) an owner of baggage-animals, (adj.) appertaining to baggage-animals.

uláq [the same as ulágh].

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.

أرتانات duláq-la-máq (v. intr.) to make private, [used of a place, not of a person].

ulda-mág (v. intr.) to stray, to go astray, KAZ. du-la-maq (v. tr.) to hunt, to shoot, to kill in hunting. ula-mág (v. tr.) to join, unite. ulang (subs.) a horse's girth. اریا ulta (adj.) incorrect, mistaken, wrong. اولتان ultan (subs.) the sole of a boot, KAZ. ultur-ghur-màq (v. caus.) to cause to sit, to seat. والتورغورماق ultur-ghuz-máq ül-tür-ghüz-mak (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. ül-tür-mak (v. caus.) to kill, lit. to cause to die. ulia (subs.) booty, plunder, loot. ulia-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to loot one-another. ulja-la-máq (v. tr.) to plunder, to loot. ulcha-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to weigh one-another. ülcha'k (subs.) a balance, scales, any weighing instrument. ülcha-mak (v. tr.) to weigh. ulgh-ai-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to become greater, to cause to increase. [uluqh. ulgh-ai-mág (v. intr.) to become greater, to increase [from awwal-ghi (adj.) the first, the foremost, A. T. awwal-qi (the same). ülka (subs.) territory, region, district. ülkan (adj.) great, large, KAZ. ulgur-mak (v. intr.) to come or go forward, to advance (? for ilgar'-mak). awwal-gi (adj.) the first. بولياق (rare, probably borrowed from the West) for بولياق تارساک تا-mak (v. intr.) to die.

ül-ush kön (adv.) the day before yesterday, the other day.

Almost obsolete.

ופלפית ulus (subs.) a tribe, a division of a tribe (chiefly of nomads).

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ülüsh (subs.) a portion, a share.
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ulüsh-màq (v. tr.) to separate into parties.

ارلوغ ulugh (adj.) great, large, grand; also eldest, elder.

ulugh-ráq (adj.) greater.

ulugh-la-máq (v. tr.) to enlarge, to confer grandeur.

ül-ük (subs.) a dead man or beast, a corpse, a carcass.

ارلوم ül-üm (subs.) death; (adj.) past, expired.

with soup.

umrutqa (subs.) the back-bone, KAZ.

עון (num.) ten. Also for und, which see.

an (subs.) a voice, a sound.

una-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to agree.

una-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to agree together (in any matter).

una-máq (v. tr.) to agree, to consent.

und (subs.) flour.

un-da (pron. and adv.) lit. in that (place or time), i. e., there, then. [cry]

inda-mak (v. tr.) to summon with the voice (without outun-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to sprout.

ung (adj.) right (hand) ; also right, proper.

ungal-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to improve, to cause to become better (any work, &c.).

ungal-máq (v. intr.) to improve, to become better.

ungai (adj.) easy.

un-mak (v. intr.) to sprout, to shoot out from the ground.

unut-qaq (adj.) one who makes frequent mistakes, or omissions.

unut-máq (v. tr.) to make a mistake, to forget.

نوي di (subs.) house, chamber.

[and met).

ui 1. (subs.) idea, thought; 2. (adj.) deep, profound (lit.

ינט (subs.) a bullock, an ox.

uya (subs.) a nest, or sleeping place of an animal.

اريات wat (subs.) shame, modest v. uyat-siz (adj.) shameless. wyat-máq (v. intr.) to feel shame. uya'l-máq (v. pass.) to be put to shame, to be ashamed. uya-'n-mág (v. intr.) to awake. uyer-ul-mak (v. pass.) to be turned, KAZ. uyer-mak اويرماك (v. tr.) to turn, KAZ. for اويرماك (v. tr.) which see). uigha-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to awake, to awaken. uiqhaq (adj.) awake ; also wide-awake, sharp, acute. uigha-'n-mág (v. intr. or refl.) to be awake. [? from už "thought": thus—ui-gha-máq (if there were such a verb) would be "to be conscious," and the Reflective wigha-'nmág 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. uiqu-la-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to sleep in company. uiqu-la-máq (v. intr.) to sleep. uiqu-luq (adj.) drowsy after sleep. ui-la-'t-mág (v. caus.) to cause to think. ui-la-'sh-mág (v. recip.) to think together. ui-la-mág (v. tr.) to think, to reflect. ui-la-mak (v. tr.) to marry or cause to marry, to set up in life (said of the father or guardian) [lit. to make a householder of. From  $\ddot{u}i = \text{house.}$ üi-la-'n-mak (v. pass. or refl.) to be married, or started in life. öima (subs.) an ornamental work done by cutting out a pattern and fixing it on another ground. öimág (subs.) a thimble. ùï-màq (v. tr.) to excavate (? from ùï = deep). öina-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to play. öinash (subs.) a lover, KAZ. öina-'sk-mág (v. recip.) to play with one-another.

öina-máq (v. intr.) to play. (Probably for öyun-a-máq).

uyu-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to curdle.

uyu-máq (v. intr.) to curdle, become curdled.

פיצע öyun (subs.) play.

öyun-chi (subs.) a player.

و (interj. used in addressing a person).

áī (subs.) moon, month.

أيّ النو di-pàltu (subs.) a battle-axe (? from its crescent shape).

aya-'sh-mág (v. recip.) to grudge one-another.

أياغ dyágh (subs.) leg, foot.

ayágh-la-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to lie head and feet together (like herrings in a barrel); to lie with all the feet inwards to the fire.

dyagh-la-maq (v. tr.) to wade (on foot) across a river.

áyáq (subs.) a bowl (of wood or earthen ware, &c).

آیاغ for آیاق

dyaq-chi (subs,) a cup-bearer, one who fills the bowl.

aya-máq (v. tr.) to withhold, to withdraw (anything), to grudge (anyone anything).

aya-'n-máq (v. refl.) to withdraw one's self from, to flinch, to shirk, to shrink from.

iyak (subs.) chin, KAZ.

ibàr-'t-mak (v. cause.) to cause to send.

ibàr-'t-tur-mak (v. cause. redupl.) to cause to have (something) sent, to cause to cause to send.

ibàr-mak (v. tr.) to send.

ibriq (subs.) an earthenware water-jug.

ipak (subs.) silk.

ipla-'sh-tur-mak (v. recip. caus.) to cause to take their proper places, to put into the proper order among themselves, or mutually.

ipla-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to get into one's proper places, to arrange one's selves or themselves.

ipla-mak (v. tr.) to arrange in proper order or sequence.

it (subs.) a dog.

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itak (subs.) a skirt, lower edge.
                                                   [dersoni (?)
    italgü (subs.) the female of the Shungkar or Falco Hen-
ايت تيش (subs.) lit. dog-tooth; a kind of stitch in which the
             needle is passed through alternately from opposite sides
            [? herring bone].
  it-mak (v. tr.) 1. to make, to build; 2. to shut, fasten.
  ait-mak (v. tr.) to speak, to say.
 it-il-mak (v. pass.) 1. to be made; 2. to be fastened,
 ait-il-mak (v. pass.) to be said.
       ich (subs.) inside, interior ; ich-i-da=within.
  اليحاك tchak (subs.) entrails, KH.
   ichai (subs.) entrails.
     ich-'ra see ichkari.
   ich-gur (subs.) a waist band.
 ich-qi-liq (subs.)
  ich-k'ari (adv. and p. p.) inside. See Gram., p. 65.
    ichkü (subs.) goat.
  ich-mak (v. tr.) to drink.
                                                        Saddle.
   ichmak (subs.) a saddle pad, a piece of felt going under the
ich-ur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to drink, to give to drink.
 aida-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to drive away.
ايداشماك aïda-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to drive away in company.
  aida-mak (v. tr.) to drive away [the same as haida-mak].
     1. aidi, corr. from ait-ti " he said" ; 2. idi, contr. from irdi
       er (subs.) a male, a man, a husband; also, a hero, a brave man.
     iráq (adj.) far, distant.
     airan (subs.) butter-milk.
     er-ánlar (subs.) heroes, men of worth [from er and (?)
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double Plural, P. and T., as a mark of respect].

ert-màq (v. tr.) to get the better of, to deceive (? for àrtmàq,

qu. "to come over" vulg.)
orta (subs.) morning ; (adv to-morrow.

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ايرتمگي erta-gi 1. (subs.) a tale, a history; 2. (adj.) belonging to the morning.

irjai-t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to grin.

irjai-maq (v. intr.) to laugh foolishly, to simper, to grin.

irdi (part of def. verb subs.) usually contracted to idi [which see] "he was."

irsa (Pot. Part. of def. verb subs., prd. also isa) "may be." ايرشقورماك irsh-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to arrive up.

irsh-mak (v. intr.) to arrive up, to arrive after.

irgha-t-máq (v. caus.) lit. to cause to swing; [usually] to shove, push or shake.

irgha-'n-máq (v. refl.) to swing or move one's self.

irghu-t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to leap over. [lation.

irghu-'sh-máq (v. coll.) to leap together, to leap in emu-ايرغوماق lirghu-máq (v. tr.) to leap over, to jump.

ايركا irka (adj.) pet, favourite.

ايركاي ir-gach (vl. adj.) having been (from ir-mak).

irgash-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to follow.

irgash-mak (v. tr.) to follow of one's own accord; to join or attach one's self to.

ايركاك erkak (adj.) male.

irka-la-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to favour.

irka-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to favour one another.

irka-la-mak (v. tr.) to pet, to favour [see irka].

irka-la-'n-mak (v. pass.) to be petted, or favoured.

irkan or ايركان ikan (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.

ايركيت erkit (subs.) sour butter-milk.

irk-il-mak (v. pass.) to be strained [as any watery stuff through a cloth].

irkin or ايكين ikin same as irkan.

irkin (adj.) wide, broad, extended.

irkin-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to be reciprocally at ease; to have room between one another.

irkin-la-mak (v. intr.) to be at ease, not tightened for space; to have room.

ir-mas (Neg. form of irur, the Continuative Part. of defective verb subs.) pronounced usually imas, " not being,"
"is not."

air-máq (v. tr.) to divide, to separate.

irmak (Infinitive of the defective verb substantive, not common in this form,) to be.

irmak (subs.) any trifling occupation.

irmak-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to trifle with one another.

irmak-la-mak (v. intr.) to trifle.

ir-ur (Continuative Part. of ir-mak, not common) being; also is.

irün (subs.) lip.

irün-mak (v. tr.) to dislike doing (? to put up one's lip at), to procrastinate.

irün-tish-kak (adj.) procrastinating habitually.

irün-üsh-mak (v. coll.) to procrastinate together.

airi (subs.) a pitch-fork.

iri-t-mak (v. caus.) to melt (trans.) [lit. "to cause to be in a melted state" from iri-mak]. [mak].

irish-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to arrive up [from irish-irish-mak (v. intr.) 1. to arrive up, [same as irsh-mak];

2. to melt together [recip. form of iri-mak].

irik-la-mak (v. tr.) to sort out or select the largest.[nuyer."

irik-mak (v. intr.) to be weary (not with hard work), "s'en-

air-il-ish (vl. subs.) divarication, place where waters &c.
separate into several channels or courses. [another.

air-il-ish-máq (v. pass. recip.) to be divided from one

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iri-mak (v. intr.) to melt, to become melted.
 irimchik (subs.) cream-cheese.
     irin (subs.) lip.
  irin-chak (adj.) procrastinating, lazy.
                                                        [mak].
  irin-mak (v. intr.) to be lazy, to procrastinate (see irun-
        iz (subs.) track, trace, foot-track.
  iz-qhur-máq (v. intr.) to whistle.
      izgu (adj.) good.
  izgu-lik (subs.) goodness.
  iz-la-mak (v. tr.) to track, to follow the traces.
      izma (adj.) talkative, KH.
      izmak (subs.) braid, edging (of robes).
   iz-mak (v. tr.) to rub up in water, to dissolve (tr.).
        iza (subs.) reproof, molestation, P.
  izla-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to search.
 isla-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to search in company.
   izla-mak (v. tr.) to search.
  is-il-mak 1. (v. pass.) to be dissolved as in water; 2. (v.
              intr.) to gossip, to chatter (see izma).
       اليس (subs.) smell, aroma; also the sickness &c., caused by
              rarity of the air at high elevations; memory, recollec-
              tion, understanding.
                                                        smoke.
      (iis) is (subs.) grime, the dirt formed on walls, &c., by
      isan (adj.) safe, well, KAZ. KH.
isan-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to ask mutually after one
              another's welfare.
  isan-lik (subs.) safety, welfare.
 ista-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to search.
 ista'sh-mak (v. recip.) to search together.
  ista-mak (v. tr.) to search for.
 ایسکانماك leka-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to smell.
 ايسكاشماك 'ska-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to smell (tr.) together.
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iskak (subs.) a pair of tweezers.

iska-mak (v. tr.) to smell, to snuff.

(üs) is-la-máq (v. tr.) to make grimy with smoke.

ie-la-mak (v. intr.) to suffer from the rarity of the air.

ie-la-'n-mak (v. refl.) to smell (intr.), to give out an odour.

(üs) is-la-'n-máq (v. pass.) to be made grimy with smoke; to become grimy.

isit-ma (subs.) fever, feverishness.

isi-t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to be hot, to heat. (From primitive isi-mák of issik "hot.")

isargha (subs.) ear-ring.

isar-mak (v. intr.) to become drunk, tipsy.

isaruk (adj.) drunken, tipsy.

iski (adj.) old, worn out, KH., KAZ.; and thence, "bad" (in which meaning chiefly it is used in Eastern Turkistán).

is-lik (adj.) intelligent, sharp [from is].

ieh (subs.) work, labour, deed, business.

ish (subs.) a companion, comrade. (Possibly the origin of the verbal affix of reciprocity "ish.")

eshak (subs.) donkey, ass.

eshak-munjáq (subs.) common glass beads [lit. "donkey beads," i. e. second-rate ones. Conf. "donkey-engine"].

eshán (subs.) a title applied in Turkistán to religious teachers [? the P. eshán = "they;" the Pl. being used as a mark of respect; or else from following series].

ishán-ji (subs.) a confidential person, one in whom confidence is felt.

ishán-dur-máq (v. caus.) to cause to put confidence in, to cause to believe.

ishán-máq (v. tr.) to put confidence in, to believe, KH., KAZ.

ishit-mak (v. tr.) to hear.

ishit-tur-mak (v caus.) to cause to hear, to relate.

ishkak (subs.) a paddle [from ishmak].

ishik (subs.) a door, a gate.

ish-la-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to work.

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ish-la-mak (v. tr.) to work [from ish].
     ieh-aar (subs.) potash.
iehair-ish-maq (v. recip.) to whistle to one another.
ishqir-máq (v. intr.) to whistle.
   ishkali (subs.) a horse hobble.
   ish-mak (v. tr.) 1. to twist or plait ; 2. to paddle.
 ishit-mak (v. tr.) to hear.
 ishi'l-mak (v. pass.) 1. to be heard; also 2. [ish-il-mak] to
              be twisted, or to be plaited.
      gigher (subs.) an entire horse, a stallion.
     ikak (subs.) a file (instrument for filing).
       ikan (Indefinite Part. of defective verb (i(r)mak) " being
               or having been", used as copula " is."
        ایگار ikao (num. subs.) both.
      ikaolan (num. subs.) both.
      ایکایلاری ikailan (num. subs.) both.
       iké (num.) two.
     iké-din (adv. expr.) by twos [bir-din iké-din = by ones
               and twosl.
    ایکینچے 1. iki-'nchi (num. adj.) second ; 2. ikin-chi (subs.) a culti-
               vator [see ikin].
       ikin 1. (part.) see ikan; 2. (subs.) a young crop.
  ikin birin (adv. expr.) by twos and ones.
         iga (subs.) master, owner, also husband.
     iga-chi (subs.) elder sister.
        igar (subs.) saddle.
      igak (subs.) a file.
                                                            fown.
   iga-la-mak (v. tr.) to become master of, to rule or govern, to
  iga-la-'n-mak (v. refl.) to make one's self master of; also
                (spec.) to frequent, to haunt.
        igao (subs.) a file.
      ig-mak (v. tr.) to bend.
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igna (subs.) a needle.

igir-mak (v. tr.) to spin.

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].

ig-il-mak (v. pass.) to be bent.

il, 1. (subs.) a country (vide Roum-elia=The country of Roum); 2. (adj.) allied, in alliance.

مة (subs.) a girth.

aïla (subs.) elder sister ; also an old woman.

ildt (subs.) any nomad tribe.

ila-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to sift.

ila-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to sift in company [also used in Yarkand for irgash-mak].

ila-mak (v. tr.) 1. to sift, to pass through a sieve; 2. to mix dough; 8. to tan (leather).

aila-mak (v. tr.) to make, to do.

ايلان ilán (subs.) a serpent, a snake.

ailan-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to turn.

ailan-mak (v. intr.) to turn (of itself), to be turned.

ailan-ush-mak (v. recip.) to turn together.

ilt-mak (v. tr.) to take away (chiefly used in comp. as iltip birmak "to take away and give)."

ilt-mak (v. intr.) to become dizzy through smoking, &c.

il-chi (subs.) an Ambassador, a negotiator [from il "allied"];
also (prop. name) the capital of Khotan.

ildam (adv.) quickly.

ilgha-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to sort.

il-ghar (subs.) a frontier station of troops, an advanced guard, a raid.

ilgha-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to sort together.

il-gha-maq (v. tr.) to sort by hand, to pick out, to search, to investigate; (intr.) to advance, to attack, to make a raid.

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.

il-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to enter into alliance together [from il "allied"].

iliq (adj.) warm.

il-gari (adv. and p. p.) in front, formerly; also, before (governs negative).

il-mak (v. tr.) to hang up (as on a peg), to hitch into.

ilma (subs.) a particular stitch, "chain-stitch."

ilik (subs.) 1. a hand [unusual in Yarkand]; 2. marrow.

ilik bol-máq (comp. verb) to go security.

illik (num.) fifty [ P conn. with ilik "hand"].

il-in-mak (v. pass.) to be hung up.

imas (part of defective verb subs.) " is not" [for ir-mas].

aïmáq (subs.) a tribe, the descendants of a particular person;
also (prop. n.) a tribe near Herát.

imán-mak (v. intr.) to be respectful, to show respect.

imchak (subs.) a woman's breast.

imchak-dash (subs.) a foster brother or sister [lit. breast companion].

im-chi (subs.) an empiric, a quack.

im-di (conj.) now.

im-gak (verb. subs.) excessive labour and weariness consequent thereon, trouble, difficulty [from obs. prim. im-ga-mak].

im-ga'n-mak (v. refl.) to be wearied with excessive labour of any kind.

im-la-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to treat empirically.

im-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to make signals to one-another by nodding or winking. [doctor.

im-la-mak (v. tr.) to treat empirically, to act as a quack

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im-la-mak (v. tr.) to make signs by nodding or winking to any-one.
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im-mak (v. tr.) to suck [the breast, as an infant].

im-uk-dash (subs.) a foster brother or sister.

im-iz-mak (v. caus.) to cause to suck, to give an infant the breast.

im-iz-uk (subs.) a contrivance for artificially feeding an اميزوك imish [part of defective verb subs.] "it is understood to be."

im-ish-mak (v. recip.) to suck together from the same breast [of foster brothers, &c.].

أيري in (subs.) width, breadth.

ina (subs.) mother, KAZ.

ina (subs.) needle, KAZ.

ináq (subs.) a confidential servant.

J unak (subs.) a cow.

inaga (subs.) a nurse (of children).

inan-máq (v. intr.) to believe, to trust [governs gha].

inji (subs.) a pearl.

injiga (adj.) fine (as opposed to coarse).

inda-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to beckon to one another.

inda-mak (v. tr.) to beckon, to summon.

ainak (subs.) eye-glass, spectacles, P.

ingak (subs.) chin.

ingan (subs.) a female camel.

أينوتماق أينوتماق dinu-t-máq (v. caus.) 1. to cause to fade, &c. ; 2. to cause to become sober.

أينوشماتي áïnu-'sh-máq (v. recip.) 1. to fade, &c. together; 2. to become sober together.

dinu-maq (v. intr.) to fade, to lose colour or flavour.

áinu-máq (v. intr.) to become sober.

ini (subs.) a younger brother, KH.

aïwán (subs.) a veranda, a colonnade, P.

áyu (subs.) a bear, KAZ.

áyigh áyiq (subs.) a bear.

اييك iyik (subs.) a distaff.

iyi-mak (v. intr.) to become soft, to relax (as a man's wrath, or the udders of a cow when the calf is put to her previous to milking) Kaz.

## ب

bábá (subs.) father, or grandfather (used in the former sense chiefly by children, like our " papa").

איינט bàbàq (subs.) father or grandfather; also child. [trate. bât-máq (v. intr.) to sink (as the feet in mud); also to penebâtur (subs. and adj.) a brave man; brave [corr. of "bahádur," P.].

bâtuq (subs. and adj.) ground where the feet sink, a quagmire (applied also to deep sand).

baja (subs.) the husband of one's wife's sister.

bakhsh-la-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to give to one another, P. T. فاخشلاشاق 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.

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 hàkim ikan would be "(he) is Governor."\* Bàr is an attribute in itself; dur or ikan

<sup>•</sup> 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 zin-pa is the mere means of connecting the attribute with its subject [Jaeschke's Tibetan Gram. § 39]. Again in Burmese shi-thi is the real verb substantive denoting concrete existence, while 'pyi(s)-thi is a copula denoting connection of some sort between a subject and an attribute: thus myiā shi-thi = "there is a horse," while myiā 'pyi(s)-thi = "(it) is a horse."

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. at bar would be translated "there is a horse;" but in reality this is a phrase in the common Turki form, like at chung "the horse (is) big"—where the copula is wanting. Thus àt 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 bar for our verb "to have" is another case of the above; e. g. maning at-im bar = "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. 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"; ehèkh bàr idi "a shèkh was existent" is like shèkh pîr 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 bar can be said to correspond with the English "there is." It really corresponds better with the "there" of that expression. Its use as an unmistakable substantive or adjective requires no explanation: e. g. bàr-i-ni tutti " whatthere-was of-his he took;" ahl-im bar üi "the house where my wife is present" (an elliptical expression).

These remarks may be generalised. What bar still is, all Turki verbs seem formerly to have been, and even now are in their essence. Unlike bar 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 bar

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. qelur-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 auxiliaries 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 àt-im, àt-ing, àt-i "my horse," "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 qelqhu'm-bàr "I have to do (future-doing of-mine existent)" from àt-im bàr "I have a horse (horse of-mine existent)."]

bàr-chah (adv. and pron.) wholly, also all, the whole. (Lit. 'to the amount of what there is': from bàr wh. s., and chah "extent").

báre (subs.) an ounce, "white leopard" (so called).

bargháq (subs.) a receipt or discharge in full given by the officials for Government demands which have been paid (in kind).

bár-liq (subs.) existence, being ; (also adj.) possessing property, [from bár, see above].

bár-máq (v. intr.) to go.

bdrmdq (subs.) a finger.

باش بازماق básh-bármáq 'the head finger,' 'the thumb' (also bash-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.'

basturma (subs.) a shed.

bas-tur-máq (v. tr.) to cause to tread [see bas-máq].

bastur-uq (verb. subs.) a pole tied across a loose load to keep it together by pressure [from bas-tur-máq].

اسقان basgan (subs.) a sledge-hammer. [press'').

basqun (subs.) a night-mare, (connected with basmáq "to basma (adj.) impressed, stamped, printed; (subs.) printed calico. print.

bas-máq (v. tr.) to press, impress, print, stamp; also to tread, to tread out (as corn).

basuruq (subs.) an instrument for using pressure [see basturuq], a press.

bas-uq (verb. adj.) oppressed, humble, meek, quiet.

. basig—the same.

básh (subs.) head, also chief, also the first.

básha (subs.) a sparrow-hawk.

básháq (subs.) the iron point of an arrow.

básh-báq (subs.) the halter for tying up a cow &c., [from básh and bágh-la-máq.]

باشنرخي básh-tukhi (subs.) lit., first cock, i. e. cock-crow, day-

báshqa (adj.) separate, other.

básh-la't-máq (v. caus.) to cause to precede, guide.

bdsh-la-máq (v. tr.) to precede, guide ; also to renew.

básh-la'n-máq (v. refl.) to guide one's self.

bàshlighin (adv.) leading, first.

básh-maldág (subs.) the thumb, the chief finger.

báshuq same as básháq.

báshi [used in comp. to mean "a chief;" originally the possessed form 3rd person, from básh, e. g. yūz-báshi for yūz-ning básh-i, lit. the head of a hundred].

bágh (subs.) a garden, P.; also a bundle of hay (or straw).

bágh-chah (subs.) a little garden, P. T.

bagh-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to bind.

bdgh-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to bind one-another, or to bind in company.

bágh-la-'gh-liq (verb. adj.) bound, in a bound condition.

bágh-la-máq (v. tr.) to bind.

bagh-liq (subs.) wisp or rope with which a bundle or sheaf is bound.

باغير bághir (subs.) liver (of an animal).

bághísh (subs.) a joint or articulation.

baghish-la-máq (v. tr.) to give, to grant, to forgive [corr-from bakhsh, P.].

báq the same as bágh.

bágá (subs.) a frog.

bága-chanág (subs.) a tortoise [lit. " a frog in a hole" from chanág = a hole].

baqqál (subs.) a grocer, green-grocer, seller of uncooked provisions. A.

baqálcháq (subs.) the pastern bones of a cow or sheep.

baq-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to look, to show.

bágcha (subs.) the same as bágh-cha.

bág-mág (v. tr.) to look, to inspect, to look after or take care of; to perceive with any of the senses.

bág-ish-máq (v. recip.) to look at one another, to look at or after (in company).

báqin (adj.) being fattened [corr. from báqqàn "which is looked after"] used of a sheep, &c.; also dependent (of a man).

bakául (subs.) a cook.

bála (subs.) a child, or the young of an animal.

bála-barqa (subs.) children, family (including the women of a household). Cf. Hind. bál-bacha.

báláq (subs.) the lower part (below the knee) of trousers.

bála-la-máq (v. tr.) to bring forth young.

bálchiq (subs.) mud.

báldáq (subs.) a mace or truncheon with a wrist-strap.

bálqa (subs.) a hammer.

báldir (adv.) before, first, formerly.

اني baï (subs. and adj.) a rich man, a merchant; also rich, wealthy.

بايا báya (adv.) just now, lately.

بایاغی bayaghi الماغی میرناغی bayagi, } (adj.) early, former.

baï-bachah (subs.) the son of a rich man, a person of independent means, T. P.

bái-bichah (subs.) the chief wife, the first wife, KAZ.

baïtal (subs.) a mare over four years of age which has not had a foal.

báirak (subs.) the standard of a yüzbáshi or centurion.

ايري bairi (subs.) a square of any stuff; (piece-goods were formerly sold by the squares of their width).

بابري bairi (adj.) old, of long service (said of domesticated animals).

baï-quek (subs.) an owl [as if "the rich or respectable bird" (quek = bird)], Kaz.

بايقيز bai-qiz (subs.) the same as last.

baï-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) the same as baghlashmak, KAZ.

ابلاماك baï-la-mak (v. tr.) same as baghlamak, KAZ.

bái-luq (subs.) rich-ness ; also KAZ. for bagh-liq.

baï-ut-máq (v. caus.) to enrich, Kaz.

bai-u-máq (v. intr.) to become rich, Kaz.

שבעלוה) bahil-la't-mak (v. caus.) to cause to remit or forgive, A. T.

bahil-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to remit to one-another, A. T.

bahil-la-mak (v. tr.) to remit or forgive, A. T.

bahil-liq (subs.) forgiveness.

bir (num.) one.

birar (adv.) singly, one by one.

birao (subs.) a single one (as 'a pair' is said of two).

יתוע burrao (subs.) a gimlet, KAZ.

biraolan (subs.) a single one, KAZ.

biraïlan (subs.) a single one.

bir-bolmáq (v. intr.) to become of one accord, lit. to become one. [place].

hir-gá (adv.) together [probably from P. gáh = time or birla (post-pos.) with (see birlan).

bir-la-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become one, to unite.

e. g. Kàshqar yoli birlan = by the Kàshghar road, ichi birlan ütüp = having passed through the interior of it.

Also used as a conjunction for and: e. g., át birlan át-lik = 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-aïlan = a single one, and so 'in one,' 'together.' See Gram. p. 70, N.B.).

bir-lanchi (num. adj.) first, foremost, KAZ. فبراتجي bir-lanchi (v. recip.) to become of one accord, together.

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bir-in-ji (num. adj.) first, foremost.
       براو for برو
bir-ik-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to unite.
bir-ik-ish-mak (v. recip.) to unite together.
  bir-ik-mak (v. intr.) to become joined, to unite.
   יינאט bir-in bir-in (adv.) by ones, singly.
 bir-in iki-'n (adv.) by ones and twos.
         je biz (pron.) we.
     or for بشارط A.) used to mean a heavenly
              revelation or command conveyed in a vision.
    bagh-la-máq (v. tr.) to bind.
       بوغرا for بغرا
         bülla or billa (adv.) together, in one.
     bülázök (subs.) a wrist [derived from bülak, fore-arm, and
              \ddot{o}s\ddot{o}k = \text{ring } or \text{ hoop}].
      būlak (subs.) fore-arm.
        būlán or bilán, see birlan.
     بالچيق balchia. see بلچيق
     بيلماك bülmak, see بلماك
       ba-nàgàh (adv. and conj.) suddenly, unawares, P. but used
              for if perchance.
          bú (pron.) this (short form of bul).
          búa (subs.) an old man.
        búba (subs.) the same.
      bubak (subs.) father, grandfather.
       bubi (subs.) a lady [for bibi].
      bubicha (subs.) the same [antiquated].
         bota (subs.) a young camel.
         butta (subs.) a small plant.
       búdana (subs.) a quail.
   budushqaq (subs.) a burr (which sticks in sheep's fleeces
               or woollen clothes).
         bur (subs.) plaster, KAZ.
         bora (subs.) matting made of plaited reeds; also woollen
               sacking, from P.
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bura-t-mág (v. caus.) to cause (a person) to smell.
 bura-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to smell in company.
     burágh (subs.) scent, odour, (from bura-màq).
     burá'k, the same. بوراق
   burak (subs.) kidney.
  bura-mág (v. tr.) to smell (used of the person who per-
             ceives the odour).
  bura mág (v. tr.) to wring.
   bora-mág (v. intr.) to blow or rage (as a storm).
     borán (subs.) a storm.
  burdaqi (adj.) fattened, fed up.
     burk (subs.) a small cap.
burka-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to cover or veil one-another, KAE.
 burka-mak (v. tr.) to veil, to muffle, to cover with a cloth,
burka-'n-mak (v. refl.) to veil one's self.
      איינא burga (subs.) a flea.
                                                       [poses].
    burgut (subs.) the golden eagle [used for sporting pur-
      burna (adv.) anciently.
   (adj.) old, ancient. ورناقي burnági
     burut (subs.) moustache.
burush-mak (v. recip.) to pucker, to gather (together)
             [intr.). From an imaginary or obsolete primitive bur-
                                                        [KAZ.]
             mak or buru-mak.
     שיתוק (subs.) the root of a kind of reed sometimes eaten
     אַ אַנְנָהָ búruq (subs.) command, order (corr. from buyuruq).
    buru'k (subs.) a pucker, a gather.
 buruk-mak (v. tr.) to blow water out of the mouth.
                                                    [preceding.)
     יפונט burun (subs.) nose.
     יבונש: burun (post.-pos.) before, previous to.
                                                 (See the next.
     ייננש búrun (subs.) a surety, bail.
     bori (subs.) a wolf.
      boriá (subs.) reed-matting, P.
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böz (subs.) white cotton cloth.
        بوز bóz (adj.) grey (used of animals, also of distance or dawn)
        boza (subs.) a weak intoxicating liquor made from various بوزا
              grains, KH.
       buzagh بوزاغ
      (subs.) a calf (? conn. with buz-la-máq).
    buzak بوزاك
       buzao بوزاو
    boz-bugha (subs.) ginger, KAZ.
    boz-buga, the same, KAZ.
    böz-chi (subs.) a weaver.
    buzghunj (subs.) a gall-nut found on the pistachio tree.
             used in dyeing, as a mordant.
  buz-la-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to bellow in company (young
   buz-la-máq (v. intr.) to bellow (as a young camel &c.).
    buz-máq (v. tr.) to ruin, to destroy, to lay waste, to spoil.
     buz-uq (v. adj.) deserted, ruinous; also abandoned or
   buz-uq-luq (subs.) ruinousness, abandonment ; also a desert
   buz-ul-máq (v. pass.) to be ruined, to be laid waste, to
             come to grief.
     bus (subs.) steam, also fog or mist.
    bosaghah (subs.) a threshold (for bosa-gah "the place of
            kissing" P.).
  böe-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.
bös-öl-mak (v. pass.) to be burst or split.
    bósh (adj.) empty; also useless, vain (our "bosh").
 bósh-a't-máq (v. caus.) to cause to be empty, to empty.
 bósh-a'sh-máq (v. recip.) to empty together, also to 'dis-
            charge' a laborious task.
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bosh-a-maq (v. intr.) to be empty, to have discharged a task or duty, to be tired.
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bósh-a'n-máq (v. refl.) to make one's-self empty or free from a task, to acquit oneself, to discharge a duty.

بوشوک bôshūk (subs.) a cradle (either rocking or swinging from the ceiling).

búgh (subs.) an earthenware trumpet used for giving notice that a mill is at leisure, or public baths are ready, P.

bugh (subs.) steam.

bughaz (subs.) corn (considered as food for animals).

bughaz (subs.) a throat, also the axis of an upper millstone where the orifice is.

bughaz (adj.) pregnant.

bughaz-la-'t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to cut the throat.

bughaz-la-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to cut throats mutually, or in company.

bughaz-la-máq (v. tr.) to cut the throat, "égorger."

بوغچي búgh-chi (subs.) a man who blows the búgh.

bughdaï (subs.) wheat.

bugh-dur-máq (v. caus.) to cause to seize by the throat.

bughra (subs.) a male camel.

bugh-maq (v. tr.) to throttle, to strangle, to constrict the throat of a bag, &c.

bughü (subs.) a stag (Cervus Maral).

bughuz, the same as bughaz.

bughuz-la-máq, see bughaz-la-máq.

bugh-ush-máq (v. recip.) to throttle one another.

bugh-ul-máq (v. pass.) to be throttled or strangled; to have the throat constricted by anger (so as not to be able to speak).

bughum (subs.) } a joint or articulation. وغوم bughun (subs.)

boq (subs.) excrement.

buqá (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.

buq-ush-máq (v. recip.) to conceal oneself one from another.

buq-un-máq (v. refl.) to conceal oneself.

buk (subs.) a cap [contr. from burk].

bukurai-mak (v. intr.) to stoop, to bend.

búkur-mak (v. intr.) to moo as a cow.

búk-mak (v. tr.) to soak any grain in water.

buk-mak (v. tr.) to hem, to sew the edge.

bú-gön (adv.) to-day [from bú " this" and kön "day]."

bul (pron.) this.

[reconcile.

bol-ash-tur-máq (v. recip. caus.) to make peace between, to even to bol-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].

búl-ak-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to separate.

búl-ak-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to go asunder, to separate from one another.

bál-ak-la-mak (v. tr.) to divide, to separate, to disunite, to parcel out.

bulág (subs.) a spring of water.

bula-máq (v. tr.) to stir up, to mix; also to rob.

بولمآك ووه بولاماك

[about."

bulámiq (subs.) gruel, thick soup made with flour, "stirbulá'n (v. subs.) robbery, pillage.

bulá-'n-chi (subs.) a robber.

bulá'n-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.

bultur-ghi (adj.) belonging to last year.

buljáq (subs.) a rendezvous, a station for troops (see ملجاء) bol-dur-máq (v. caus.) to cause to become; spec. to reduce a horse to bad condition.

bulgha-'t-mág (v. caus.) to cause to stir.

bulgha-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to stir one another.

bulgha-máq (v. tr.) to stir round (as with a spoon); to spoil (an affair).

bolqá (subs.) a small hammer.

pleted; 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."

بولماك búl-mak (v. tr.) to divide, to partition, to parcel out.

• būlūt (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.

יפלפה bulum (subs.) strength, firmness; (adj.) strong, firm.

bulung (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 devenu." 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)."

bóï (subs.) height, stature, tallness, figure; also length (as of a river); also edge, margin; (sometimes used for the river or water-course itself).

boya-t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to dye.

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boya-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to dye one another.
    boyá'gh (subs. and adj.) dye; also dyed [from boya-mág].
    boyá'q, the same. بو ياق
 boyá'q-chi (subs.) a dyer.
  boya-mág (v. tr.) to dye.
   بويداق بويداق boïdák (subs. and adj.) bachelor, unmarried, childless;
             also (of a mare) not having foaled.
      boïra (subs.) a reed matting, P.
  büirak (subs.) kidneys, KH.
 bóï-la-mág (v. tr.) to measure height, to go over head and
             ears into; also to move along the length of any thing,
             "longer" Fr. (from bói).
   بويلوق boï-luk (adj.) tall, long.
     יפגן bùyan (subs.) neck.
  buyur-máq (v. tr.) to command, to order; also used
             respectfully instead of qelmáq "to do" in compounds.
             Also (the optative buyur-sun-lar) in inviting any one to
             sit down, or to begin anything, like the Italian "favo-
             risca."
  buyur-uq (subs.) a command, a " firmán."
    búyun (subs.) neck.
búyun-tur-uq (subs.) a yoke, a horse-collar, [from búyun,
             and verbal subs. (form f, see Gram. page 53) of verb
             tur-mág].
     bóyi (the definite or possessed form of bói, which see).
      بى Bî (subs.) a head-man among the Kirghiz.
      بع بع bibi (subs.) a lady, a woman (married).
      bėdá (subs.) lucerne grass (having purple flowers).
     bédao (adj.) barren (used of women and mares) ; also of
             mixed breed.
      بير bir (num.) one.
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. بيرار birar (adv.) singly, in one. bir-ash-mak for bir-ish-mak (v. recip.) to unite in giving.

بيراق borág (subs.) a small flag or standard.

birao (subs.) a single one.

birla (p. p.) with.

bir-la-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become of one accord, to reconcile, or bring together.

bir-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to agree together in one accord.

بيرلان birlan (p. p.) with. See بيرلان

birk (adj.) firm, strong, fast.

birk-it-mak (v. comp. tr.) to fasten, to make fast.

birki't-mak (v. caus.) to cause to be concealed.

birki'sh-mak (v. recip.) to conceal one another; also (birk-ish-mak) to confirm one another.

birk-il-mak (v. pass.) to be made fast.

birki'n-mak (v. refl.) to conceal one's self.

יביס bir-mak [Y. ber-mak] (v. tr.) to give; [also much used in composition with other verbs, as: koyup-birmak 'to give over' to burning, i. e. to burn, Cf. Hind. jalá déna. With the Present Participle of another verb it implies beginning, e. g. junaï birdi "he began to go."

ييرى biri (adv.) on this side, on the hither side.

bir-ik-mak (v. intr.) to agree together, to become one.

biz (pron.) we.

ييز biz (subs.) a gland (especially as found in meat).

bézak (subs.) adornment, finery.

bézak-la-'n-mak (v. refl.) to adorn oneself.

bézak-la-mak (v. tr.) to adorn, to beautify.

bez-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become wild.

بيزگاك bezgak (subs.) fever and ague.

بيزگالداك bez-galdak (subs.) a small black water-fowl, moor-hen.

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].

bez-mak (v. intr.) to become wild, to cease frequenting (a بيزماك bésh (num.) five. [place).

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bésk-ar (adv.) by fives.
  يشنجي bésh-inji (adj.) fifth.
     bėsh-ao (subs.) a group of five, a five.
   béshaolan (subs.) a five, all the five, KH. KAZ.
   بيشايلار. béshailan (subs.) the same.
   يشيك béshik (subs.) a cradle.
     beqasam (subs.) a sort of striped silk stuff made in Bo-
             khára, Khojand, Margilan, &c.
     bek (adv.) strongly, very [for birk].
     ييك Béq (subs.) a chief, a governor.
يكيليك bég-chi-lik (subs.) rule, chieftainship.
بيك ليك béglik (adj ) belonging to the chief.
      bekach (subs.) the daughter of a Beg, or notable, KAZ.
      بيكم bêgim (subs.) the wife of a Beg [also beg-im "my Beg"].
       يكة békah (subs.) the same as bêkach, KAZ.
 bik-it-mak (v. caus.) for birkitmak, which see.
     بيكيز bigiz (subs.) an awl.
  bik-il-mak (v. pass.) for birkilmak.
 bik-in-mak (v. refl.) for birkinmak.
       بيل bil (subs.) a man's waist.
       بيل bel (subs.) a shovel, P.
   bilàzuk (subs.) the wrist; also a wristlet, a bracelet, a
             handcuff, [see ].
     بيلاك bilak (subs.) a man's fore-arm.
   bila-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to sharpen.
  bila-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to sharpen in company.
   bila-mak (v. tr.) to sharpen, to whet.
       بيلان bilan (post-pos.) with [same as bir-lan].
      bilaor (subs.) crystal, P.
      bilao بيلار bilao (subs.) a whet-stone, a hone.
     (subs.) a girdle, a waist-band, a waist-sash bil-báq { [from bil and bágh-la-maq].
 bil-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to know, to explain.
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bilqilda-t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to quake.

bilqilda-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to quake together.

bilqildá-máq (v. intr.) to quake [as a bog or a moss].

bilqildaq (subs.) a quaking bog; also a kind of red composition used for rings, buttons, &c., which gives to th touch.

bil-gü (vl. subs.) a mark, an indication, a badge [the future participle of bil-mak].

bil-mak (v. tr.) to know, to understand; also to think.

مية billah (adv.) together, in company.

bilah (post-pos.) with.

بیلیک bil-ik (vl. subs.) knowledge; also wisdom, [from bil-mak]. بیلیکلیک bil-ik-lik (vl. adj.) knowing, acquainted with [from bil-mak].

biyuk (adj.) high, elevated, KH. KAZ.

بييه biyah (subs.) a mare which has a foal.

## پ

پانېي pàpi (subs.) a deformed dwarf whose head and trunk are of natural size.

pât (adv.) quickly [also fát].

patàqi (subs.) a percussion cap, P.

pàt-rág (adv.) more quickly.

ياتفاق pàtqáq (subs. and adj.) a quagmire; also muddy, miry.

باتمان pàtman (subs.) a weight of 64 cháraks.

patingan (subs.) a vegetable, the "brinjal."

 $\left. egin{array}{ll} p atuk & p atuk$ 

pácha (subs.) the leg below the knee.

pàchág (subs.) the leg of an animal.

pacháq (subs. and adj.) a dent in a metal kettle or saucepan; also dented.

pàkhta (subs.) cotton-wool (cleaned of seeds).

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pakhtak (subs.) a dove, from P.
        pára (subs.) a bribe, P.
pára-birmak (v. comp.) to bribe.
 pára-yémak (v. comp.) to be bribed, lit. to eat bribes.
      parcha (subs.) a piece, P.
parcha-la-t-máq (v. tr.) to cause to put in pieces.
parcha-la-'sh-mág (v. recip.) to sub-divide together.
 parcha-la-mág (v. tr.) to put in pieces, to sub-divide.
       pàqà (subs.) a frog (see baka).
 pàqà-chanáq (subs.) a tortoise (see baqa-chanáq).
   pagàlchág, the same as bagalchag.
      págta, the same as pakhta.
      pàk (adi.) clean. P.
  pàk-la-'n-mak (v. refl.) to clean one's self, P. T.
  pàk-la-mak (v. tr.) to clean, P. T.
      باکی paki (subs.) a razor.
paki-picháq, (subs.) a pen-knife.
     pdlàs (subs.) woollen matting.
       pálán (subs.) a pack-saddle, P.
       palao (subs.) a dish of rice and meat, "pilaw," P.
      páltu پالٽو páltu پالٽو páldu } (subs.) an axe, a hatchet.
      pàlwan (subs.) a strong man, an athlete, a wrestler; also
             a good sportsman; [from pahlwan, P.]
  יוע גאונן paï-la-t-móg (v. caus.) to cause to keep watch, to cause to
             mount guard.
 pai-lash-máq (v. recip.) to mount guard together.
    pai-la-mág (v. tr.) to mount guard.
     pailai (subs.) a leather gauntlet for carrying hawks, &c.
      pakhta, see pakhta.
      wist pukhta (adj.) experienced, careful, P.
     partal (subs.) a horse laden with personal necessaries, (? P.).
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pas (adv.) behind; also (adj.) for past, low, inferior, mean, base, P.

pista (subs.) a pistachio nut.

pista (subs.) a terrier, a small Chinese pug, any small dog. pas-kanah (adj.) little and mean, base, dirty [past, with

diminutive affix kana or ghina], P. T.

پسکونه pas-kunah, the same as pas-kanah.

pas-la-mak (v. tr.) to abate, to diminish, P. T.

pupuk (subs.) a tassel.

pupuk-chi (subs.) a tassel-maker.

put (subs.) leg, foot [also fut].

putág (subs.) a branch, a twig.

write.

put-tar-mak (v. caus.) to cause to trust; 2, to cause to pūt-mak (v. tr.) to trust, to believe; 2. to finish, to accomplish; 3. also for pit-mak (which see).

püt-üsh-mak (v. recip.) to trust one-another; 2. to write to one another.

pütü-mak (v. tr.) to write [for pit-mak].

پوتوں pütün (adj.) complete, entire.

püch (adj.) empty, without kernel; stupid, empty-headed. puchág (subs.) the rind (of a fruit).

پوچاک pūchak (adj.) empty, without kernel (used of nuts, &c.).

puchqáq (subs.) the leg-skin of a fox, wolf, &c., of which fur-robes are made.

puchuq (subs. and adj.) a noseless man; noseless, snub-nosed.

pukhra-t-máq (v. caus.) to cause to sneeze [used of flies teasing a horse's nose].

pukhra-'sh-máq (v. recip.) to sneeze together, [when the horses of a Kazzak expedition do this it is considered a bad omen].

pukhra-máq (v. intr.) to sneeze (used of a horse or camel). بور pur (adj.) rotten, unsound.

purdáq (subs.) fat, Y.

purcháq (subs.) peas.

purkhura-t-máq, see pukhrat-máq.

purkhura-'sh-máq, soo pukhrash-máq. پورخور أشماق

purkhura-máq, see pukhra-máq.

postak (subs.) a fur mat, P. T.

postin (subs.) a fur robe, P.

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 man [? from poshidan, "to hide,"] P.

pushang (subs.) a lever [especially one used for raising a mill-stone].

push-máq (v. intr.) to be melancholy or disturbed in mind. pūsh-mak (v. intr.) to become cooked; to ripen.

push-ur-máq (v. caus.) to cause to become melancholy, to vex.

push-ür-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become cooked, to cook (tr.); to cause to ripen.

push-un-máq (v. refl.) to vex one's self.

puk (subs.) excrement, dung.

puqáq (subs.) a goître.

puk (adj.) hollow, empty (used of fruit, &c.).

pukilda-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to sound hollow (by tapping or stamping, &c.)

pukilda-mak (v. intr.) to sound hollow, to give a hollow

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.

piálah (subs.) a cup, also vulg. used for glass, as pidlah-aina, "looking-glass," P.

pit (subs.) a louse.

پيٽارچي pit-ku-chi (v. subs.) a writer (used only of the manual labour of writing).

pit-mak (v. tr.) to write.

pit-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to write.

pit-ik (v. subs.) a writing.

pichàq (subs.) a knife (vl. subs. from pich-mak).

pickak (subs.) a creeper, a plant which runs up trees and dies down in winter.

pichan (subs.) hay, any dried fodder.

pich-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to cut out.

pich-ish-mak (v. recip.) to cut out in company.

pich-mak (v. tr.) to cut out any stuff to make a garment, &c.; to carve.

pis (subs. and adj.) spotted with leprosy; also of animals with a similar appearance, KH.

pisah (subs. and adj.) The same.

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, P.

pilla (subs.) a cocoon (of the silk-worm).

پيليک pilik (subs.) a candle-wick.

paiman (subs.) a bushel, a measured (not weighed) quantity of grain, &c. [see next].

پيمانه paimanah (subs.) a bushel, a measure of capacity (varying in size), P.

رپ

تابا taba (subs.) a flat iron pan for cooking, P.

تاباق tabdq (subs.) a dish, A.

تايان tapan (subs.) the sole of the foot.

tàp-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to find, to cause to produce.

تاپشمات tàp-ish-màq (v. recip.) to find one-another, to meet; to marry one-another without the intervention of friends or agents.

tàp-shur-màq (v. caus.) to cause to receive, viz. to entrust, to put under any-one's charge.

tàp-qu-chi (subs.) a finder.

tab-la-'t-maq (v. tr.) to cause to twist (cloth or rope), to cause to wring.

[takes four men, three at one end to twist the strands, and one man at the other end to twist the united rope].

tab-la-maq (v. tr.) to twist, to twine, to wring.

tàp-màq (v. intr.) to find, to meet with; to receive, to obtain.

تاپوش tàp-usk (v. subs.) findings, earnings, gain [from tàp-màq]. تاپوق tàp-uq (v. subs.) winnings (at play) [from tàp-màq).

tàpu'n-màq (v. refl.) to worship [? from obsolete tàpu-màq "to serve"] quasi to serve by one's own life.

tata-la-màq (v. tr.) to scatch or tear with the nails or claws.

تاتليغ tat-ligh (adj.) tasty, savoury, sweet.

ناتماق tât-màq (v. tr.) for tàrt-màq (which see).

تاتیتماق tàt-i't-màq (v. caus.) to cause to taste.

tàt-i-'sh-màq (v. caus.) to taste together.

تاتيماق tàt-i-màg (v. tr.) to taste.

tàj-i-khuràz (subs.) lit. a cock's comb: the name of a plant, (? "Prince's feather"), corr. P.

الجيك Thjik (pr. name) the existing original Arian (Iranian) population of Western Central Asia, and their language; (opposed to Turk as 'Arab is to 'Ajam).

تاختا takhta (subs.) a plank, a board, a shelf, P.

نار tar (adj.) tight, close, confined, narrow.

tara-t-màq (v. tr.) 1. For tarqa-'-t-màq (which see).
2. To cause to comb [from tara-màq], Kaz.

tara-'sh-màq (v. recip.) 1. For tarqa-'sh-màq, KAZ.

2. To comb one's hair together, or for one-another.

wood used for punishing people by the Chinese, P.

تاراق târâq (subs.) a comb.

tara-'l-maq (v. pass.). For tarqa-'l-maq, KAZ.

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].

تاراماق tara-màq (v. tr.). 1. For tarqa-màq, KAZ. 2. To comb.

ناران taran (subs.) a root used in tanning.

tara-'nchi (subs.) 1. a cultivator; 2. also the proper name applied to the Turki colonists in the country of Ila (Kulja), [from tari-màq].

تاربوز tarbuz (subs.) a water-melon, P.

تاربوغوز târ-bughuz (subs.) a gorge, the entrance to a ravine; life.
"narrow-throat" (see the words).

تاريى tarpi (subs.) carrion.

تارتشمات tart-ish-maq (v. recip.) to pull against one-another (to " play French and English").

tart-maq (v. tr.) to draw, to pull; also to draw lines or figures; to draw out; to lead out (an army); to weigh.

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.

تارقاتمات tarqa-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to disperse.

tarqa-'sh-màq (v. recip.) to scatter one's-selves apart, to depart from one another.

تارقالماق targa\_'l-mag (v. pass.) to be scattered.

tarqa-màq (v. intr.) to disperse, to scatter.

تارلیق tàr-liq (subs.) narrowness, tightness.

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تاري tari, KAZ. الريخ tarigh تاريخ
  تاريلكي tari-'l-gu (v. adj.) cultivable.
    تاريم tarim (adj.) cultivated, that has been cultivated.
 تاريماق tari-mag (v. tr.) to cultivate.
      نز taz (subs.) scald-head, 'Impetigo capitis.'
      نازا tàza (adj.) fresh, new, in good condition, strong, P.
 تاز لاتماق tâza-la-'t-màg (v. caus.) to cause to renew, &c.
tàza-la-'sh-màg (v. recip.) to renew or mend, or clean, in
 تازالماق tàza-la-màq (v. tr.) to renew, to mend, to strengthen.
   تازغون tàzqhun (subs.) a stream, a flood. [Specially applied as
             the proper name of a River and district 14 miles south
             of Kashghar.]
    تازى tàzi (subs.) a greyhound, P.
    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.]
     tash (subs. and adj.) the outside, outside.
tàsha-yurt (comp. subs.) foreign country, lit. outside
             country.
 tàsh-q'-ari (adv.) outside. [See Gram. p. 65 and ff.]
  tàsh-qun (subs.) a flood in a stream.
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tàsh-la-'t-màq (v. caus.) to cause to throw.

tàsh-la-'sh-màq (v. recip.) to throw at one another, to throw together, to stone.

tàsh-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.

tàsh-liq (adj.) stony.

tàsh-liq (subs.) the outer covering of a cap, or of a fur robe, or of a mattrass, &c.



tàsh-màq (v. intr.) to overflow the brim, to boil over, to surge over.

يانى يانى tàch-yàni [short for tàch-ning yàn-i] (subs.) the outside.

tàsh-iq (vl. subs.) an overflow, a boiling over, a flood.

tashi-màq (v. tr.) to transport by repeated efforts, (as ants carrying away grain).

 $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} t agh \\ t ag \end{array} \right\}$  (subs.) a mountain, a mountain chain.

icu tagha (subs.) a relation by the mother's side.

تاغار taghar (subs.) a bag, a sack.

tàq (subs.) a single one, an odd number (opposed to juft,
P. "pair" or "even").

taga (subs.) a horse-shoe; an odd article (out of pair).

taga-'sh-mdq (v. recip.) to strike or press against oneanother (qu. for toqush-mdq which see); to oppress any one with much talking, to bore.

ناقتا tagta (subs.) For takhta.

tàq-tur-màq (v. caus.) to cause to hang anything on to a person or animal.

tàq-cha (subs.) a shelf formed by a recess in a wall.

tàq-màq (v. tr.) to hang anything on to a person or animal, (as a charm or a locket).

taqur (subs.) a desert whose soil is hard and smooth. Kaz. تاقرشاق taq-'ush-màq (v. recip.) to hang things on to one another's person.

تاك ták (subs.) a vine, KH.

KU taka (subs.) a buck goat, a buck antelope.

تال (subs.) 1. a willow, KH.; 2. a vine; 3. (? for tàr P.) a single one of any long objects, e. g. برتال موي "a single hair," برتال اوق

ואנו talada (adv.) out of doors.

tal-tal (adj.) bushy, full (used of a woman's hair, or a horse's tail, or of fringe).

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تالا تماق tala-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to pillage.
tala-'sh-tur-maq (v. revip. caus.) to set a fighting (of dogs).
   tala-'sh-mag (v. recip.) lit. to rob one-another, to fight
               together (of dogs, &c.).
    tala-maq (v. tr.) to pillage, to rob; to fight (of animals).
       talan (subs.) pillage, a pillaging.
     تالانماق tala-'n-maq (v. pass.) to be pillaged.
       talao (subs.) a fatal illness of horses, KAZ.
   تاليونماق talpun-mag (v. intr.) to flutter, to struggle.
     تالقان talgan (subs.) parched grain ground into flour. Hindi,
               ' sattu.'
        tàm (subs ) a wall.
     tamaq (subs.) the throat; also food (ready for eating).
     (subs.) trousers, drawers, P.
     tamban أ
    tam-chi (subs.) drippings, water oozing through the roof
              and falling by drops.
    tàm-chi (subs.) a wall-builder, a mason, [from tam-maq].
 tam-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to drip, to pour out by
              drops.
    tamghan (subs.) a branding iron.
    tam-mag (v. intr.) to drip, to fall by drops.
      tamür (subs.) the pulse.
     tamugh الموغ (subs.) hell.
   tam-it-mag (v. caus.) to cause to drip. The same as tam-
              dur-mak.
       tili tana (subs.) a heifer or young bull, (a calf in the second
  tân-dur-mag (v. caus.) to cause to deny.
    تانسوق tânsug (subs.) a longing, a desire.
تانسوقلاماق tansug-la-mag (v. tr.) to long for.
     تانک tâng (subs.) dawn, daybreak.
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تانگ tang (interj.) an exclamation implying astonishment; "you don't say so!" or "indeed."

tang-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].

tâng-dur-maq (v. caus) to cause to bind.

tangsuq (subs.). The same as tansuq.

نانگذه قالماق tâng-gha-qâl-mâq (v. comp intr.) to remain in astonishment, to be amazed.

tângla (subs.) to-morrow, the morrow; 2. a large wooden vessel for washing clothes, and mixing dough in.

تانگلا تمان tâng-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to select, to offer to the choice.

تانگلشمان tâng-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) 1. to select in company; 2. to be astonished.

tâng-la-maq (v. tr.) to choose out, to select.

tâng-maq (v. tr.) to bind a bundle, or any inanimate things, also a broken limb. [thing denied].

tan-maq (v. intr.) to give denial to [takes ga after the تانوق tanük (v. subs.) recognition.

tanüq-luq (v. adj.) recognised (from following).

تانوماق tânū-maq (v. tr.) to recognise.

tânü-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to recognise one another.

tan-ish-maq (v. recip.) to deny one another, or to one another.

تانيغليق tan-igh-liq (v. adj.) denied.

تانيماق tani-maq (v. tr.). The same as tanu-maq.

ناو tdo (subs.). The same as tagh, KAZ.

ناوا tawa (subs.) a shallow pan for cooking in.

تارالانماق tawa-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to cry out.

tawa-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to clamour or scold at one another.

tawa-la-maq (v. intr.) to clamour, to cry out.

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تارشقاری taushgan (subs.) a hare.
    تارق tâug (subs.) a fowl.
 تاولاتماق tdu-la-'t-mag (v. caus.). The same as tab-la-'t-mag.
تاولاشماق tâu-la-'sh-maq (v. rec.). Same as tab-la-'sh-maq.
 تارلاماق tâu-la-maq (v. tr.). Same as tab-la-maq
     ್ತ್ tai (subs.) a young horse in the second year.
  טי זיי taya-taya (pres. part.) slipping and sliding [pron. tai-mag].
    تاياق tây-âg (subs.) a walking-stick.
 خر taï-khar (subs.) a young donkey, T. P.
   تابغات taï-qhak (adj.) slippery; also given to slipping.
   تايغان taï-ghan (subs.) a greyhound.
    taï-laq (subs.) a young camel (in the 2nd year):
   taï-mag (v. intr.) to slip, to slide.
   taï-ncha (subs.) a heifer in the 2nd year, KAZ.
 fay-ūsh-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 re-
            move itself.
tibra-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to shake together.
 tibra-mak (v. intr.) to shake, to move.
tibra-'n-mak (v. recip.) to move, or shake, oneself.
   tübit [pron. tibit] (subs.) the down of the shawl-goat, [of
            which the finest in the world comes from Turfan].
تراتماك titra-'t-mak (v. eaus.) to tremble.
titra-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to tremble together.
 titra-mak (v. intr.) to tremble, to quake, to shiver.
   takhi (conj.) moreover, further, again.
    türak [pron. trek] (subs.) a prop, a support.
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türsak [pron. tirsak] (subs.) the elbow.

تریک türik [pron. trik] (adj.) alive.

تریک لیک türik-lik (subs.) life.



- tüz [pron. tiz] (subs.) knee.
- نزا taza (subs.) knee.
- taza-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to kneel.
- tasa-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to kneel opposite one another.
- taza-la-mak (v. intr.) to kneel.
- تزانماك taga-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).
- taz-mak (v. tr.) to Tange (things) in line.
  - تس tas or tis (adv.) with difficulty, hardly.
  - تش tüek [pron. tiek] (subs.) tooth.
- tüsh-a-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to renew the teeth, specially to file the teeth of a saw.
- tüsh-a-mak (v. intr.) to change the teeth, to cut a fresh set of teeth (both of men and animals).
  - تشتاك tashtak (subs.) an earthen vessel, Kashghar.
    - 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).
      - taqi (adv.) moreover. The same as takhi.
      - تكان tükan [tikan] (subs.) a thorn.
- tük-tur-mak [tik-tur-mak] (v. caus.) to cause to sew, &c.
  - tük-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to set upright.
- tük-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to join together in setting upright.
- position, to set upright [see tiklamak].
- tük-il-an-mak (v. pass. refl.) [from tük-il-mak] to stare at [governs gha].
  - tük-mak [tik-mak] (v. tr.) to sew, to fasten, to fix, to plant; to stake (at play).
- tük-ish-mak [tik-ish-mak] (v. recip.) to sew together, &c.

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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.]
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tag (subs.) bottom [tag-ida "beneath"].

tül [til] (subs.) tongue; also language.

tül [til]-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to vituperate.

tül [til]-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to scold or abuse one another.

tülak [tilak] (v. subs) an earnest desire, a prayer, [from tilamak].

talaq (subs.) the supra-renal capsule [a gland situated above the kidneys].

tül [til]-la-mak (v. tr.) to scold or abuse, to "give the rough side of one's tongue" [from tül].

tüla-mak [tila-mak] (v. tr.) to desire, to wish for; also to request, to ask for.

tilpak (subs.) a fur cap, with a covering of cloth or silk, and fur edging round the head.

tilfak (subs.). The same as tilpak.

تماق tümak (subs.) a fur cap extending down over the ears.

tuman (num.) ten thousand.

tamghaq (subs.) the fur of the throat of a lynx, fox, &c. [being fine, robes are made of a collection of such furs].

تمغة tamgha (subs.) a branding iron.

tünj [tinj] (adj.) happy, at ease.

tünji-liq [tinj-liq] happiness.

تنده tandah (subs.) a long thread prepared for the warp of a stuff to be woven, P.

iandur (subs.) an oven, P.

تنكار tana-kar (subs.) borax, P.

tang (subs.) a girth, P.

تنارى tangri (subs.) God. [Little used in Yarkand, &c.]

tang-la-mak (v. tr.) to present, to offer, Y.

tangah (subs.) a money of account used in Turkistan,

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 tangah varies constantly in the bazárs according to the number of tangah 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 Kåshghar 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 Bokhara coins so-called, but in the name of the Sultan of Turkey; they are current at a small The Khosan tangah consists of 50 copper shu-chan, which are only slightly smaller than the Yarkand dah-chan. Consequently a Khosan tangah is worth nearly twice as much as a Yarkand or Kashghar one.

The word tangah is also used for the 'scales' of a fish.

tanur (subs.) an oven, P.

تنينع tanidah (subs.) Same as tandah, P.

tuwa (subs.) a two-humped camel [the sort more usual in East Turkistân], Kirghiz.

tuwdq (subs.) a lid, cover of a saucepan.

تواق tuwaq (subs.) a hoof [same as tuyaq].

tüb (subs.) a root (used also in counting trees; as öck tüb darakht "three trees"); also the bottom of anything. [Used as a comp. post-pos.; e. g., kazan-ning tüb-i-da "in the bottom of the saucepan]."

توبان توبان tüban (subs.) a low place [chiefly, as a post-pos. in comp.;
e. g., din tuban or ning tuban-i-da "below;" also as an adv. absolutely].

tüban-rák (adv.) more below. Also (post-pos.) din tuban-rák "lower than."

tüban-lash (adv.) downwards. [ceiling of a room.

tübürük [tübrük] (subs.) a pillar or prop supporting the

توبورك tuburuk. (subs.). The same as tubruk.

top (subs.) a cannon.

tòp (subs.) a definite quantity (of anything); e. g., a 'piece' of cloth, a 'herd' of cattle, &c.

توپ tôp (subs.) a ball used by children for playing.

topa (subs.) earth, dust.

tobáq (subs.) the cover of a saucepan.

تربالاتماك topa-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to heap up.

توپالشماك topa-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to heap up together.

توپالماک topa-la-mak (v. tr.) to heap up (as grain in a measure).

topchaq (adj.) long-necked like a Turkman horse (used of horses).

top-chi (subs.) an artillery man, a gunner.

top.chi (subs.) a row of buttons on the breast of a robe.

tupah (subs.) the top, also height [used as a comp. post-pos.;
e. g., tagh-ning tupa-si-da on the top of the mountain].

tupur-mak (v. tr.) to spit, to spit out.

توپوروک tupuruk (subs.) spittle, saliva.

topi (subs.) a skull-cap.

tut (subs.) mulberry, P.

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].

נכטף tut-am (subs.) a measure of length, the length covered by the clenched hand, a "hand."

tut-am-la-'t-maq (v. tr.) to cause to measure by noting the successive lengths covered by the hand grasping the object.

tut-am-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to compare measurements thus taken.

tut-am-la-maq (v. tr.) to measure by grasping in the fist.

tut-qun (subs.) captivity.

tut-lug-mag (v. intr.) to stutter.

tut-maq (v. tr.) to grasp, to seize, to take.

tut-ush-tur-maq (v. rec. caus.) to cause to grasp one-another; viz. to cause to wrestle.

tut-ush-maq (v. recip.) to grasp one another, to wrestle.

tut-ul-maq (v. pass.) to be seized; also to be eclipsed (of the sun and moon).

tutun (subs.) smoke.

tut-un-maq (v. refl.) to be seized with astonishment.

toti (subs.) a pony, a small baggage horse.

toti (subs.) a parrot, P.

tuck (subs.) brass.

tuch-kur-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to sneeze.

tuchkur-ush-mak (v. recip.) to sneeze together.

tuchkur-mak (v. intr.) to sneeze.

tuchkur-uk (v. subs.) a sneeze.

tokhta-'t-maq (v. caus) to cause to stop.

tokhta-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to stop together.

tokhta-mag (v. intr.) to stop, to halt.

tokhmaq (subs.) a mallet. For toqmaq.

tokhü (subs.) a fowl.

tokhum (subs.) an egg, a seed.

tokhumak (subs.) a seed used in dyeing (yellow and red).

tokhi (subs.) a fowl.

tur (subs.) a net, P.

tur (subs.) the place of honour (in a company, &c.).

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 A'zim, an eminent Sâvad and saint of Western Turkistan who, in the 16th century of our era, married a Kashgharian lady, a descendant of Satua Bughra Khan [one of the early kings of Kåshghar said to be of the race of Afrasiab, and whose descendants ruled till they were displaced by the Kara-Khatai power of the Gurkhan]. 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 Savad and a woman of any other family who are not Sâyads). [Probably of Mongol derivation.]

tura-'l-mak (v. pass.) to be born, to be increased in numbers [said of the generations of men or animals].

tura-mak (v. intr.) to increase in numbers [said of the progenitor].

turba (subs.) a nose-bag [for feeding horses] (for tobra).

tört (num.) four.

tört-ao (subs.) a four.

tört-ao-lan (subs.) a four, KAZ.

tört-awi (subs.) a four, KAZ.

tört-aïlan (subs.) a four.

نورتلاني نورتلاني tört-lanchi (adj.) fourth, KAZ.

tört-unchi (adj.) fourth.

turt-mak (v. tr.) to poke, to prod (as a sleeping man, to awaken him).

turt-ueh-mak (v. recip.) to poke at one-another.

turt-un-mak (v. refl.) to poke at one's self [used of the Russians crossing themselves], Kaz.

tür-dür-mak (v. caus.) to cause to wind up, [from turmak]. توردوزماك tursuq (subs.) a leather water bottle, Kaz.

turghai (subs.) a lark.

tur-ghuz-maq (v. caus.) to cause to stand up, to arouse.

tur-ghun (adj.) tame [from tur-maq " to remain"].

turqa (adj.) silken (used for the stuff of a kind of sieve).

tur-la-maq (v. tr.) to net (stitch); also to catch in a net.

tur-la-mak (v. tr.) to change appearance, attributes or accompaniments, A. T.

tur-la-'n-mak (v. refl.) to change one's own appearance or attributes or accompaniments, A. T.

tur-luk (adj.) various, diverse, [probably from taur, A.].

ترزماق 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, dur, is in use as an auxiliary which has acquired the simple meaning of "is." See Gram.].

tur-mak (v. tr.) to wind up, to roll up, KH.

turna (subs.) a large bird with a long neck (? a crane),
KH. KAZ.

tur-ush-maq (v. recip.) to stand together, to rise up together.

tur-ush-mak (v. recip.) to wind up together.

turugh عوردغ turugh } (adj.) bay [the colour of a horse].

tur-ul-mak (v. pass.) to be wound or rolled up.

ליכונم turum (subs.) an axle and socket (of a wheel), a door socket.

turumtaï (subs.) a sparrow-hawk.

tur-un-maq (v. refl.) to fix one's self [not in common use, but the probable origin of the name "Tungoni," quasi

turun-gan "one who fixes himself," corrected to trungan and Tungan "a settler or colonist"]; from tur-maq " to stand."

turah (subs.). The same as turd.

توز tüz (adj.) straight, direct, right.

tuz (subs.) salt.

toz (subs.) the thin sheets of bark of the mountain birch tree, used as paper.

tüz-a't-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to make right.

tüz-a't-ish-mak (v. recip.) to make right together.

tüz-a't-mak (v. tr.) to make right, to mend.

tüz-a'l-mak (v. pass.) to be made right, to become right.

tuzdq (subs.) a springe, a horse hair loop for catching birds.

tozan (subs.) dust in the air.

toz-dur-mag (v. caus.) to raise the dust.

توزدرماق toz-dur-maq (v. caus.) to wear out (clothes).

tüz-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to make straight.

tozqhaq (subs.) the cotton-like seed pods of a certain reed.

توزليق tûz-liq (adj.) salt, tasting salt.

tüz-lik (subs.) straightness.

toz-maq (v. intr.) to rise in clouds (said of dust).

toz-maq (v. intr.) to wear out, to become old.

توزما ک tûz-mak (v. intr.) to be enduring, to be patient [governs gha].

tüz-mak (v. tr.) to straighten, to make straight.

tiz-ük (subs. and adj.) arrangement, order, institution; straight, arranged, orderly, correct. [Cf. the "Tüzük Timuri" so-called].

tüs (subs.) appearance.

tos (subs.) the thin sheets of bark of the mountain birchtree. See toz.

tostaghan (subs.) a small wooden cup, KAZ.

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tos-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to arrest, to get (any-one)
            stopped.
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tos-maq (v. tr.) to stop, to arrest.

tüsh (subs.) a dream, a vision.

tusk (subs.) direction.

tüsh (subs.) mid-day.

tösh (subs.) breast, chest. دوش 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].

توشاماك tosha-mak (v. tr.) to spread, to lay out [as above].

tüsh-a-mak (v. tr.) to dream of, to see in a dream.

tosh-qar-maq (v. caus.) to fill, (to cause to be full). المقارماق tosh-qaz-maq

taushgan (subs.) a hare.

tüsh-la-'n-mak (v. refl.) to eat the mid-day meal with any

tush-luq (subs. and adj.) equivalent.

tush-lük (subs.) the mid-day meal.

tüsh-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 tüsh-mak " to fall down"; tüsh-üp gål-måg "to remain fallen" i. e., "to have fallen off]."

tüsh-ür-mak (v. caus.) to cause to descend, &c., [takes the place of tüsh-mak in transitive compounds, as tüshür-üp salmaq "to throw down"].

tushuk (subs.) a hole, an aperture.

tüsh-ük (subs.) a loss at play, losings (from tüsh-mak).

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.

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.

toghāi (subs.) a plain covered with reeds.

tugh-dur-maq (v. caus.) to beget.

toghra-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to cut up small, to cause to mince.

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.

toghra'm (verbal subs.) a morsel.

toghra-maq (v. tr.) to cut up small, to mince.

toghri (adj.) straight.

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.

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"].

توغوت tughut (subs.) child-bearing, labour. توغوت tuf (subs.) saliva.

tôf (subs.). For tôp.

tufa (subs.). For tupa.

tofa (subs.). For topa.

tofrag (subs.) dust, earth, KH.

tufuruk (subs.) saliva.

toq (adj.) satiated, sated.

toga (subs.). The same as togha.

togách (subs.) a small biscuit.

توقال toqal (subs.) the junior wife; also a hornless cow, KAZ.

togai (subs ). The same as toghais.

togta-'t-maq (v. caus.). The same as tokhtatmaq.

toqta-'sh-maq (v. recip.). The same as tokhtashmaq.

toqta-maq (v. intr.). The same as tokhta-maq.

toq-saba (subs.). The title of civil official of rank [according to Prof. Vámbéry, derived from tugh + sahib].

toqsan (num.) ninety [qu. töqös "nine," + un "ten]." توقسان نوساننچي toqsan-inchi (num. adj.) ninetieth.

توققان tuq-qan (subs.). The same as tugh-qan.

toqmaq (subs.) a mallet.

toqmaq-chi (subs.) a man who uses a mallet, or who makes them.

toqmaq-la-maq (v. tr.) to strike with a mallet or with any heavy object.

toqu-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to weave.

toqöz (num.) nine.

toqöz-aolan (num. subs.) a nine, KAZ.

توقوزايلان toqoz-ailan (num. subs.) a nine.

toqöz-unchi (num. adj.) ninth.

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.

toqum (subs.) a felt put under the saddle.

toqu-maq (v. tr.) to weave.

tuk (subs.) hair on men or animals' bodies (exclusive of beard, hair of the head, mane, tail, &c., which have separate names).

توکار tokar (adj.) lame.

tokaï (subs.) leggings reaching up to the thighs, CHIN. (?).

tuk-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to empty by pouring out.

tak-mak (v. tr.) to empty by throwing out the contents.

tuk-ur-mak (v. tr.) to spit.

tukuruk (subs.) saliva.

tuga (subs.) a camel, [the variety is specified by prefixes:

as aïri-tuga the double humped camel, and nar tuga
the single humped camel].

tuga-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to come to an end, to conclude, to finish (tr.).

توكاراك tugarak (subs. and adj.) circuit; circular.

tuga-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to come to a conclusion mutually, to come to terms together.

tuga-'l-mak (v. pass.) to be finished [the sense of the Pass. taken from the Causative].

tuga-mak (v. intr.) to come to an end.

tuga-'n-mak (v. refl.) to finish itself, or one's self, [practically almost equivalent to the passive].

tugma (subs.) a button.

tüg-mak (v. tr.) to tie in a knot.

توگون tügün (subs.) a knot (not a bow).

tügün-chak (subs.) a knot enclosing any small object [as when money is tied up inside a knot in the turban or sash].

tül (subs.) the total of the lambs produced in each year from a flock of sheep; the year's increase of the flock.

tul (adj.) widowed.

tola (adj. and adv.) many, much, very.

tola-'t-tur-mak (v. caus. redupl.) to cause to compensate.

tola-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to compensate.

tola-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to compensate one-another.

tola-mak (v. tr.) to compensate, to make up for a loss of property.

tol-dur-maq (v. caus.) to fill.

tolgha-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to twist.

تولغاق 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, where-as tâu-la-maq applies to materials which yield easily].

tolgha-'n-maq (v. refl.) to twist one's self, to writhe.

tolqun (subs.) a wave, a breaker.

tolqun-la-maq (v. intr.) to break into waves, to surge up.

tülki (subs.) a large yellow variety of fox.

tol-mag (v. intr.) to be full.

tulum (subs.) a goat-skin taken off entire, freed of hair and otherwise prepared; used for holding grain or flour.

tolun di (comp. subs.) the full moon.

tôm (adj.) thick, substantial [used almost exclusively in application to spices and medicinal roots].

tumâr (subs.) a written charm, KAZ.

tûmar (subs.) a root of a tree dug up for fuel, also a log of drift wood. [head).

tumagha (subs.) a hood (put on a hawk or hawking-eagle's توماغة

tumaq (subs.) a fur cap with three lappets, one for the nape of the neck, and one for each ear.

tuman (subs.) a fog.

tuman (subs.). For tuban.

tumtaq (subs.) a short story, a fable, a parable.

تومشوق tumshuq (subs.) a beak, an animal's nose; a projection (of mountain).

tum-ut-maq (v. caus.). For tamitmaq (which see).

tumuz (subs.) the dog-days, the height of summer, A. (?)

tum-uz-maq (v. caus.). For tamizmaq (which see).

تون tün (subs.) night.

נעט tun (subs.) a robe reaching to the calf [the usual outer garment of Central Asiatics].

توناگوك tūn-a-gön (adv.) yesterday [from tün "night" and gön (kön) "day"; qu. 'the day belonging to last night'].

tung (subs.) a wooden barrel for holding water, [fastened together with twisted wooden bands instead of hoops].

tong (adj.) hard frozen [used chiefly of earth, mud, &c., not of water].

tongghuz (subs.) a pig.

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].

tong-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to freeze.

tong-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to freeze together, or, all at once.

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].

tungluk (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 tutum "smoke"].

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tunu-'t-maq (v. caus.). For tanu-'t-maq (which see).

tunu-'sh-maq (v. recip.). For tanu-'sh-maq (which see).

tunuka (subs.) sheet iron, thin iron.

tün-ü-gön (adv.) yesterday, [see tünagön].

tunu-maq (v. tr.). For tanumaq, (which see).

tuwag (subs.) a hoof.

نوي to (subs.) a feast [either on the occasion of the circumcision of a boy, or of a marriage].

tuya (subs.) a camel, KH. KAZ.

ترياجي tüya-chi (subs.) a guardian or attendant of camels.

tuyaq (subs.) a hoof, KH. KAZ.

تويدورماق to cause to be satiated, to satiate.

تويدورماق tui-dur-mag (v. caus.) to make (any one) aware of, to divulge.

tüi-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to pound up.

toi-luq (subs.) preparations for a wedding feast; the bride's 'corbeille de marriage.' [peased, to be sated.

toi-mag (v. intr.) to be satisted, to have one's hunger ap-

sui-mak (v. tr.) to pound, to reduce to powder by pounding.

tipa (subs.) a small height, a mound [restricted meaning of the word tupa].

tip-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to kick.

tip-mak (v. tr.) to kick.

sip-in-mak (v. refl.) to stamp on the ground; also, to kick one's horse's flanks with one's heels, "piquer des deux,"

Fr.

tip-ush-mak (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 restricted to the districts on the upper Indus from Baltistân upwards, and is not extended to Eastern Tibet or Lhassa].

تيبان tiban (subs.) a packing needle.

tibra-'t-mak (v. caus.). See tabratak.

tibra-'sh-mak (v. recip.). See tabraskak.

tibra-mak (v. intr.). See tabramak.

تيبرانماك tibra-'n-mak (v. refl.). See tabranak.

tibilghu (subs.) a mountain bush of whose wood the handles of riding-whips are made.

tibanah (subs.) a packing needle. See tiban.

tir (subs.) perspiration.

تيرا tira (subs.) skin (of men or animals).

تيراتماك tira-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to prop up.

tira-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to prop up in company.

تيراك tira-'k (vl. subs.) a prop, a support (written also tarak).

يراك tirak (subs.) a variety of poplar grown in cultivated land.

تيراماك tira-mak (v. tr.) to prop up, to support (by artificial means).

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).

تيرتيق tirtiq (adj.) having the skin drawn up by a wound or burn, [properly "tartiq"]. Also, (subs.) a scar.

tir-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to gather up.

tirsak (subs.) elbow.

تیرگوزماک tirg-uz-mak (v. caus.) to cause to live, to give life; [for tirik-guzmak].

tir-la-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to perspire, to cause to aweat

تيراشماك tir-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to perspire together, to work hard in company.

tir-la-mak (v. intr.) to perspire.

tirma'q (v. subs.) a finger-nail, a claw, a talon (the points or nails of the same) [from tirma-maq].

تيرماك tir-mak (v. tr.) to gather up, to collect, to pick up (many small objects one by one).

irma-la-maq (v. tr.) to cover seed up with earth after sowing (by hand).

tirma-maq (v. tr.) to scratch, to tear with the nails or

tirna-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to scratch.

tirna-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to scratch one another.

تيرناق tirna-'q (v. subs.) a finger nail, a claw. See tirmaq. [claws.

itirna-maq (v. tr.) to scratch, to tear with the nails or tiri (subs.) the skin of any animal. See tira.

tirik-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to be angry, to anger.

تيريكشماك tirik-ieh-mak (v. recip.) to be angry with one another.

تيربكما ك Krik-mak (v. intr.) to be angry [governs gha].

تيريكليك tir-ig-lik (vl. adj.) gathered up, stored [from tir-mak].

تيريلغو tiri-'l-ghu (vl. adj.) cultivable [for tarilghu from tarimaq].

تيريلماق tiri-'l-maq (v. pass.) to be cultivated, to be sown.

تيريم tirim (subs. and adj.) cultivated land; cultivated. تيريماق tiri-mag (v. tr.) to cultivate, to sow [for tarimag].

wrs-maq (v. tr.) to outsivate, to sow [for tarmaq قيز toz (adj. and adv.) quick, fast; also, quickly, P.

tez (subs.) an instrument used for straightening or bending 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].

tizak (subs.) horse dung.

تيزراق tez-raq (adj. and adv.) quicker; more quickly.

تيزگين tizgin (subs.) reins, bridle.

tiz-la-'n-mak (v. refl.) to rest on one's knees, to kneel.

tiz-mak (v. tr.) to arrange in rows, or in line.

تيش tish (subs.) tooth.

tish-a't-mak (v. caus.) to cause to file the teeth of a saw.

tish-a-mak (v. tr.) to file the teeth of a saw.

tish-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to make holes.

tish-q'ari (adv.) outside [for tàshqari].

tish-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to bite.

tish-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to bite one another.

tish-la-mak (v. tr.) to bite [from tish "tooth"].

tish-mak (v. tr.) to perforate, to make a hole in.

تيشوك tish-ük (vl. subs.) a hole, a perforation.

تيشرلماك tieh-ul-mak (v. pass.) to be perforated, to be pierced with a hole.

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.

tiehi (adj.) female.

tish-ik (vl. subs.) a perforation [from tish-mak].

نيفا tifa (subs.). For tipa.

tif-mak (v. tr.). For tipmak.

tiq-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to ram in.

tiq-ish-maq (v. recip.) to ram in in company.

tiq-maq (v. tr.) to press anything into a receptacle, to ram in.

تیک tik (adj. and subs.) vertical, upright, steep, difficult; also, a steep place.

تيكلي tikan (subs.) a thorn.

تيكلاتماك tik-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to set upright.

tik-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to set upright together.

تيكاماك tik-la-mak (v. tr.) to set upright.

تیکماك tik-mak (v. tr.) to sew, [see takmak].

تيكيس tikie (adj.) smooth.

tikis-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to make smooth.

تيكيسلاشماك tikis-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to make smooth together.

tikis-la-mak (v. tr.) to make smooth.

tikis-la-'n-mak (v. pass. or refl.) to be made smooth, to become smooth.

نيكة تيكة tikah tikah (adv.) in pieces [tikah tikah qeldi " he put (it) in pieces"].

تيكشتورماك tig-ish-tur-mak (v. recip. caus.) to cause to exchange.

تيكشماك tig-ish-mak (v. recip.) to change anything against another, to exchange [from tigmak].

تيكماك tig-mak (v. intr.) to touch, to attain, to reach [governs gha].

tig-tir-mak (v. caus.) to cause to touch, to cause to attain (a mark), to hit [in the sense of reaching the object aimed at].

tigürman (subs.) a mill. [Qu. from tigür-mak "to cause to touch"].

تيگو;ماك tig-uz-mak (v. caus.). The same as tigurmak.

تيگيى tigin (subs.) the absence of a price (paid); tigin-ga " gratis," "for nothing," KAZ.

تيل til (subs.) tongue ; also, language.

tila-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to desire.

tila-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to desire of one another, to desire together.

تيلاك tila'k (vl. subs.) an earnest petition.

tila-mak (v. tr.) to desire, to ask for.

tila-'n-chi (subs.) a beggar.

تىلىك *tilpak* (subs.) a fur cap.

تيلبه tilba (adj.) idiotic, foolish.

تيلبه ليک tilba-lik (subs.) idiocy, foolishness.

til-chi (subs.) a spy, a news collector.

til-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to split, to cause to cut anything lengthwise.

تيلفك til-fak (subs.). For tilpak.

til-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to abuse, to cause to scold.

til-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to scold at one another.

til-la-mak (v. tr.) to abuse, to scold, to 'give the rough side of one's tongue' [from til "tongue"].

تيلماك til-mak (v. tr.) to split, to cut anything into strips lengthwise [from til; qu. to make into strips like tongues].

tilmar-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to dance attendance.

tilmur-mak (v. intr.) to be in a state of humble expectancy, to dance attendance.

tilmar-ush-mak (v. recip.) to dance attendance together.

تيليک til-ik (vl. subs.) a slit or cut lengthwise [from til-mak "to slit"].

تيليم til-im (vl. subs.) a strip or tongue (what remains between slits).

timao (subs.) a cold, rheum.

timratku (subs.) an itching red spot on the skin.

timur (subs.) iron.

timur-chi (subs.) a blacksmith, an ironsmith.

تين tiyin (subs.) a squirrel, KAZ.

tintak (adj.) mad, insane. [Qu. for tintrak from tintramak.]

tintra-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to totter, or waver.

tintra-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to totter or waver together.

tintra-mak (v. intr.) to totter; also, to vacillate, to waver.

تيني tinch (adj.) at ease, happy, well [qu. from tin-mak].

تين ليك نيد ليك tinch-lik (subs.) ease, happiness.

tin-dur-maq (v. caus.) to make quiet, &c. &c.

tin-ish-maq (v. recip.) to be quiet together, &c. &c.

تينك ting (adj.) of equal height.

ting-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to listen.

ting-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to make equal in height.

ting-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to listen to one another or together.

تينگلسماک ting-la-'eh-mak (v. recip.) to make equal together. تينگلاماق ting-la-mag (v. tr.) to listen.

ting-la-mak (v. tr.) to make equal (in height), also, to compare heights.

تينگيز tingiz (subs.) a large lake, a sea.

tin-maq (v. intr.) 1, to be quiet (said s. 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-iek (subs.) a sigh.

تينيق tin-iq (adj.) clear, not muddy; lis. settled.

## C

jaban (subs.) a range of shelves (in a shop, &c.).

jabdu-maq (v. tr.) to prepare, to make ready (for an expedition).

jabduq (vl. subs.) the complete accoutrement of a horse (either for riding, or for draught or carriage); also, the material preparations for a journey.

jâr (subs.) the high bank of a river [properly yâr].

jâr (subs.) the crying of articles, &c. in the bazar, a proclamation.

jara (subs.) a wound [for jarahat, P.].

jarang-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to tinkle, to ring (a bell, &c.).

jarang-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to tinkle together.

jarang-la-maq (v. intr.) to tinkle, to resound, to ring (intr.).

jár-chi (subs.) a town-crier [from jár].

jâm (subs.) a metal or wooden cup, P.

jaman (adj.) bad [for yaman].

jamghur (subs.) rain [for yamghur].

انگ jang (subs.) a cold.

janjal (subs.) a tumult, a row, a quarrel, P.

janjāl-la-'eh-maq (v. recip.) to quarrel with one another, to have a row.

jansuz (subs.) a spy, a tell-tale [for jasus, P.].

idn-liq (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].

jawa (subs.) a sack made of coarse goat's hair.

janoan (subs.). For jaban.

جاي jdi (subs.) a place, P.

jdi-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to put in the proper place, to cause to set in order.

jāi-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to place in proper order mutually, or relatively to one another. [place, P. T.

jdi-la-maq (v. tr.) to place in order, to put in the proper جايلاناق jdi-la-'n-maq (v. pass. and refl.) to be put or to put one's self in the proper place.

jadal-chi (subs.) a quarrelsome person, a disputer, P. T. jadal-la-'sh-tur-mak (v. recip. caus.) to cause to quarrel with one another.

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"].

jazanah (subs.) interest (on money lent), usury.

jazail (subs.) a short gun carried on a camel, P.

jazaïl-chi (subs.) a man who serves the jazaïl, P.

jalab (subs.) a harlot.

جلغه jilghah (subs.) a valley, a gorge, a ravine.

juma'h (subs.) Friday, the day of assembly, A.

jumah (interj.) do you hear?

jandah (subs.) a beggar's gaberdine [a robe with little tufts of thread-ends sticking out every here and there].

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janistah (subs.) a small stone-fruit of the plum kind.

jing (subs.) a weight (equal to about 1.275 lbs.).

jūa (subs.) a fur robe, a "posteen." For juba.

jawab (subs.) answer, dismissal, leave to go; also, leave or permission of any kind, P.

jawdb-la-'sh-tur-maq (v. recip. caus.) to cause to make retorts.

jawab-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to answer back again, to retort; also, to discuss, dispute.

jawd't-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be occupied in anything, to amuse (said with reference to children). For yuwat-ma'q.

jawan (adj.) mature, matronly [epithet applied to a woman who has a child, but is still young].

jawa-'n-maq (v. refl.) to occupy or amuse one's self. For yuwanmaq.

juba (subs.) a fur robe, P.

juja (subs.) a chick.

juf (subs.) a pair. [For juft, P.].

juf-la-'sh-tur-mak (v. recip. caus.) to cause to pair.

juf-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to match together, to be similar; also, to be joined together smoothly.

juf-la-mak (v. tr.) to match or pair (two objects), to render similar or equal; also, to join together smoothly.

jugan (subs.) a horse's headstall and bit.

jul (subs.) a horse blanket, P.

juna-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to start.

juna-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to start together.

juna-mak (v. intr.) to start, to depart.

jiak (subs.) an edging or binding (of any garment, on the outer side, such as a tape sown round).

jiak-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to put an edging (to a garment).

jiak-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to put an edging on in company.

jiak-la-mak (v. tr.) to put an edging or binding on a garment.

jib (subs.) thread (of cotton).

jiran (subs. and adj.) an antelope or gazelle (Saiga Turta-rica); also, chesnut (the colour of a horse).

jiq (adv.) much, many.

jikda (subs.) the Trebizond date tree and fruit.

jil (subs.) wind; also yil.

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.

jilim (subs.) glue. جيليم

jin (subs.) a sort of Demon, A.

jaïnak (subs.) elbow.

## T

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.

chap-a-ghan (subs.) a rapid expedition.

chapalaq (subs.) the flat of the hand (as used for giving a slap), a slap. [Also written shapalaq.]

chapan (subs.) a robe or gown reaching nearly to the ancles [the ordinary outer garment of Central Asia].

chapāo (subs.) a plundering.

chapaul (subs.) a plundering raid; also, a charge of cavalry.

chap-tur-maq (v. caus.) 1, to cause to gallop; 2, to cause to strike with the sword or any cutting instrument.

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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.
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chap-qu (subs.) a board for chopping on.

chap-qu-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to chop.

chap-qu-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to chop at one another, or in company.

chap-qu-la-maq (v. tr.) to strike repeatedly with a sharp instrument, to chop.

chap-qu'n (subs.) a snow storm accompanied by a cutting wind.

chap-maq (v. intr.) to gallop.

chap-maq (v. tr.) to strike with a cutting instrument.

chapi (subs.) a shampooing.

chap-iq (vl. subs.) a cut, a wound [so called even after healing].

chat (subs.) the angle at the junction of two streams [used elsewhere for angles formed by other things].

chatágh عاتان chatágh (adj.) puzzle-headed, confused, at cross purposes.

chat-ish-maq (v. recip.) to tie many horses two by two.

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].

chatuq ) (subs.) a couple of horses thus fastened together; also, the fastening of them so.

chajmak (subs.) a jacket with long sleeves.

chach (subs.) the hair of the head.

chachaq (subs.) a fringe, a tassel.

chach-maq (v. tr.) to scatter seed, to sow.

chachira-maq (v. intr.) to splash, to be splashed (of water).

chara (subs.) a large wooden bowl or vessel.

châra (subs.) help, remedy, P.

chara-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to remedy.

châra-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to remedy together.

chdra-la-maq (v. tr.) to remedy.

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 lbs. The second is used for all manner of goods, and is called ashliq tashi "food weight," also törttash "four weights"; it weighs 12½ jings or nearly 16 lbs. This is distinguished from the third sort recently introduced by the Amir which is called besh-tash "five weights," and weights 16 jings or 20 lbs.]

char-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to reconnoitre.

char-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to reconnoitre one another, to reconnoitre in company.

char-la'q (vl. subs.) a reconnaissance.

char-la'k-chi (subs.) a reconnoiterer, a patrol.

char-la-maq (v. tr.) to reconnoitre.

chârwa (subs.) quadrupeds, cattle, P.

chârwa-dar (subs.) an owner of cattle, sheep or other quadrupeds.

charozah (subs.) a small carpet the length of a bed.

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.

châri (subs.) grain with the husk on.

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 remains is solid. This gives 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.

chash (subs.) a heap of grain piled up after thrashing and winnowing. Also for chasht (which see), P.

cha-shab (subs.) light bed clothes for the summer [? for chadir-i-shab, P.].

chash-ghalbir (subs.) an open sieve for separating the chaff from the grain.

chash-gå (comp. subs.) the hour half way between sun-rise and midday, (at which a meal is often eaten), P.

chash-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to heap up grain.

chash-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to heap up grain together.

chash-la-maq (v. tr.) to heap up cleaned grain.

chàgh (subs.) account, reckoning, conjecture, inference; also, number; also, time, epoch (any fixed time).

Chaghataï (subs.) (Pr. name.) A son of Chinghiz Khán; his descendants or family; the tribes over which they ruled; 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.]

chaghan (subs.) a winter festival of Chinese origin.

chagh-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to conjecture.

chagh-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to form conjectures together.

chagh-la-maq (v. tr.) to conjecture, to surmise, to reckon (anything that is expressed in numbers).

chagh-lük (adj.) conjectural [from chàgh].

chaq. The same as chàgh.

chaqa (subs.) a copper coin, KH.

chaqan (adj.) light coloured (applied to eyes).

chaq-qan (vl. adj.) fiery, sparkish, excitable.

chaq-la-maq (v. tr.). The same as chagh-la-maq.

chaq-maq (v. tr.) to bite or sting (with venom); to slander, to detract.

chaq-maq (v. intr.) to sparkle, to give forth sparks; also, (v. tr.) to crack.

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.

chaqir-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to call.

chaqir-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to call in company.

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.

\* châla (adj.) unfinished, incomplete.

chaldb (subs.) a drink made by mixing water with curds and whey.

which the robes are tucked for work in which they would be in the way), P. (shalwas).

chalbar-qa-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to scold.

chalbarqa-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to scold one another.

chalbarqa-maq (v. intr.) to scold, to upbraid, to abuse.

chalpak (subs.) a thin cake of bread cooked in oil.

chalpaï-maq (v. intr.) to sink down exhausted, to be prostrated (by weakness).

chalchiq (subs.) a boggy or miry spot, (permanent).

chdl-ish-tur-maq (v. recip. caus.) to cause to wrestle.

chal-ish-maq (v. recip.) to twist one another, to wrestle.

chalqa (subs. and adv.) on one's back, face upwards; also, chalqa-si-da, &c.

chalqa-i't-maq (v. caus.) to cause to lie face upwards, to turn any one over on to his back.

chalqa-i-maq (v. intr.) to lie on one's back.

chalqi-maq (v. intr.) to surge (of water).

chalma (subs.) a lump of hard earth, a piece of sun-dried brick.

châl-maq (v. 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.

chdl-in-maq (v. pass. and refl.) to be twisted, &c., to twist one's self, &c.

châma (subs.) a conjecture, KAZ.

châma-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to conjecture.

châma-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to conjecture together.

châma-la-maq (v. tr.) to conjecture.

chaman (adj.) slow, sluggish, KAZ.

champan (subs.) a branded malefactor, CHIN. [Cf. chop (?)].

chàmghur (subs.) turnip, Y.

chana-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to cut with an axe.

chana-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to cut with axes together, or one another.

chanaq (subs.) a funnel-shaped feeder of a mill.

chana-maq (v. tr.) to cut with an axe.

chang (subs.) dust flying in the air.

changak (subs.) a group of hooks to which butchers hang their meat.

changal (subs.) a claw, a talon.

changqa-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to be thirsty in company.

changqa-maq (v. intr.) to be thirsty.

châurah (subs.) circuit, circumference.

[child.

chaukan (subs.) a young woman who has not borne a chau-quan (subs.) a tea-pot (used also for the vessel in

which the water is boiled).

chayan (subs.) scorpion.

chdi-josh (subs.) a tea-pot [that in which the water is boiled is called "kara (or black) chdi-josh"; that from which the tea is poured into the cup is called "ak (or white) chdi-josh" for obvious reasons], P.

chdi-qa-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to rinse out.

châi-qa-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to rinse out together.

châi-qa-'l-maq (v. pass.) to be rinsed out.

châi-qa-maq (v. tr.) to rinse out (either cups &c., or clothes after soaping).

châina-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to masticate.

chaina-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to masticate together.

chaina-mak (v. tr.) to masticate, to munch.

chap (adj.) left [hand], P.

chapaghai عباغاي chapagai } (adj. and adv.) left-handed; with the left hand. P. T.

chappa (subs.) sewing-cotton.

chakh (subs.) a spinning wheel, a water-wheel. [For charkh, P.]

chiragh (subs.) a lamp, P.

chiraï (subs.) countenance, appearance. [? For chehrah, P.]

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chiraï-siz (adj.) ugly, ill-favoured. چرایسیز ohiraï-siz-liq (subs.) ugliness.
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chiraï-liq (subs. and adj.) beauty, handsomeness; also, well-favoured, good-looking, P. T.

charkh (subs.) a wheel, a grind-stone, spinning wheel, &c., P. وخات charkh-la-maq (v. tr.) to grind (on a turning grind-stone).

chirla-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to call one another, to invite one

chirla-maq (v. tr.) to call, to invite, to summon.

chiq-dr-'t-maq (v. redup. caus.) to cause to take out.

chiq-dr-'sh-maq (v. caus. recip.) to take out together.

chiq-dr-maq (v. caus.) to cause to go out, i. c., to take out, to send out, to expel.

chiq-maq (v. intr.) to go out.

chak-man (subs.) coarse woollen or cotton stuff.

chakan (subs.) embroidery, P.

chig-il-mak (v. pass.) to be knotted.

chig-mak (v. tr.) to knot, to tie in a knot.

chigin-gak (adj.) given to backing (of a horse).

chigin-mak (v. intr.) to back (of a horse), to retire, to retreat.

chchu, (interj.) used for making a horse move forward.

Chu (prop. name) a river running from near the Issik-kúl (Lake) north of the Kara Tagh Range.

chub (subs.) sweepings, KAZ.

chübuq (subs.) a rod [? P. chābuq]; also, the piece of cloth let in to the side of the skirt of a robe to give it fullness.

chupchak (subs.) a story, a tale, KAZ.

chupchuq (subs.) a sparrow, KAZ.

בּר היכול chupur (subs.) goat's hair.

chot (subs.) a small adze, KAZ.

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chotd (subs.) coarse white cotton cloth.
      chôtur (adj.) marked with small-pox.
      chúja (subs.) a chicken, a chick.
   chuchak (subs.) a story, a tale.
     chochqa (subs.) a pig, KAZ.
   chüchük (adj.) savoury, nice-tasting, not sour.
     chortan (subs.) a sort of fish with a snout resembling a
              duck's bill.
churgul-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to go round.
churgul-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to go round together.
*churgul-mak (v. intr.) to go round, to revolve, to rotate.
       chaurah (adj.) round, disk-like. Same as chaurah.
 chürü-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to rot.
     chorug (subs.). The same as charge.
    chürü'k (adj.) rotten.
  chürü-mak (v. intr.) to rot, to become corrupt.
     chori (subs.) a female slave.
     chughul (adj.) slandering, making mischief.
 chughul-luq (subs.) slander, mischief-making.
      choq (subs.) a tassel, KAZ.
      choq (adj. and adv.) many, much; also, very.
      choq (subs.) a hot ember.
      choga (subs.) the back of the head.
    choqmaq (subs.) a mace, a weapon formed of a handle with
             a heavy head attached to it rigidly.
  choqu-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to peck.
     chuqur (subs.) a pit, a depression.
     choqur (adj.) marked or pitted with small-pox.
  choqu-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to peck one another.
  choqu-maq (v. tr.) to peck.
       choka (subs.) chop-sticks for eating Chinese fashion.
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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-'sh-mak (v. caus. recip.) to cause (camels) to lie down in company, to make a number of camels lie down.

chuk-ar-mak (v. caus.) to cause to sink, to cause (camels) to lie down.

chokan (subs.) a young woman who has not borne a child.

Same as chaukan.

chuk-tur-mak (v. caus.). The same as chuk-ar-mak.

chuk-mak (v. intr.) to sink (in water), to lie down (of a camel).

chuk-ur-mak (v. caus.). The same as chuk-ar-mak.

chul (subs. and adj.) an arid place; arid.

chuldq (adj. and subs.) maimed, mutilated, armless, handless; a man who has lost a hand or arm, &c.

chülan (subs.) cooked rations.

cholpan (subs.) the morning star (seen in summer).

chulgha-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to wind.

chulgha-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to wind in company.

chulgha-maq (v. tr.) to wind, to roll up, to entwine.

chulgha-'n-maq (v. refl.) to twine itself.

chul-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to be thirsty, &c.

chul-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to be thirsty together, &c.

chul-la-mak (v. intr.) to be thirsty, to become thirsty, to dry up, to talk one's self hoarse (or dry) [from chul],

KH.

chom (subs.) a camel's pack-saddle, KAZ.

chomaq (subs.) a mace. [See choq-maq.]

chumali (subs.) an ant.

chumchuq (subs.) a sparrow.

chum-dur-mdq (v. caus.) to cause to duck, to make (any one) take a dip (by word or gesture).

chum-maq (v. intr.) to duck (one's self under water), to take a dip, to dive.

chumüch (subs.) a wooden ladle, P.

chum-ur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to duck, to dip, to duck (actively).

chum-ul-maq (v. pass. with refl. sense) [literally, to be ducked], specially, to bathe, to dip one's self.

chundq (adj. and subs.) having lost an ear; one who has lost an ear.

chunak (subs.) a furrow for irrigation separating the several beds in a garden.

chuntak (subs.) a pocket in the skirt of a robe.

chung (adj.) great, large, big.

chungqai-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to squat.

chungqaï-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to squat together.

chungqaï-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.

chawar-mak (v. tr.) to throw over, to invert, to reverse, to turn over (entirely), to turn round (on to the opposite direction).

chawar-ush-mak (v. recip.) to invert together.

chawar-ul-mak (v. pass.) to be inverted, to be turned round.

[See Gram. under "adverbs" and "post-positions" and "formation of adjectives." Also see under chin, below.]

chian (subs.) a scorpion. Same as chayan.

chibar (adj.) skilled, skilful, KAZ.

chibiq (subs.) a rod, a wand. [See chubuq.]

chibin (subs.) a fly, a house-fly.

chibilduq (subs.) a curtain stretched across a room, dividing it into two.

chep (subs.) an intrenchment, an earth-work (to protect guns or troops).

chit (subs.) a border, an edge, a frontier.

chitan (subs.) a rough paling made of crossed sticks.

chitt (subs.) a thorn fence, thorns stuck on the top of a

chitt (subs.) printed calico, chintz.

chicha (subs.) mother, KAZ.

chichak (subs.) a flower; also, small-pox.

chichan (adj.) eloquent, persuasive, KAZ.

chichan-lik (subs.) eloquence, KAZ.

chida-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to last.

chida-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to last together.

chida-maq (v. intr.) to last, to endure.

chida'm-siz (adj.) not lasting, unenduring, impatient.

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.

chiraï-lüq (adj.) handsome, good-looking.

chirkin (adj.) dirty, KAZ.

chirla-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to call.

chirla-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to call one another.

chirla-maq (v. tr.) to call, to summon.

chirma-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to wind, to cause to twine.

chirmash (adj.) entangled.

chirma'sh-tur-maq (v. recip. caus.) to cause to be entangled, to entangle, to intertwine.

chirma'sh-ish-maq (v. recip. redup.) to be entangled together, to be intertwined.

chirma'sh-maq (v. recip.) to wind or twine in company; to be entangled.

chirma-'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).

chirü-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to rot.

chirü-mak (v. intr.) to rot.

chirik (subs.) an army, a force.

chiril-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to chirp.

chiril-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to chirp or chirrup in chorus.

chiril-la-maq (v. intr.) to chirp, to chirrup, to twitter (like young birds).

chiza (subs.) a measure of length (two spans of fore-finger and thumb) [now identified with the half of the alchin (Russian "arschine") which is about 28 inches].

chiz-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to draw lines.

chiz-ish-maq (v. recip.) to draw lines in company.

chiz-maq (v. tr.) to draw a line or lines, to score.

chiz-iq (vl. subs.) a line, a score.

chigh (subs.) a reed used for making baskets and mats; also a chick (Indian screen).

chighartmaq (subs.) a coarse kind of grass growing in bunches which grazing animals will not touch.

chighariq (subs.) a machine for cleaning cotton of its seeds, by passing it between two rollers one of iron and one of wood.

جيفيي chighin (subs.) expense, KAZ.

chiq (subs.) dew.

chiq-ar-'t-maq (v. caus. redup.) to cause to make to go out, to cause to take out.

chiq-ar-'sh-maq (v. caus. recip.) to cause to go out in company.

chiq-ar-maq (v. caus.) to cause to go out, to take out, to expel.

chiqan (subs.) a red eruption on the body.

chiq-maq (v. intr.) to go out.

chiqim (subs.) expense, expenditure.

chika (subs.) the temple (of the head).

chikas (subs.) embroidery.

chik-mak (v. tr.) to embroider.

Chik-mak (v. tr.) to smoke.

chikman (subs.) coarse cloth. The same as chakman.

chigs (subs.) vegetable fibre; a kind of wild hemp; also, a rope made of the same.

chig-mak (v. tr.) to knot, to tie in a knot.

chigörtka (subs.) a locust, a grasshopper.

chigit (subs.) cotton seed.

chigitak (subs.) the refuse of fat left after boiling.

chilas (subs.) a brown berry with a stone in it, not unlike the Indian ber.

chilbur (subs.) a picketing rein, attached to a horse's head-stall.

chilpul-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to sound by splashing. ويلبولاتماق chilpul-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to sound of splashing in several directions at once.

chilpul-la-maq (v. intr.) said of the sound of the splashing of water; to make a sound of splashing.

chilpiq (subs.) weakness and running of the eyes.

chiltak (subs.) a fancy edging to a garment.

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.

chimchi-la-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to pinch.

chimchi-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to pinch one snother.

chimchilaq (subs.) the little finger; chimchilaq ana-si 'the ring-finger' literally 'little finger's mother.'

chimchi-la-maq (v. tr.) to pinch (with the fingers, repeatedly).

chimchi-maq (v. tr.) to pinch (once), to give a pinch.

chin (adj.) true, trustworthy.

of the affix chah (which see). This latter is pronounced by the Kazzaks chain (as tiz-ga-chain for tiz-ga-chah); this forms a link to connect the two].

chin-a-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to tighten.

chîn-a-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to measure.

chin-a-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to tighten in company.

chîn-a-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to measure in company.

chin-a-maq (v. tr.) to tighten, to brace up.

chîn-a-mak (v. tr.) to measure, to estimate, to reckon (size or extent) [distinguished from chagh-la-maq which refers to numbers].

ching (adj.) strong, firm, tight, hard.

ching-qa-maq (v. tr.) to tighten, to brace up. Same as china-maq.

chingqar-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to scream.

chingqar-maq (v. intr.) to scream, to squall.

ching-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to sharpen by hammering.

ching-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to sharpen together by hammering.

ching-la-maq (v. tr.) to sharpen by hammering (cold) [as a horse shoe-nail before shoeing].

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.

chin-la-maq (v. intr.) to speak truth, to speak in earnest, to get angry.

جيني chini (subs.) china, porcelain; specially a china cup.

chiyan (subs.) a scorpion. The same as chayan.

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hait (subs.) a festival, Eed. [Corr. A.]

المتال ا

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khâtun (subs.) a woman, a wife, P. (?)

khāda (subs.) a long stake or post.

kharkhashah (subs.) bother, worry.

khásah (subs.) calico, shirtings.

khdsah-lik (adj.) particular, special, P. T.

kháfá (adj.) annoyed, displeased, troubled. [Corr. P.]

khâfa-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to annoy.

khāfa-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to annoy one another.

khafa-la-maq (v. tr.) to annoy, to vex.

khâfa-la-'n-maq (v. pass. and refl.) to be annoyed; to vex one's self.

خاماليتي khafa-liq (subs.) displeasure, annoyance, P. T.

Ilia khâta (subs.) a maternal aunt, P.

khd-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to desire.

khā-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to desire together, to desire one another, or, of one another.

khd-la-maq (v. tr.) to desire, to wish for, P. T. [khd for khwdh].

khálta (subs.) a bag, P.

khâm (adj.) unripe, raw (in all senses), crude, unfashioned, unlaboured, P.; hence (subs.) cloth made of coarse single threads of cotton.

khaman (subs.) a threshing-floor or ground (where corn is trodden out); reaped corn collected for threshing, P. [for khirman].

khâm-la-'t-mâg (v. caus.) to cause to unravel, (tr.).

kham-la-'sh-mag (v. recip.) to unravel in company.

khâm-la-mâg (v. tr.) to unravel, P. T.

khâm-lüq (subs.) immaturity, rawness.

خان khân (subs.) king, prince; also used in Kâshghar as an ending for the names of women (not of men as in India) as: Aī Khân ("moon princess"), Maïram Khân ("lady Mary").

خان البق 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.]

khabar (subs.) news, intelligence, information, P.

khabar-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to inform.

خبرالشماك khabar-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to inform one another.

khabar-la-mak (v. tr.) to give news, to inform [with the person in ga, and the news in the accusative], P. T.

خبرانماک khabar-la-'n-mak (v. pass. and refl.) to be informed; to inform one's self.

خرخر khar-khar (adj.) inarticulate, indistinct in utterance.

kharrat (subs.) a carpenter.

خرراک khurrak (subs.) a snore.

ffloor, 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.)

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.

خوتوك khutuk (subs.) a young ass.

khutun (subs.). For khatun (which see).

khoja (subs.). For khwaja (which see).

khurjîn (subs.) a saddle bag (double, so as to fit on each side of the horse's back), P.

khur-liq (adj.) base, contemptible. [From khwar, P.]

khurul-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to snore.

خوروللاماق khurul-la-maq (v. intr.) to snore.

khush (adj. and adv.) happy, well, P.

خرشامت khush-amat (subs.) sycophancy, 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-maq (v. tr.) to make happy, to please.

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.]

khum (subs.) a large earthenware vessel.

khumar (subs.) illness or mal-aise resulting from the giving up of stimulants or narcotics; also, headache after drinking.

khumāri (adj.) ill from giving up drink or drugs, or from the excessive use of them.

خون khun (subs.) blood-money, satisfaction for the death of any one [from khun = blood, P.].

khungan (subs.) a cucumber.

خير khira (adj.) dim; közi khira = dim-eyed, i. e. short-sighted. خيريالاماق khiril-la-maq (v. intr.) to speak indistinctly or hoarsely (as from the effect of a goître).

khina (subs.) the dye called 'henna'. [Corr. A.]

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13 da (post-pos) at, in (used where motion is not implied).

اب 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.

lolo dàda (subs.) father. Ugai dàda = step-father.

ار dâr (subs.) a gallows, a clothes-line (for drying clothes), P.

مارو dâru (subs.) medicine, drugs, spices; gunpowder.

خاخ dagh (subs.) grief, sorrow; also P., an indelible mark.

dagha (subs.) deception, cheating, P.

daghd-bdz (adj.) deceitful, cheating, P.

dagh-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to brand.

dagh-la-'sh-mag (v. recip.) to brand together. [P. T.

افلامات dagh-la-maq (v. tr.) to mark indelibly, to brand, to tattoo, واغلامات dagh-la-'n-maq (v. pass. and refl.) to be branded, to brand one's self.

Jo dak (advl. affix). For dik.

mises 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.

dang (subs.) a serai frequented by the poorer class of travellers, CH.

دانگ dang (subs.) renown.

اول dao (subs.). For dawa.

dao (subs.) a stake laid by a looker-on at a game.

اران dâwa (subs.) a claim, a lawsuit. (Corr. A.)

اوا dawd (subs.) medicine. (Corr. A.)

اوان dawan (subs.) a pass (over mountains).

اتماق daura-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to mimic.

daura-'sh-mag (v. refl.) to mimic one another.

daura-mag (v. tr.) to mock, to mimic, to imitate.

daura-may (v. tr.) to mock, to mime, to min

اوررق dauruq (subs.) a clamour, a hullaballoo.

daush (subs.) noise.

دارشاتا ddush-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to make a noise.

daush-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to make a noise together, or to one another.

daush-la-maq (v. tr.) to make a noise.

داى ddi (advl. affix). For dak or dik, KAZ.

دايين ddyin (advl. affix). For dak or dik, KH.

فرحال dar-hal (adv.) at once, on the spot, P. (literally, in the condition of affairs).

dar-rao (adv.) while in the act, immediately, P.

darak (subs.) cognizance, perception (concrete), darak táptim "I have become aware," P. [work).

درکار dar-kdr (adj.) necessary, required, P. (literally, in the درکار dar-kdr-liq (subs.) a necessary, a requisite, P. T.

ورنلاتماك darak-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to inquire.

darak.la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to inquire of one another, or, together.

darak-la-mak (v. tr.) to inquire, to endeavour, to become cognizant.

دزمال dazmal (subs.) a flat iron (for smoothening linen).

conting); 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-khán-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 Khán's guests.

dastak (subs.) a written order of any one in authority, P.

dast-mal (subs.) a handkerchief, a towel, P.

دستورخان dastur-khan (subs.). For dastar-khan.

daslab (subs.) beginning, commencement.

دسمال dasmal (subs.). For dast-mal, P.

(subs.) capital (of money) [for dast-mdya], P. [As rigid Musalmans 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.]

dam (subs.) breath, steam, P.

dam-dl-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to take breath.

dam-al-ish-mdq (v. recip.) to take breath, or rest, together; or in turns.

dam-dl-maq (v. intr.) to take breath, to rest, P. T.

dambura (subs.) a two-stringed guitar, KAZ.

dam-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to cook by steam.

dam-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].

فن dan (post-pos.) from, than.

دنين dunya (subs ) the world ; also, wealth, riches, A.

دنيادار dunya-dar (adj.) wealthy, rich, A. P.

دربع duba (subs.) a mound, a hillock. Same as tipah.

לקט dutar (subs.) a two-stringed lute [du-tar as distinguished from si-tar = "three-stringed," a guitar], P.

dur 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."

دري dauri (subs.) rule, reign, the time of any king's rule, P.

dusha (subs.) a board for chopping meat on.

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.

مواتع daulat (subs.). For daulat (which see).

دول dôl (subs.) the funnel-shaped feeder of a mill.

دولي doli (subs.) the shoulder-blade, the shoulder [for dâlu].

درمباق dumbag (subs.) a drum.

פנט dawan (subs.) a pass over a mountain range [for dawan]. وزنان dunan (adj.) two-year-old.

dunbul (adj.) unripe (of corn). [in Central Asia). dunba (subs.) a broad sheep's tail (of the sort common dung (subs.) rising ground.

deb [pronounced dip] (part.) having said, saving. [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").]

dipsa-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to tread down.

dipsa-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to tread down together.

dipsa-mak (v. tr.) to tread down, to tread in.

ديداك dédak (subs.) a female slave.

كيدورماك dé-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to say.

ريساكچى désak-chi (subs.) a night watchman.

ديك dik (adil. and advl. affix) like; similarly to. [This is affixed to words or even subordinate sentences; governing generally the genitive of pronouns, the future participle 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".)

ديگرچى dé-gu-chi (subs.) a speaker, one who says [from the fut. part. of dé-mak].

ديماك dé-mak (v. tr.) to say.

نين din (post-pos.) from, than. [cant, a dervesh, a beggar, P. ديوانع diwana (adj. and subs.) mad; a madman; also, a mendi-

رابات rabat (subs.) a rest-house.

rabaq (subs.) a palace, the private dwelling of a Ruler, [for rawaq, A.].

15

راس rds (adj.) straight, right [for rdst, P.].

rds-la-'t-mdq (v. caus.) to cause to discharge (a payment).

rds-la-'sh-mdq (v. recip.) to discharge together.

rds-la-mdq (v. tr.) to complete a number, to discharge a

payment, to set right, to set in order. (?) P. T.

مبال, rambal (subs.) a soothsayer, P.

rang (subs.) colour, appearance, species, P.

rang-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to dye.

rang-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to dye together.

رنگان , rang-la-mak (v. tr.) to colour, to dye, P. T.

rang-la-'n-mak (v. pass. and refl.) to be, or, become coloured; to assume a colour.

rang-la-'n-ish-mak (v. refl. recip.) to become coloured in company; to paint their faces in company (of women).

rang-lik (adj.) coloured, bright coloured, handsome, P. T.

ינטאט rudah-paï (subs.) a persistent, or, importunate person; an incubus, an old man of the sea, P.

rozah (subs.) a fast, the month Ramazan, P.

rumal (subs.) a napkin, a towel, a handkerchief [from ru "face" and malidan "to wipe," P.].

עטט ruyan (subs.) madder (a dye), KH. P.

j

j zd (subs.) trouble, annoyance [for iza, A.].

غ zágh (subs.) a jackdaw.

يراغية zághchah (subs.). The same, KH.

زاغون zaghun (subs.) mustard [only used for extracting oil].

zamaruq (subs.) a root eaten cooked in milk [in Wakhan, Badakhshan, &c.].

غير zaghir (subs.) linseed, flax (grown only for the oil). عمر zamburak (subs.) a gun, a piece of artillery.

زجير j zanjir (subs.) a chain, P.

zanjir-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to put in chains.

zanjir-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to chain together.

zanjir-la-mak (v. tr.) to chain, to put in chains, to chain up (as a door), P. T.

زنجيرانياك zanjir-la-'n-mak (v. pass.) to be enchained.

زنگ zang (subs.) rust.

زگبرک zangbarak (subs.). The same as zamburak.

zang-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to rust, to allow to rust.

zang-la-mak (v. intr.) to rust, to become rusty.

ين zôr (subs.) strength, force, violence, P.

زوراتماتي zôr-la-'t-mâq (v. caus.) to cause to use force, or, violence.

zôr-la-'sh-mâq (v. recip.) to use force together, to exert themselves together, or, against one another.

zôr-la-mâq (v. tr.) to use force to, to use violence to, P. T.

زرايتن zôr-liq (subs. and adj.) force, violence; strong, violent.

zőlan (subs.) fetters.

zerik-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to be wearied, to cause irksomeness.

zerik-ish-mak (v. recip.) to be wearied (of anything) together.

نيريكماك zerik-mak (v. intr.) to be wearied, to feel (anything) irk-

يغير ziqhir (subs.). The same as zaghir.

زيلجاتي Zilchaq (prop. name) a small river or canal a few miles south of Yárkand.

يليه zilchah (subs.) a long-pile carpet, a Turkey carpet.

س

ed (subs.) a kite [bird].

sabaq (subs.) instruction, a lecture. [Corr. A.].

sáp (subs.) the handle of an axe, spade, &c.

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sapaq (subs.) the eye of a button (formed of wire).
 eapaq-la-maq (v. tr.) to make an eye to a button.
   sap-mag (v. tr.) to thread (a needle), to string (beads).
   (subs.) soap, A.
ast-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to sell.
  eat-ish-maq (v. recip.) to sell together.
   عاتماق ماتماق sát-máq (v. tr.) to sell, to give in barter.
adt-ipdl-mag (v. tr.) to buy, [literally, to take by purchase].
 . wir. adj.) unsold. ساتيقسيز ast-iq-eiz (vl. adj.)
 .adt-iq-liq (vl. adj.) sold.
 edt-il-mdq (v. pass.) to be sold.
     sach (subs.) a starling.
     sach (subs.) hair of the head, KH.
   sachaq (subs.) a tassel. [For chackaq.]
  eachgan (subs.) a rat, a mouse. Also, the name of one of
             the years of the Turki cycle.
each-tur-mag (v. caus.) to cause to sow (seed).
 each-ish-maq (v. recip.) to sow in company.
  sach-mag (v. tr.) to sow (seed). The same as chachmag.
 sach-il-maq (v. pass.) to be sown.
  sâra-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to sing (as a bird).
 edra-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to sing together (as birds).
    saragh (vl. subs.) a bird's song.
  sara-maq (v. intr.) to sing [said only of birds]. For saira-
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warang (adj.) mad, insane.

saraï (subs.) a caravansarai, a place in a town where traders with their cattle put up, P.

Sârt (prop. name) a term applied by the nomads (Kirghiz, Kazzaks, &c.) to dwellers in settled habitations, whether Turks or Tâjiks, i. e., whether Turanians or Iranians.

sarigh-ar-maq (v. intr.) to become yellow.

earigh-ai-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to become yellow.

sarigh-aï-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to become yellow together.

sarigh-ai-maq (v. intr.) to become yellow.

sarghu (adj.) deaf.

sari (advl. affix) as, in the measure of [after the Indefinite Verbal Substantive].

adrigh ماريخ (adj.) yellow. ماريق عاريق

Sarigh-ôt (prop. name) literally 'yellow grass.' The name of a plain near the Karakoram.

Sarigh-Aighur (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"].

Sarigh-Chopan (prop. name) a stage on the road between Sariqol and Wakhan (nearest the latter). Mentioned in the Tawarikh-i-Rashîdi, and by modern travellers.

الاِثَى قَوْلُ اللهِ Sàriq-qol (prop. name) a wide valley and district on the east of Pamir in the dominions of Kashghar. [Often spelt at the present day هاريقول Sàriqol.] 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 Issighkül "اسيغورل "Hot Lake," which is formed with kül "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, Sarigh-Aighur, Sarigh-6t, Sàriqia; on the other hand its second element is found again in King-qol" wide valley." See qol.

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Sàriaia (prop. name) literally, 'vellow slant.' Name of a
               part of the Qaraqash Valley.
        sdz (subs.) a marsh.
        saz (subs.) any musical instrument, P.
        saza (subs.) punishment, P.
       sazan (subs.) a species of fish, KAZ.
   sdz-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to tune.
  sdz-la-'sh-mdq (v. recip.) to tune up together.
   sdz-la-maq (v. tr.) to tune, to bring into tune, P. T.
     sdz-liq (subs.) harmony (chiefly used metaphorically), P. T.
   sasi-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to be putrid.
  edsi-'sh mag (v. recip.) to be putrid together.
     sasigh ) (vl. adj.) putrid, stinking. ساسيق adsig
   sasigh-liq (vl. subs.) putridity, stinkingness.
   sasi-maq (v. intr.) to putrefy, to be putrid, to stink.
        sagh (subs.) wellness, happiness.
    saghdag (subs.) a bow.
    saghraghu (adj.) deaf.
     saghri (subs.) a leather prepared from horse-skin (from the
              back of the horse) [? shagreen].
      saghiz (subs.) fine clay.
    saghizghan (subs.) a magpie.
    saghlig (subs.) a ewe.
       saghim (subs.) mirage, distorted and magnified objects as
              seen through the heated atmosphere near the ground.
    saghmag (v. tr.) to milk.
      saghu (subs.) a wooden butt or pail.
     saghin (adj.) giving milk, 'milch.'
eaghin-ish-mag (v. recip.) to yearn for one another.
  saghin-maq (v. tr.) to yearn for (a person).
     safal (adj.) of earthenware.
     safaq. For sapak (which see).
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safāq-la-maq. For sapaqlamaq.

ه سانماق saf-maq. For sapmaq.

saq. For sagh.

saga (subs.) a playing marble.

sagal (subs.) a beard.

saqalduruq (subs.) the throat-strap of a horse's head stall.

saq-az-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be well or happy.

eaq-ai-maq (v. intr.) to be well or happy.

saqla-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be taken care of, to entrust.

saqla-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to take care of one another.

sagla-maq (v. tr.) to take care of; also, to wait for.

saga. The same as saka.

aksan (num.) eighty. [From sakiz "eight" and un "ten".]

ساكسانايلان eaksan-aïlan (num. subs.) a group of eighty.

هاکسانچ saksan-inchi (num. adj.) eightieth.

" ساكسارل saksaul (subs.) a sort of heavy wood which burns without wasting, retaining its shape until after it has become a glowing mass all through.

هاكيز sakiz (num.) eight.

ه ساكيزاًيلان sakiz-aïlan (num. subs.) a group of eight.

sakiz-inchi (num. adj.) eighth.

ealbira-'t-maq (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.

salbira-maq (v. intr.) to dangle (as a rope); to be of uneven length (as stirrups, or the two sides of a robe).

sal-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to throw.

sal-ish-maq (v. recip.) to throw together.

adl-ghu (subs.) a sling, a throwing instrument.

salqin (adj.) cool, temperate, moderately warm.

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salma (subs.) drift wood.
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adl-maq (v. tr.) to throw (gently), to throw off (as clothes), to pour, to put in, to lay out (as a wall, &c.).

salinchaq (subs.) any thing put on as an ornament, e. g., a necklace, &c.

samawar (subs.) a tea-urn; Russian samovar.

samsa (subs.) a small baked meat dumpling.

sameu (subs.) a glazed cotton stuff, [now made in Khotan, but formerly imported from China], CH.

san (subs.) total, amount; used by the Kazaks for ten krors (10,00,00,000).

san (subs.) the thigh.

san-a-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to count.

sanach (subs.) an entire goat skin used as a bag for flour, &c. ماناهی san-a-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to count together.

sandgh (subs.) account, number.

san-a-'l-maq (v. pass.) to be counted.

san-a-maq (v. tr.) to count, to reckon. [following].

sanjiq (subs.) an acute pain in the stomach [from the

eanji-mak (v. tr.) to stab, to prick, to pierce, to spear.

wandal (subs.) an anvil.

anduq (subs.) a box. For صندوق P.

sdn-siz (adj.) countless, uncounted; also, of no account.

sangraghu (adj.) deaf.

angraù (adj.) deaf, KAZ.

angul-la-mak (v. intr.) to dangle, to hang loose.

saur-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to winnow.

saur-ush-maq (v. recip.) to winnow in company.

saur-maq (v. tr.) to winnow (grain).

sauru-maq. The same.

saughat (subs.) a present, a keepsake, P.

sabq (adj.) cold, [in form derived from sab-maq].

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sabt-luq (subs.) cold, coldness.
   saō-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be cold, to cool (tr.).
  sab-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to be cold together.
   sab-maq (v. intr.) to be cold, to become cold, to cool (intr.).
     sdī (subs.) a desert plain; sdī-kāk "a desert gazelle."
     sdi (subs.) a gorge, a ravine, a river-bed, KAZ.
    eaylq (subs.) a mare which will not consort with the herd,
             KAZ. Also, the name of a Kirghiz tribe.
    هايلة، sāi-laq (adj.) desert, barren.
 saï-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to select.
 saï-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to select together.
  eaī-la-māq (v. tr.) to select, to pick out.
 يسايلانماق saï-la-'n-maq (v. pass.) to be chosen, or selected.
  saï-maq (v. tr.). For sanjimak, Khirgiz.
    sabag (subs.) instruction. (Corr. A.)
    سیاق sapaq (subs.). The same as سیاق
    sipāi (subs.) a soldier. For sipahi, P.
sipur-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to sweep.
sipur-mak (v. tr.) to sweep.
  sipur-gi (subs.) a broom, a brush.
    عييل sapil (subs.) a fortification, a battlement. For safil.
    sat (adj.). ugly.
   süt-maq (v. tr.) [prond. almost sit-maq] to extrude the con-
            tents of an egg, the brain, &c.
 süt-il-maq (v. pass.) to be extruded, to ooze out.
  sachuk (adj.) sweet-toned.
   sarai (subs.) a rest-house for travellers in a town, P.
   sar-baz (subs.) an infantry soldier [literally "one who
            stakes his head," ] P.
  sarpañ (subs.) a full dress of honour (including turban or
            cap, robe and boots). For sar-o-pai, P.
  sür-chi [prond. almost sirchi] (subs.) a painter and gilder,
            a painter of patterns on a wall.
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sardar (subs.) a high officer charged with some particular employ, P.

sür-dür-mak (v. caus.) to cause to purge (as a draught).

sirka (subs.) vinegar, P.

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.

sar-kardah (subs.) a high official entrusted with any particular function, P.

sürgi (subs.) a purging draught.

sür-mak (v. intr.) to be purged (in consequence of a draught).

مفيل safil (subs.) a fortification, a battlement.

saqal (subs.) a beard.

süq-tür-mdq (v. caus.) to cause to squeeze.

süq-ish-máq (v. recip.) to squeeze in company, to squeeze one another (by the throat).

süq-maq [prond. almost siq-maq] (v. tr.) to squeeze to express (juice, &c.).

sakra-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to jump close-footed.

sakra-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to jump together.

sakra-mak (v. intr.) to jump close-footed, to hop.

هكز sakiz (num.) eight.

sakiz-aïlan (num. subs.) a group of eight.

sakiz-inchi (num. adj.) eighth.

saksan (num.) eighty [sakiz " eight" and un " ten"].

هلله salla (subs.) a turban.

san (pron.) thou.

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sün [prond. almost sin] trial, experience.
    sün-a-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to try.
    sün-a-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to try one another, or in com-
    sün-a'gh-liq (vl. adj.) tried, proved.
                                                             [pany.
     sün-a-maq (v. tr.) to try, to prove, to make experiment.
      sün-chi (subs.) a trier, an examiner.
  sün-dür-'t-maq (v. caus. redupl.) to cause to break (tr.), to
               cause to make broken.
   sün-dür-maq (v. caus.) to cause to become broken, to break
               (tr.). [Also sün-dür-üsh-måq, &c.]
     sün-la-maq (v. tr.) to try, to prove [same as sün-a-maq].
      sün-mag (v. intr.) to break, to become broken; [also sün-
               üsh-maq, &c.].
      sün-iq (vl. adj.) broken, in a broken state.
         ed (subs.) water, a stream [the latter sense in composition
               chiefly, as ak-su "white stream or water," kizil-su "red
               stream or water"].
    שפודהו su-a-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to anoint.
    su-a-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to anoint together, to anoint one
     sul-a-l-mag (v. pass.) to be anointed.
                                                          another.
     sa-al-maq (v. intr.) to run dry (said of a cow in milk).
     su-a-maq (v. tr.) to spread any liquid or semi-liquid over
               a surface, to anoint, to smear, to plaster.
    عرانماق su-a-'n-maq (v. refl.) to anoint one's self.
    subatmaq, subash- weil-ba-maq. The same as suamaq [also subatmaq, subash-
       süt (subs.) milk.
                                                        [maq, &c.].
    süchük (adj.) sweet (not bitter or sour).
     su-chi (subs.) a water-carrier.
                                                            [P. T.
audagar-chi-liq (subs.) the profession of a merchant,
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R. B. Shaw—A Vocabulary of the Language [Extra No. for
sudra-t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to drag.
wedra-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to drag one another, or together.
 sudra-'l-mak (v. pass.) to be dragged.
  sudra-mak (v. tr.) to drag.
 sudra-'n-mak (v. refl.) to drag one's self, to be dragging (as
              a rope behind a cart).
   adra-'t-mag (v caus.) to cause to ask.
  sura-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to ask one another, or in company.
     sura'q (vl. subs.) inquiry into the rights of a matter,
      süra-'m (subs.) harrow.
                                                      [justice.
    sura-mag (v. tr.) to ask, to inquire; also, to rule, to have
              iurisdiction.
   süra-mak (v. tr.) to drag.
wipe. surt-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to wipe.
   sürt-mak (v. tr.) to wipe, KH.; to smear, Y.
surt-ush-mak (v. recip.) to wipe in company.
      שפולע surgu (subs.) a purging draught.
    sar-mag (v. tr.) to ask. The same as sura-mag.
   sūr-mak (v. tr.) to drive together (sheep, &c.).
 sür-üsh-mak (v. recip.) to drive together in company, to
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drive one another alternately backwards and forwards (as cattle fighting).

sürük (subs.) a flock, a herd [from sürmak].

sürün (subs.) a Royal assembly, a King's Court.

sür-ün-chak (adj.) stumbling, given to stumbling.

sür-ün-mak (v. refl.) to stumble [qu. to drive one's self together].

تسوز söz (subs.) a word, a speech ; also, any written matter.

sözaq (subs.) venereal disease.

süz-dür-mak (v. caus.) to cause to strain (through a cloth, &c.). ي «üz-gü (subs.) a strainer, a cullender.

süzqüch (subs.) a small-toothed comb (with a rib in the middle).

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söz-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to speak.
eöz-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to speak together.
söz-la-mak (v. tr.) to speak, to say, to talk.
söz-la-'n-mak (v. refl.) to talk to one's self.
  suz-mak (v. tr.) to strain, to filter; to remove solids from
             a saucepan.
süz-ül-mak (v. pass.) to be strained, or filtered.
su-ghar-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to water.
sd-ghar-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to water in company.
 ارغازي على su-ghar-mag (v. tr.) to water (the ground or a horse).
     عوضاق على sub-ghu-chaq (subs.) a small pail; also the name of a tank
             in the city of Yarkand.
sughur-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to draw out.
 sughur-mag (v. tr.) to draw out (any long object as a sword
             from the scabbard, or a stick from a faggot).
sughur-ush-mdq (v. recip.) to draw out in company, to draw
             (swords) on both sides.
    sughoq (adj.) cold.
     سوف على (subs.) fine linen or cotton cloth.
      w sufa (subs.) a raised platform for sitting on; origin of our
             'sofa,' P.
    suft (subs.) a recluse, a religious man, A.
      suq (subs.) the stroke of the evil eye.
     sogta (subs.) black puddings (the blood of animals filled
              into sausages; used in feeding dogs), KAZ.
 soq-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to strike.
   soq-maq (v. tr.) to strike.
    suq-maq (v. tr.) to sheathe, to pass any long object into a
              receptacle.
     sokur (adj.) blind, KAZ.
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soqueh (v. subs.) a fight, a striking [from soqmaq]. soq-ueh-maq (v. recip.) to strike one another, to fight.

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sog-ul-mag (v. pass.) to be beaten.
    sogum (subs.) a fat ox.
     عبد (subs.) millet cleaned of its husk.
      K, w suka (subs.) an ear-ring.
 suksuk (subs.) a tree used for fuel. The same as saksaul.
  suk-mak (v. tr.) to scold, or vituperate.
  سوكماك suk-mak (v. tr.) to undo a seam.
   sukush (subs.) abuse, vituperation.
suk-ush-mak (v. recip.) to scold or abuse one another.
suk-ush-mak (v. recip.) to undo a seam together.
suk-ul-mak (v. pass.) to be scolded.
suk-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 Kuen-
             Lun (near Shahid-ullah).
     שעאלי sugal (subs.) a wart.
      sol (adj.) left [hand].
   sol-aghaï (adj.) left-handed.
     su-laq (subs.) a watering-place for cattle.
     sula'q (subs.) a house in which cattle or sheep are kept.
   sulagai (adj.). The same as solaghai.
  sula-'q-maq (v. intr.) to be enclosed, or shut up (in any
   sula-mag (v. tr.) to enclose, to shut up.
   eu-la-mag (v. tr.) to water (either cattle or the ground).
      sulu (subs.) breath, KAZ.
     suluq (subs.) a bit (horse's).
    su-luq (subs.) a waterproof, or garment to ward off the
sulu'q-ush-maq (v. recip:) to be enclosed together or at the
             same time.
  sulu'q-maq (v. intr.) to be enclosed.
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suliq. For suluq (both senses).

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sum (adj.) thick, massive.
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sum-ur-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become fat, to fatten (tr.).

sum-ur-mak (v. intr.) to become fat.

sum-ur-ush-mak (v. recip.) to become fat together.

sung (post-pos.) after, behind [governs the affix din]. Also absolutely as an adverb, KAZ., KH.

sungach (subs.) the os coccygis.

sungaq (subs.) a bone.

sungalchaq (subs.) the heel-bone.

eung-pidz (subs.) a leek, CH. P.

sung-ra (post-pos. and adv.). The same as sung, KAZ., KH.

sung-ghi (adj.) hinder, aftermost, following.

sunguch (subs.) a culvert, a hole for the escape of water, Y.

sungur (subs.) a tendon. [to digest. with sungur (subs.) a tendon.] sung-ur-'t-mak (v. caus. redup.) to cause to absorb, to cause

sung-ur-mak (v. caus.) to absorb, to digest, [literally, to cause to be absorbed or digested]. See singurmak.

sung-ur-ush-mak (v. caus. recip.) to absorb or digest together.

sun-maq (v. tr.) to stretch, to extend (a limb), sun-up yetmak to reach (by stretching out a limb).

sun-ush-maq (v. recip.) to stretch (limbs) towards one another, or together.

www-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be or become cold, to cool (tr.).

שת suvou-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to become cold together, to cool (intr.) together.

שיפנט suwu'q (vl. adj.) cold, cool.

שיפניסודט suwu-maq (v. intr.) to become cold, to cool.

süya-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to support or prop up.

هرياغ هرياغ su-yagh عمرياغ (subs.) oil [literally 'water-fat'].

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wiyak (subs.) a bone, KAZ.
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auyal (subs.) a wart, KAZ.

süya-'l-mak (v. pass.) to be supported or propped (as a sick man).

säyam (subs.) a measure (the span between the forefinger and thumb).

also, to prop up, or cause to lean, any object against some firmer thing; also metaphorically, to support the credit of any one.

siyam-la-mak (v. tr.) to span or measure with the thumb and forefinger. [against.

süya-'n-mak (v. refl.) to support one's self by, to lean suja-'n-ish-mak (v. refl. recip.) to lean against one another.
عبوبالماك süïka-mak (v. tr.) to smear, to daub.

we wika-'n-ish-mak (v. refl. recip.) to rub or brush against one another (as men in a crowded street).

süika-'n-mak (v. refl.) to smear one's self; also, to rub one's self (as an animal against a post).

مسويمات sôi-mdq (v. tr.) to kill by cutting the throat; also to skin.

süi-mak (v. tr.) to love, to like; to kiss, to caress.

süy-ük-lük (vl. adj.) beloved.

weiy-ūn-chi (subs.) a reward for pleasure given, a (substantial) mark of gratitude.

wiy-un-mak (v. refl.) to be pleased or happy (literally, to like one's self, 'to fancy one's self').

süy-ün-üch (subs.) pleasure, happiness.

ميياتماق sipa-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to stroke.

sîpa-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to stroke one another.

sipa-maq (v. tr.) to stroke.

sipa-la-maq (v. tr.) to stroke continuously; also specially, to feel about for any thing, to search with the fingers or hand, "tdtonner."

sipa-'n-mdq (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.

sip-mak (v. tr.) to strew, to sprinkle, to scatter [by dropping, not by casting].

sitar (subs.) a guitar [seh "three", tar "string"], P.

sitâr-chi (subs.) a player on the guitar, P. T.

sikh (subs.) a spit, a skewer, P.

sirr (subs.) the colour vermilion; cinnabar, also colour in general.

Sirr (prop. name) the River Jaxartes or Saïhun,

serpi-'l-mak (v. pass.) to be moved forward in a wave.

serpi-mak (v. tr.) to move (a fluid or semi-fluid) forward in a wave.

serpi-'n-mak (v. refl.) to move (itself) forward in a wave, to surge.

serqura-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause sharp pain in any particular spot of the body.

serqura-maq (v. intr.) to feel sharp local pain.

sirr-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to paint.

sirr-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to paint together.

sirr-la-maq (v. tr.) to paint, to lay on colour.

sirr-liq (adj.) painted, coloured.

siyir-maq (v. tr.) to tell one's beads (of a rosary).

siri-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to quilt.

siri-'l-maq (v. pass.) to be quilted.

siri-maq (v. tr.) to quilt, to ornament a garment, &c. by rows of stitches.

siz (pron.) you, [used respectfully to a single person as in English].

siz (post-pos.) without, deprived of; also, as a privative affix to adjectives, &c., [e. g., khush-siz "un-happy" or "dis-pleased"].

17

ses-dur-mak (v. eaus.) to cause (involuntarily), to discover or become aware, to let out (a secret). sizghur-mag (v. intr.) to whistle. sislaq (adj.) unwell, ailing; agkriq-sizlaq (subs.) an epiaiz-la-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause local pain. siz-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to feel pain together. siz-la-maq (v. intr.) to feel any local pain. siz-maq (v. tr.) to make a mark by scratching. sez-mak (v. tr.) to detect, to become aware. siz-iq (vl. subs.) a scratch, a line or mark scratched. عبزیک عمدنk (vl. subs.) a clue, a solution. sez-il-mak (v. pass.) to be detected. arifung (subs.) a tailor, CH. ail (subs.) a flood, a flooding, A. sila-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to rub down, to cause to use friction. sila-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to entertain (a guest), KAL sila-'sh-mag (v. recip.) to rub down together. sila-'sh-mag (v. recip.) to entertain one another, KAZ sila-maq (v. tr.) to rub down, to use friction. sila-mag (v. tr.) to entertain (a guest) to show hospitality. sim (subs.) wire, P. ه سيمان sim-ab (subs.) quicksilver [literally "silver-water"], A. P. simar-maq (v. tr.) to tuck up one's sleeves or trousers. sima-la-mag (v. tr.). The same as simarmag. semir-'t-mak (v. caus.) to become fat, to fatten (tr.). semir-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to become fat together.

semir-mak (v. intr.) to become fat, to fatten. semiz (adj.) fat. sin (subs.) a trial, an experiment. sina-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to try. sina-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to try together.

sina-'q (vl. adj.) tried, proved.

sina-maq (v. tr.) to try, to make trial, to test, to prove.

sin-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to break (intr.), to break (tr.).

sin-chi (subs.) a trier, an assayer, an experimenter; specially, a judge of horse-flesh.

sing-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to be absorbed, to absorb سينگدرماك singgir-mak (v. tr.) to blow one's nose. (tr.).

singil (subs.) a sister younger than one's self.

sing-mak (v. intr.) to be absorbed, to dry up.

wing-ur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to dry up, to absorb. سينگورمات sin-mag (v. intr.) to break, to become broken.

## 4

shap (subs.) a straight sword.

inner side of the fingers; also, a slap (with the open hand).

shatal (subs.) a percentage of the winnings at any game, taken by the landlord or by the Government.

shatir (subs.) a man who goes in advance to clear the way by calling out to the people.

shatir-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to make a noise so as to scare away birds, &c.

shatir-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to make a noise, &c. in company.

shatir-la-ghuch (subs.) a rattle for scaring away birds, &c. هاتراغوچ shatir-la-maq (v. tr.) to make a noise so as to scare away birds, &c., to spring a rattle, P. T.

shâtu (subs.) a ladder. هاتي shâti

شاقر shatir. The same as شاتير

shakh (subs.) a branch, a twig; also a horn, antler, P.

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shakhar (subs.) potash, P.
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shakh-la-maq (v. intr.) to branch out.

shad-liq (subs.) happiness, pleasure, P. T.

shdrdq-shdrdq (subs.) the rattle or noise of a child's plaything, of a waggon, &c.

sharaq-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to rattle, to rattle (tr.).

charaq-la-maq (v. intr.) to rattle, to make a rattling noise.

shâr-qura-maq (v. intr.) to make a splashing noise, as a torrent or a waterfall.

shdsh-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to hurry.

shdsh-maq (v. intr.) to hurry, to make haste.

shdsh-ur-maq. The same as shashturmaq.

shaghal (subs.) a jackal.

shaf (subs.) a straight sword.

ahaf-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to strike with the sword.

shaf-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to strike one another or together with the sword.

shaf-la-maq (v. tr.) to strike with the sword.

shakal (subs.) broken walnut or other fruit-shells.

shal (subs.) a wooden plank. Also P. stuff made of goat's down, shawl.

shal-yaghliq (subs.) a woollen (shawl-stuff) handkerchief or small scarf.

shalaq-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to jog, to cause to be shaken uncomfortably.

shalaq-la-maq (v. intr.) to jog, to be shaken uncomfortably.

مثالاقي hallaqi (adj. and subs.) impudent, shameless (of a woman); also, a shameless woman.

shaltaq (adj.) defiled.

shali (subs.) rice in the husk, P.

sham (subs.) a candle [made in Eastern Turkistân of tallow with a wick of cotton wound round a central piece of reed], A.

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shama (subs.) refuse tea leaves after infusion.
   shamâl (subs.) wind, (? A.).
    shamah (subs.) a candle.
   shang (subs.) a present, [P CH.].
  «hangghi) (adj. and subs.) truculent, turbulent (of men), شانگنی
  vicious (of animals).
   shauqum (subs.) tumult, noise.
 ahdu-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to murmur (as water).
 shdu-la-mag (v. intr.) to murmur (as distant waters), to
            hum (as a kettle).
   shduni (subs.) a thread of hemp, flax or hair.
    shaï (adj.) dandy, well-dressed.
    shai (subs.) a kind of silk stuff with large brilliant pattern,
            made in Central Asia [properly shahi, P.].
shdi-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to prepare.
shdi-la-mak (v. tr.) to prepare, to make ready.
shdi-la-'n-mak (v. refl.) to prepare one's self.
shūb-shūb (subs.) the shuffling noise of slippers.
shibar-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to whisper together.
 shibar-la-mag (v. tr.) to whisper.
      shu-bu (pron.) this very, this same.
شيبللاتماة shipil-la-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to whistle (a whip).
 هييلالماق shipil-la-mag (v. intr.) to whistle through the air (as a whip
             or stick quickly moved), to whizz.
       shakh (subs.) a precipitous cliff. Also (adj.), hard, diffi-
    shakhar (subs.) potash, P.
      shadah (subs.) a string of beads, &c.
sharm-lik (adj.) shameful, also shame-faced, P. T.
   shishak (adj. and subs.) in the second year [sheep or
             goats].
shish-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to swell.
 shish-mak (v. intr.) to swell.
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shashi (subs.) a flimsy material used for linings.

Shaghdwal (subs.) a high official of Central Asian sovereigns, who is supreme over all the Kazis and Mullahs.

shifa-tap-maq (comp. v. intr.) to recover (from illness), [literally "to find a cure"], A. T.

shifa-kurmak (comp. v. intr.) to recover by the use of a remedy (from illness), to obtain benefit (from a remedy), [literally "to see or experience a cure"], A. T.

shak-kdk (adj.) suspicious, jealous; also (subs.) a suspicious person, P. T.

شكل shakl (subs.) appearance, form, A.

shakal (subs.) a walnut shell.

shamal (subs.) wind (from any quarter), [? A.].

shamah (subs.) candle [for شمة A.].

shu (pron.) that [said of things that are present, though not immediately under one's hand].

shu-bu (pron.) this or that very, the same.

shuti (subs.) a ladder. شوتى

shokh (adj.) playful, P. شوخ

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.

shokh-la-maq (v. tr.) to render playful, to make idle, to cause to play truant.

shokh-la-'n-maq (v. refl.) to be playful, to play [literally, to render one's self playful], to play truant.

shokh-la-'n-üsh-måq (v. refl. recip.) to play together or with one another.

shokh-luq (subs.) playfulness, idleness, distraction.

shudurung (subs.) dew.

shudugar (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.

shor-laq (subs. and adj.) covered with white efflorescence, شورلاق skor-liq salsugineous; also, land so affected, P. T.

shoshang (subs.) shears, (? CH.).

shoq. For shokh, P.

shoq (subs.) an inclination or hobby, A.

shuk (interj.) Silence! Be quiet!

shul (pron.) that [applied to less distant objects than ul, but not implying such nearness as bul].

shulla (subs.) a dish composed of rice, meat and fat, cooked till it is soft.

shum (adj.) unlucky, unfortunate, ne'er do weel, A.

shum-chah [for shun-chah] (adj. pron., also adv.) that much, to that amount or extent, [from shul 'that' and chah, for chin 'amount' or 'extent'].

shum-luq (subs.) bad luck, coming to grief, [through fault or mismanagement), A. T.

shun-dd (adv.) there, in that (place), at that (place), [from shul 'that' and dd 'in' or 'at'].

شونداغ shun-dagh adjl. pron., also adv.) that like, such; also, like that, so. [From shul 'that' and diq or dagh شونداق shun-daq 'like'.]

shun-gha-chah (comp. adv.) that far, as far as to that, [from shul 'that', gha 'to' and chah for chin 'extent'].

shunqar (subs.) a kind of hawk, (?) 'Falco Hendersoni.'

shun-ga-chah. The same as shunghachah.

shu-nung-gha-chah. The same, Y.

shungqdr. The same as shungar. شونگقار

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, P.

ahirish (subs.) a powder made from a certain root, and used mixed with water for glue.

سيكل shikl. For shakl.

shilan (subs.) cooked rations issued to soldiers, P.

shilan-chi (subs.) the officer charged with issuing these rations, P. T.

shiltaq (subs.) a frivolous complaint of assault, made for the purpose of extracting money. [plaints.

shiltaq-chi (subs.) a person given to making such com-شیلیم shilim (subs.) paste made of flour or rice.

shim (subs.) wide outer trousers, often large enough to take in the skirts of several robes.

shim-dl-a-mdq (v. tr.) to tuck up quickly (sleeves or trousers,) [? from shim and dlmdq 'to take'] (governs the accusative both of the limb and also of the garment).

shim-al-a'n-mag (v. refl.) to tuck up one's sleeves or

## ض

معيفه za'ifah (subs.) a woman. [A.] ملك zalal (subs.) injury, [for zarar, A.].

### ط

طاباق tabaq (subs.) a dish, (of earthenware, wood or metal), A. طاباق tamaq (subs.) the throat; also KH., any eatable.

a square whose side is forty gaz in length, each gaz being about 8 feet 6 inches. Also, the tax levied on gardens and pleasure-grounds, which is assessed per tandb, A.

tayagh طایاغ (subs.) a walking-stick, or pole.

tillah (subs.) gold; also, a gold coin worth 10 shillings, P. do; (subs.) a feast given on the occasion of a wedding or circumcision.

tüydgh طوياغ طوياغ طوياغ طوياغ طوياغ طوياغ طوياغ طوياغ

toï-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be satiated, to satiate. toi-mag (v. intr.) to become satiated, to feast.

toy-in-mag (v. refl.) to satiste one's appetite, to gorge طيار tayyar (adj.) ready, fit; also, fat, A. Tone's self.

ghāja-mag (v. tr.) to gnaw.

ghar (subs.) a cave, a cavern, A.

ghar-qura-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to give a hollow sound. ghar-qura-mag (v. intr.) to give a hollow sound.

ghanjurqhah (subs.) a strap for fastening loads, &c., to the back of the saddle.

غارغه ghđoqhah (subs.) a row, a disturbance, P.

يَّرُ gharr (subs.) a woman of bad repute.

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.

ghurung-la-maq (v. intr.) to tinkle (as a camel's bell); also, to talk gibberish, to give an uncertain answer.

غلبر ghalbir (subs.) a coarse sieve.

منائد ghaltak (subs.) a wooden disk (used as a wheel for play carts in Turkistan, 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, Wakhan, &c.); also, in Eastern Turkistân applied generally to a slave bought with money.

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ghangghul-la-mag (v. intr.) to hum (as a swarm of bees); to talk indistinctly (as a child), to babble.

> ghy. An affix corresponding with our "n't" in "isn't there?" "doesn't it?" E. g. bar-ghu "(there is) isn't there?"

ahojah. For khojah.

غوزة ghoza (subs.) a cotton-pod. For غوژة P. غوژة gholjah (adj.) mad (of a dog).

ake ghah (post-pos.) to, on to, into, &c. (Also written ga, ga and ka), [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"].

في ghi. See ki and gi. غيجاق ghijàq (subs.) a violin.

fat (adv.) quickly. The same as pat.

fâfi (subs.) a dwarf with a full-sized trunk and head. The same as papi.

fut (subs.) a leg (including the foot). The same as put. fuchak (adj.) empty, rotten at the core, of fair appearance but valueless. Also puchak.

fikhür-mdq فيخورماق fikhür-mdq فيخورماق (v. intr.) to snort (of a horse).

qdb (subs.) a coarse woollen sack.

يكي قابات qabat (subs.) fold, covering, lap, stratum. E. g. يكي قابات نك اعذدة يوركانك iki kabat kaghaz dah yurga'ng " wrap (it) in two folds of paper."

gabat-la-mag (v. tr.) to lay in layers, or one on the top of the other.

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gabaq ر (subs.) a gourd used for carrying water. قاباق qapaq
    gabirghah (subs.) a rib.
 gapar-chuq (subs.) a rash on the skin.
  gapar-mag (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).
  والماق aba-'l-maq (v. pass.) to be shut in.
  gaba-mag (v. tr.) to shut in, to confine (used of men only).
   قاباماق gaba-mag (v. intr.) to bark (of dogs).
    aaban (subs.) a male pig, a boar.
   gaptal (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.
gap-tur-mag (v. caus.) to cause (a dog) to bite, to set on
            (a dog). [From qap-maq.]
    والمحلق qap-chah (subs.) a small sack (qab).
  gap-chuq (subs.) a small qab, KAZ.
gapsa-'sh-mag (v. recip.) to wrangle together, KAZ.
gansa-mag (v. intr.) to jangle, to wrangle, KAZ.
   gapqaq (subs.) a lid, a cover.
   gapqan (subs.) a gin for catching foxes.
     gap-qara (adj.) very black; [an intensitive form of kara].
   gapqun. The same as gapqan.
 gap-la-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to plate.
 gap-la-maq (v. tr.) to plate (one metal with another).
   gap-maq (v. tr.) to bite [used of dogs].
     gat (subs.) a fold, a stratum. [The same as gabat.]
    gatar (subs.) a line, a row, P.
  Qataghan (prop. name) a tribe of Uzbek Türks inhabiting
            the districts of Kunduz, &c. [A Tajik proverb says:
         هرجا كه رسيد سُمِ اسْبِ قاتاعان - نه مُردة كفن يابد و نه زندة وطن
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"Where the hoof of the Kataghan's horse arrives.

"There the dead find no grave-cloth, and the living no home".]

gat-gaq (adj.) stiffening, stiffened (as badly prepared leather); [from qat-mag].

gat-la-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to fold.

gat-la-mag (v. tr.) to fold.

Titself.

gat-la-'n-mag (v. pass. and refl.) to be folded; to fold gat-mag (v. intr.) to become hard, to harden, to stiffen.

gat-mag (v. tr.) to twist (yarn into thread); also, to join, to put together.

gatin-a-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to travel (the same road) repeatedly.

gatin-a-mag (v. tr.) to travel (the same road) repeatedly; [to iterate, un-metaphorically].

gat-ur-mag (v. caus.) to cause to become hard, to harden (tr.). [From gat-mag "to become hard".]

gat-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to twist (yarn) [From qatmag "to twist".]

واتيغ qdtigh (subs.) curds. واتيغ qdtig

qatt-igh ) (adj. and adv.) hard, stiff; severe; also, hardly, &c.

[From qat-maq.] قاتين

qatim (subs.) a time. Bir qatim once; iki qatim twice. &c. gatim (subs.) a needle-ful (of thread).

gacha (subs.) a vessel (of any sort), a pot, &c.

ga-chan (adv.) when? Derived probably from the com mon element qai "what," and some other word to denote measurement of time? chin "amount".]

gachan-gha-chah (adv.) until when? [With the dative affix gha and the affix chah implying 'extent'.]

gach-qach (subs.) flight (before the enemy). [From gach-

واحقاق qach-qaq (adj.) given to running away.

qach-qu-'nchi (subs.) a fugitive. [For qach-qu-chi.] gach-mag (v. intr.) to flee, to run away.

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gach-ur-mag (v. caus.) to cause to flee, to put to flight.
qach-ush-maq (v. recip.) to flee away together.
   qdchi (subs.) scissors, shears. [For qainchi.]
   gachir (subs.) a mule. [For khachar, P.]
      går (subs.) snow.
      gard (adj.) black. Qara-tagh often used to designate moun-
            tains which are not covered with perpetual snow. (See
            Remarks, under Aq-taqh.) Qara-su is similarly used to
            designate springs of water not derived from snow moun-
             tains. (The same remarks apply here.)
  gard-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to look, to cause to regard.
  gara-ghaï (subs.) a fir-tree [generically].
  garaqchi (subs.) a highway robber, a bandit.
  qard-la-maq (v. tr.) to look frequently or carefully.
  gard-la-maq (v. tr.) to blacken (the face of any one, me-
             taphorically), to look black upon, to regard with dis-
  gard-'l-mag (v. pass. and intr.) to be blackened; to become
  gara-liq (adj.) in mourning (which in Yarkand consists in
            not shaving, putting on white and not-coloured clothes, &c.)
  ورامات gara-mdq (v. intr.) to look, to cast one's eyes [governs gha].
 gara-'mtul (adj.) blackish.
  gara-muq (subs.) a small black seed of a weed found amon g
   قارانغو gara-'nghu (adj. and subs.) dark, obscure; also, the dark.
qara-'nghu-luq (subs.) darkness, obscurity.
    qard-wal (subs.) a post of observation, a watch, [from
             garamag].
 qarâ-wal-chi (subs.) a watchman, a vidette.
      garta (subs.) the fat in a horse's stomach. Also, playing
             cards. Rus.
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adj.) oldish, past the middle age.

garchighah (subs.) a species of a hawk, ? a gos hawk.

وارچي qarchi (subs.) large scissors [for qainchi].

قارساق garsag (subs.) a small kind of fox.

qar'sh-maq (v. intr.) to be disobedient, to be recusant [? for qara'sh-maq "to exchange looks with any one"].

garsh-maq (v. tr.) to mingle, to mix up.

qdr'shi (adv.) contrary, opposite. [? From qara-maq, qard-'sh-maq.]

qdr'shi-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to make an angry rejoinder; to cause to place opposite.

qar'shi-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to make rejoinders to one another.

gar'shi-la-maq (v. tr.) to place opposite.

gargha-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to curse.

gargha-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to curse together.

gargha-maq (v. tr.) to curse.

gargha-'n-maq (v. refl.) to curse one's self, viz., to imprecate curses on one's self in asseverating anything.

garghu (subs.) a blind man.

garghish (vl. subs.) a curse.

arghah (subs.) a crow.

qarqara (subs.) a tuft or crest stuck in a woman's cap.

qarlughach (subs.) a swallow.

gár-liq (adj.) snowy. Also the name of a Pass in the Kuen-lun leading from Yolarik to Toghra-su on the Upper Karakash.

garmaq (subs.) a fish hook.

qarma-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to grope.

قارمالاماق qarma-la-maq (v. tr.) to grope (for anything in the dark). وارماماق garma-maq (v. tr.) to seize, Kirgh.

قارون qarun (subs.) belly, womb.

qdrun-dash (subs.) a brother, a relation, [literally 'womb-fellow']. The particular relation is specified by the words: bir-tuqqan qdrundash = 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 qarundash "a male relative;" qiz qarundash "a female relative."

قاري qari (subs.) a person who can repeat the Koran by heart, A. qari (adj. and subs.) old, aged (used only of living creatures); also, an old man, an old woman.

garish (subs.) a span.

garish-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to span.

qarish-la-maq (v. tr.) to span out, to measure by spans.

qdr-il-maq. For qairilmaq.

ويليق gari-liq (subs.) old age.

gari-maq (v. intr.) to become old.

قاز qdz (subs.) a goose [for ghaz, P.].

gdzd (subs.) fate, predestination [for قازا A.].

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 reckoning) into three hordes:

1st, Ulugh-yüz (great horde) sub-divided into the tribes

Abdan and Dolat; 2nd, Urta-yüz (middle horde) sub-divided into the tribes, Arghun, Naïman, Qipchaq,

Kungrat; 3rd, Kichik-yüz (little horde) Alchin, Jab-bas. There are also innumerable further sub-divisions of each of these tribes.

وان qdzan (subs.) a cauldron, a cooking-pot.

qdz-maq (v. tr.) to dig.

gdznaq (subs.) an inner room or store room, [? from khazànah, A.].

gazuq (subs.) a peg.

gazi (subs.) a sausage of horse-flesh.

gaziq. The same as qazuq.

gazi-lig. For gazi, KAZ.

qdzi-mdq. The same as qdzmdq.

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.

gas-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to resolve.

qas-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to resolve together, to conspire.

qas-la-maq (v. tr.) to resolve, to determine, to intend.

[From قصد A.]

qasmaq (subs.) scrapings of a cooking-pot, tdz-qasmaq the scurf of a scald head.

qdsh (subs.) the hair of the eye-brows; also, metaphor. a man's neighbourhood or presence; e. g., aning qdsh-i-da = near him, with him.

qashang (adj.) lazy, slow, sluggish.

gashao (subs.) a curry-comb.

qdsh-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 kawash 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 nucleus with a reddish outside is highly valued.]

gashaq (subs.) an animal's forehead.

gashuq (subs.) a spoon for eating soup.

وَاشْيِلاغْرِ ع qashi-la-ghuch (subs.) a curry-comb.

qashi-la-maq (v. tr.) to scratch all over (with the hands).

gashi-maq (v. tr.) to scratch (on account of itching).

gashi-'n-maq (v. refl.) to scratch one's self.

gaq (adj.) dried, desiccated.

qaq (subs.) a temporary pool of water.

gaq-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to drive in (a nail, &c.).

qaqir-maq (v. tr.) to cough up phlegm.

qaqriq (subs.) phlegm from the mouth.

qaqsha-maq (v. intr.) to lament in a plaintive or querulous manner.

و قاقلیت qaq-liq (subs.) dryness, desiccation.

qaq-maq (v. tr.) to drive in (a nail); also, to beat (a garment, &c., to remove the dust).

qaq-il-maq (v. pass.) to be driven in.

qdq-in-mdq (v. refl.) (lit. to beat one's self) to dust one's self (by quick strokes of the hand).

yii qald (subs.) a fortress, a fort [for all A.].

gala-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to pile up.

qalaq (subs.) a small wooden spoon for feeding small children.

qala-maq (v. tr.) to pile up, to make up a fire.

والايي qalâyi (subs.) tin [for قالايي A.].

galpaq (subs.) a felt wide-awake (hat), worn in hot weather by travellers, &c.

والثاق qáltáq (adj.) unworthy of credit, untrustworthy.

qâltura'q (vl. adj. and subs.) palsied, trembling; a person afflicted with the palsy.

qdltura-'t-mdq (v. caus.) to cause to tremble.

qaltura-maq (v. intr.) to tremble, to quake, to shiver.

qaldiraq (adj.) rustling (as paper or badly prepared leather, when crushed together).

galdira-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to rustle.

qaldira-maq (v. intr.) to rustle, to give a rustling sound.

qal-dir-'t-maq (v. caus. redup.) to cause to put by.

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qdl-dir-mdq (v. caus.) to cause to remain, to put by, to leave. [From qdl-mdq.]

gâldighach (subs.) a swallow.

qalghi-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be drowsy, to make (any-one) sleepy (as by talking overmuch).

qalghi-maq (v. intr.) to become drowsy, to become sleepy, to nod.

qâl-mâq (v. intr.) to remain, to stay behind. In composition with the Perf. Part. of another verb it expresses completion or condition: e. g., ketip qâldi "he has started" (lit. "he remained gone"); qetip-qâladur "he is starting" (lit. "he is in the condition of starting").

Qâlmāq (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.

galgi-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to float.

galqi-maq (v. intr.) to float. Also, to hover.

galun (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.]

adlin (subs.) a carpet, a rug of carpeting, P.

galing (adj.) thick.

gama (subs.) an otter, otter-skin.

gama-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to enclose or besiege.

gama-'l-maq (v. pass.) 1, to be enclosed; 2, to have one's teeth set on edge.

gama-maq (v. tr.) to enclose, to besiege.

qama-maq (v. 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-maq (v. recip.) to be fitted together (as broken pieces of anything); to be in unison, to be at peace together; to assist. [? From an unusual qam-la-maq.]

qam-la'sh-ish-maq (v. recip. redup.) to assist one another.

gamish (subs.) a reed.

ونان qan (subs.) blood. Also, bloodshed.

qandt (subs.) a wing. Also, the side-covering of a Kirghiz akui or felt-tent.

gan-a-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to bleed.

gan-a-maq (v. intr.) to bleed.

gan-tukmaq (v. comp.) to shed blood, to massacre.

تانتیچتی kan-tichti (verb used as an adj.) skin-flint, miserly. [Lit. 'he evacuates blood'.]

qanjurghah (subs.) straps in the cantle of a saddle for fastening a cloak, &c.

qanjughah. The same, KAZ.

ganjighah. The same, KH.

qan-chah (adv.) how much? how many?

gan-dà (adv.) where?

qan-dàgh (advl. pron. and adv.) what like? what kind qan-dàq of? Also, how?

qan-dur-'t-maq (v. caus. redup.) to cause to satisfy the thirst (of another).

gan-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause (any man or animal) to satisfy (his or its) thirst.

qan-din (adv.) from whence?

gan-liq (adj.) spotted with blood.

qan-maq (v. intr.) to quench one's thirst; to satisfy one's desire for sleep [governs su or wïqu with gha].

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.

gangshar (subs.) the bone of the nose, the part midway between the bridge and the tip.

qangshar-liq (adj.) hook-nosed.

qanah (adv.) where? Also used as an exclamation equivalent to our 'well.'

qāo (subs.) tinder (made of fungi or of the down of a kind of flowering reed), KH.

qaurchaq (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 qorchaq).

تارغه qâurgha (subs.) a rib.

qaur-mach (subs.) parched or roasted grain.

gdur-maq (v. tr.) to roast (grain), to fry.

qđughah (subs.) a leather pail for drawing water.

qaughun (subs.) a melon.

qaï (pron.) which, what [only used in composition as qaī-da, qaï-si].

qayash (subs.) [in composition with tuq-qan or uruq] relation, relative.

qd'-yan (adv.) which side? Used also with the affixes da, &c. As qd'-yan-da "on which side;" qa'-yan gha " to which direction;" qd'-yan-i-da "on which side of it."

تابتنا qaïta (subs. and adj.) a fresh beginning; beginning afresh [qaïtabāsh-din yessadim "I made it over again (lit. "from a fresh head') or qaïta din yessadim (lit. "I made it from a fresh beginning'')].

gait-ar-'t-maq (v. caus. redup.) to cause to turn back (tr.). to order any one to be turned back.

gait-ar-maq (v. caus.) to cause to return, to turn back (tr.).

gaïtaqi (subs.) the turned-back edge of any garment (as a European coat-collar).

gaitam (adv.) on the contrary.

qaït-maq (v. intr.) to return, to come or go back, KH.

رچان qaichi (subs.) scissors, shears.

gai-da (adv.) where ?

عيداغ qaï-dagh (adjl. pron. and adv.) what like? also, how?

qaï-dagh-raq (adv.) how again? or how further? [lit. the comparative of 'how?' to which the reply would be 'better' or 'worse,' not simply 'well' or 'ill'].

gai-daq. The same as qaidagh.

qaira-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to whet or sharpen.

agara'q (vl. subs.) a whet-stone, a rough hone.

qaïra-maq (v. tr.) to whet, to sharpen on a stone, "re-passer."

gayir-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to retrovert forcibly.

ga'-yer-dan (adv.) from what place? whence?

qa'-yer-liq (adj.) belonging to what place? of what place?

qayir-maq (v. tr.) to retrovert forcibly, to force back (the arm or any long-shaped object) into an unnatural posi-

وايريلماق qayir-il-maq (v. pass.) to be retroverted.

gayir-in-maq (v. refl.) to retrovert itself.

qaī-si (pron.) which of them? who amongst them? [the si is the possessive affix of the 8rd person].

gdish (subs.) strap-leather.

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qdish-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be retroverted forcibly, to retrovert forcibly (same as qayir-maq); also, to cause to use continuous efforts.
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gdish-maq (v. intr.) to be retroverted forcibly; also, to use continuous efforts.

qaighu (subs.) sorrow, grief [? vl. subs. from an obsolete verb qai-maq].

gaighur-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be sorrowful.

qaïghur-maq (v. intr.) to be sorrowful, to grieve.

gaighu-liq (adj.) sorrowful, grief-laden.

qaimaq (subs.) cream [often prepared by warming the milk, as in the preparation of Devonshire cream].

qdin (subs.) the birch-tree (whose bark is in sheets like paper).

qdin (adj., used only in comp.). Answers to our phrase "——— in-law." E. g. qdin-ata "father-in-law," qdis-ana "mother-in-law."

"gaing (subs.). For qain "a birch-tree."

gaïna-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to boil, to boil (tr.).

قايناماق gaïna-maq (v. intr.) to boil (as water).

gayur-maq. For qayir-maq (which see).

qayuq (adj.) nasty, having a bad taste.

qâyu-maq (v. intr.) to swim (said of one's head).

وماق qdyu-maq (v. tr.) to stitch, to hem-stitch. وايرماق qdyi-maq

قابات qabat. The same as قبت.

أفايارماق qabar-maq. KH. The same as قبارماق appar-maq

قباماق gaba-mag. The same as قباماق

qip a particle used before qizil to signify "intensely," "very."

qaplan (subs.) an ounce (or white leopard).

وقات qat. The same as

The same as قائيق وعلية وعلية

(فودا) (see) قدا).

qür (prond. qirr) (subs.) a ridge, an edge formed by two planes meeting at an angle.

gard (adj.) black.

قارالاماق garâl-'maq. The same as قرالاماق

قرانغو gard-'n-maq. The same as قرانغو

qür-dür-maq (v. caus.) to cause to scrape, &c.

qir-ghu-chi (subs.) a turner, a person who works with a lathe. [From قرغوچي]

girghol (subs.) a pheasant (of a species resembling the European, but named *Phasianus Shawii* in Elliott's Book of Pheasants).

qirq (num.) forty.

girq-ailan (num. subs.) a group of forty.

girq-inchi (num. adj.) fortieth.

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 utterly, to "wipe out;" also, to spend (time).

قري qarri (subs.) an old woman.

qür-il-maq (prond. qirr-il-maq) (v. pass.) to be scraped off; to be turned (in a lathe); to be utterly destroyed ("wiped out"). qiz (subs.) a maid, a virgin, a damsel; also, a daughter. [? From a root signifying "redness" for "modesty." See qizarmaq.]

qiz-ar-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to redden, to make red. وزارماق qiz-ar-maq (v. intr.) to redden, to become red, to blush.
[? From the same root as above, see also qiz-maq.]

قزان qazan. The same as قزان

قزاق qazaq. The same as قزاق

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.

giz-it-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be hot or eager.

giziq (vl. subs.) warmth, eagerness, vivacity [from qizi-maq].

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.)

qizi-maq (v. intr.). The same as qiz-maq.

qiz-in-dur-maq (v. refl. caus.) to cause to warm one's self. وزيندررماق qiz-in-maq (v. refl.) to warm one's self.

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.

qimiz (subs.) an intoxicating liquor made from mare's milk, Kaz.

ganat. The same as قنات.

quala-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to pursue; to cause to drive away, KAz.

قوالاماق quala-maq (v. tr.) to pursue; to drive away, KAZ. قوانجي quanji (subs.) happiness.

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guan-mag (v. intr.) to be happy, to be pleased.
     qubuz) (subs.) a Jew's harp. Also, a rough guitar with
     qupuz horse-hair strings. Also, the inside of the cheek.
    qubuzdq و قربوزاق qubuzdq و قربوزاق qubuq و gubuq
  qup-ar-'t-mag (v. caus. redup.) to cause to arouse.
  qup-ar-mag (v. caus.) to cause to stand up, to arouse.
     gopal (adj.) rude, unpolished (used either of men or
             things).
    qup-mag (v. intr.) to rise up, to arise.
     qupuq (subs.) a term used in gambling with sheep's knuckle
             bones, implying success. As maning gupug-um kelde
             "I have won the toss," qupuq maning-ki "the toss is
             mine (I have won it)."
      qut (subs.) blessing, happiness.
    وتاز qotaz } (subs.) a yak (Bos grunniens').
      qutan (subs.) a sheep-fold; a place where a flock of sheep
             is collected to pass the night, KAZ.
  qut-qdr-mdq) (v. caus.) to cause to be free, to release.
  qut-qdz-mdq [From an obs. qut-maq.]
    gut-laq (adj.) blessed.
      gotur (subs.) the itch.
  qutur-maq (v. intr.) to go mad (of a dog), to be rabid.
qut-ul-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to become free, to re-
             lease.
   qut-ul-maq (v. pass.) to be made free, to be released.
             [From an obs. qut-maq.]
    quehaq (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.
quehaq-la-maq (v. tr.) to embrace, to take in the arms.
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quehqach (subs.) a small bird (of any sort).

quehqdr (subs.) a ram.

quch-mdq (v. tr.) to embrace, to take in the arms.

quch-ur-mdq. The same as qdchurmdq.

quch-ush-maq (v. recip.) to lie in one another's arms.

quda (subs.) a person standing in the relationship of father-in-law to one's son or daughter; one of two fathers whose children have intermarried.

quduq (subs.) a well.

quer (subs.) a garter, a tape for fastening up leggings.

qur (subs.) a balance, a remainder (of goods or money).

qura (subs.) a space enclosed by hurdles or railings; a fold, a pen.

qoram (subs.) ground covered with large blocks of stone (fallen from the mountains). [? The origin of qara-qoram.]

qura-maq (v. tr.) to make patch-work, to make a garment &c., by sewing together small patches of stuff.

quoura-maq (v. intr.) to dry up hard (as a skin exposed to the sun, &c.), 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 qdurchaq.

qur-chi (subs.) a superintendent of a magazine. [See qurkhana and qur.]

qur-khana (subs.) a magazine (for powder and balls).

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-kák.]

gursaq (subs.) stomach, belly.

qursaq-dash (subs.) a brother or sister by the same mother flit. "womb-fellow"]. qursaq-lash. The same. qursha-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to surround. qursha-maq (v. tr.) to surround, to encircle. gurqhashun (subs.) lead. aurahan (subs.) a fort, a fortress. qurghan-chah (subs.) a small fort, a redoubt. gurg-mag (v. intr.) to fear, to be afraid. aura-ut-maq (v. caus.) to cause to fear, to frighten. qurqu-'nj-liq (adj.) fearful, causing fear, frightful. gurq'u-'nchak (adj.) fearful, afraid, cowardly. qurqu-'nchi (vl. subs.) fear, fearing. quour-mag (v. tr.) to fledge. qurut (subs.) dried curds. quru-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to dry. quruch (subs.) steel. qurugh قوردغ qurugh وردغ qurugh قوردغ qurug قوردق quruq (vl. subs.) a field of growing grass, fenced round to prevent its being grazed on. [From quru-maq.] guruq-maq. The same as qurq-maq. פֿרָנים qurum (subs.) soot, the black deposit of smoke. qurum-saq (subs. and adj.) a miser; miserly, stingy. [? From quru-maq " to dry up" in the same way as bolumsag "likely to become (useful)," modern phrase "a likely boy," from bol-mag "to become," &c.] quru-maq (v. intr.) to become dry, to dry up. quru-maq (v. tr.) to scare away birds and beasts from a qürün. The same as kurum, Y. ffield. quru-'n-maq (v. refl.) to dry one's self.

quru-'n-maq (v. refl.) to guard one's self, to protect one's self

(from the mud on a road, from flies or mosquitoes, &c.).

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q6z (subs.) hot embers or cinders.

quzgha-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to move; (tr.) to cause to shift.

quzgha.'l-maq (v. pass.) to be moved, to be shifted.

quzgha-maq (v. tr.) to move, to shift. [self.

quzgha-'n-maq (v. refl.) to move one's self, to shift one's quzghun (subs.) a raven (supposed by the Turkis to live a thousand years).

quzuq (subs.) a peg.

qozi (subs.) a lamb.

queh (subs.) a bird.

one fire, [chiefly used however in the sense of people using on a journey: e. g., bu kârwan nichah qosh "how many tents or fire (does) this caravan (consist of)"]. Also, quarters, lodgings.

quoush (adj.) hollow.

qosh-bashi (subs.) the headman or responsible head of each set of merchants, &c., composing a caravan.

gosh-bėgi (subs.) the title of a high official 'Lord of the Household,' who acts for the king in his absence.

gosh-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.

qoshmaq (adj.) united, joining (used only of the humps of a two-humped camel when they almost coalesce).

qosh-na (subs.) a neighbour; also, a person allowed to live in some part of one's house.

quehnách (subs.) a soothsayer, or foreteller of future events.

quehnanji (subs.) an educated woman; also, a female teacher.

qosh-ni. The same as qoshna.

qosh-ur-maq. The same as qoshturmaq.

qoshuq (subs.) a ladle.

qosh-uq (vl. subs.) poetry, verse, a poem, a song. [From qosh-maq " to put together".]

qosh-ul-maq (v. pass.) to be joined, to be put together, to be united.

goshun (subs.) an army.

وْغا qugha (subs.) a rush (a kind of grass), KAZ.

qughla-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to pursue.

qughla-maq (v. tr.) to pursue, to follow.

qughurchaq (subs.). The same as quurchaq.

qughun (subs.) a melon.

qol (subs.) a hand.

qol (numl. subs.) a hundred thousand, KAZ.

a broad open valley between mountains; مريق قول or مريق قول or 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 Kåshghar, Kieghiz, Kaz.

qula (adj.) reddish dun (the colour of a horse).

quiaq (subs.) an ear. [Before affixes the q usually becomes gh, as quiagh-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.

qulan (subs.) a wild ass [Equus homi-onus], (from qula).

qulaï (adj.) easy, propitious.

quiturmach (subs.) a crutch.

qultuq (subs.) the arm-pit.

[arms.

qultuq-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to take under the

qultuq-la-maq (v. tr.) to take under the arm, viz., either 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.

قللوق gul-lug (subs.). For قوللوق

quluf (subs.) a lock, a padlock, P.

qulun (subs.) a colt, a foal.

gulun-la-maq (v. intr.) to foal.

qum (subs.) sand.

qumalaq (subs.) sheep's dung.

qum-tokhi (subs.) Podoces Hendersonii (lit. 'sand-fowl').

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.]

qonaq (subs.) Indian-corn, maize.

qunan (adj. and subs.) rising three years old; also, any four-legged animal of that age.

qun-dur-t-maq (v. caus. redup.) to cause to give a night's lodging.

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).

qun-duz (subs.) a small animal whose fur is much in request, (? sable); also, fur of that animal.

qungraghu (subs.) a bell.

qungraq (subs.) a little bell attached to an animal.

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.]

qunguz (subs.) a black beetle.

ونگي يوغان qungi-yoghan (subs.) a boil.

qun-maq (v. intr.) to lodge, to put up; also, to dismount.

qoï (subs.) a sheep.

qüyash (subs.) the sun [rare].

quyaq (adj.) thick, viscous [of fluids].

quyan (subs.) a hare, KH. KAZ.

quyang (subs.) a moveable subcutaneous tumour.

qoï-chi (subs.) a shepherd.

qoï-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to place, to cause to put, to cause to set aside, to cause to leave, to cause to abandon.

quyiruq (subs.) a tail.

qüi-ma (adj.) cast (of metal).

[abandon.

ويماق qoi-maq (v. tr.) to place, to put, to set aside, to leave, to qui-maq (v. tr.) to pour, to cast (metal).

qüi-mdq (subs.) a cake cooked in butter, a butter-cake.

quyushqun (subs.) a crupper.

qoï-ush-maq (v. recip.) to leave one another.

qüi-üsh-maq (v. recip.) to pour from both sides, to pour together.

ويوق quyuq (adj.). The same as quyaq.

qoyün (subs.) the breast of the robe (used as a receptacle or pocket). [? From qoï-maq.]

qüyün (subs.) a whirlwind, a 'devil.'

qüyi (subs. and adj.) "lowness," low; e. g., aning quyi-sida "below it," Hindustân Yarkand-din qüyi "India is lower than Yarqand."

45 qah (post-pos.) to.

qî. (See Gram. p. 262, Pronouns.)

up a hill-side or on the face of a cliff. [Sariga-qia
"yellow slant," the name of a part of the Upper Qàrakàsh Valley; corrupted to Sariqia.] From qi-maq.

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aiaa (subs.) a sharp-edged rush.
      gayan (adv.) which way, on which side. [For qai yan.]
    gipchaq (prop. name) one of the divisions of the Middle
              Horde of Qazzaqs. Dasht-i-qipchaq the desert north
              of the Jaxartes and of Khokand.
    gitig (subs.) tickling.
gitiq-la-'t-mdq (v. caus.) to cause to tickle.
 gitiq-la-maq (v. tr.) to tickle.
 qichir-mdq عليجرماق qichir-mdq } (v. tr.) to call, to cry out.
    qichi (subs.) mustard.
qichish (vl. subs.) a tickling, an itching.

gichish-qaq (subs.) the itch.

gichi-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to itch all over.
    gichiq (vl. subs.) a tickling.
  qichi-maq (v. intr.) to experience a tickling or itching
              sensation, to itch.
      gir (subs.) a ridge, the meeting line of two plane surfaces.
      gir (subs.) water-proof plaster (applied to a bathing-place,
              tank, &c.)
       qira (subs.) a ridge, an edge.
   gaïraghach [ ? for qara-yaghach 'black-wood'], an elm.
     airag (subs.) an edging (of any stuff).
     gairaq (subs.) a whet-stone, a hone.
     giral (subs ) a white frost.
      airdo (subs.) a white frost; a camp of nomads (Kir-
              ghiz, &c.).
    girghaq (subs.). The same as qiraq.
   آقرغاول qirqhaol (subs.) a pheasant. [The same as قيرغاول
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girghdi (subs.) a small species of hawk.

قيرغوك qirqhun (subs.) slaughter (in battle). ويرغوك qirqhi. The same as qirqhai.

qir-qhüch (subs.) a scraper.

Qirghiz (prop. name) a race of nomad Turks living in the mountains, from the south of Yarkand round by Pamir and Alaï to the north of Kashghar 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.

قيرق qirq (num.) forty. More often قيرق

gir-maq (v. tr.) to scrape, to shave, to erase; also, to kill, [see قرصاق]; also, to spend (time).

qiriq (vl. adj.) scraped, threadbare, worn down (as the fur of a skin, &c.).

giriq-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to shear, &c.

giriq-maq (v. tr.) to shear, to cut with a pair of scissors.

gir-il-maq (v. pass.) to be scraped, to be turned (in a lathe), to be shaved, to be destroyed utterly.

girindi (subs.) scraping (of leather, a cooking pot, &c.).

يز qiz (subs.) maiden; also, daughter. The same as قيز.

قيزارماق giz-ar-mag. See قيزارماق

qizghan-chaq (adj.) grudging, selfish, churlish.

gizghan-maq (v. tr.) to grudge, to be churlish, to stint.

يزيقماق qizi'q-maq (v. intr.) to be eager or hot (over anything).

قيزيق qizi'q (adj.) hot, also eager. Same as قيزيق.

قيزيل qizil (adj.) red. Same as قيزيل.

gizi-maq (v. intr.) to become hot; also, to become eager.

Same as قزيماق.

qista-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to become tight or pressed. قيستاماق qista-maq (v. tr.) to tighten, to press; also, to importune.

qis-tur-maq (v. caus.) to infix, to stick into (as a flower into the cap).

قيسفا qisqa (adj.) short.

qisqa'r-t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be short, to shorten.

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qisqa'r-maq (v. intr.) to become short.
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gis-maq (v. tr.) to press (sideways).

gismaq (subs.) a gin (for catching animals).

gis-il-maq (v. pass.) to be pressed.

gish (subs.) winter.

gishaï-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be crooked.

gishaï-maq (v. intr.) to be or become crooked.

gish-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').

gish-liq (adj.) belonging to or destined for the winter.

qishiq (adj.) crooked.

giqr-mdq (v. intr.) to try to shout without being able to produce a loud sound (as people afflicted with goître).

gil (subs.) horse-hair (for the tail).

gel-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to do.

gel-ghu-chi (vl. subs.) a doer.

gel-maq (v. tr.) to do [very common in composition].

gel-in-mag (v. pass.) to be done.

gilich (subs.) a sabre.

gel-ishi-maq (v. recip.) to do in company, to do one another [in composition with another verb].

geligh-liq (vl. adj.) done.

gel-iq (vl. subs.) the doing.

geliq-liq (vl. adj.) doing (well), behaving properly; also sometimes used for qelighliq.

qima عيما (subs.) mince-meat.

gimat (adj.) dear, highly-priced. [From A.]

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).

gaimag (subs.) cream.

qüimaq (subs.) a butter-cake. قيماق quimaq (subs.) dearness, scarcity, A. T.

gimir-la-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to crawl.

qimir-la-maq (v. intr.) to crawl, to creep, to move.

gin (subs.) a scabbard, a sheath.

قيس qiyün (adj. and subs.) difficult, troublesome; also, a painful punishment, torture.

gîna-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to torture.

gina-'l-mag (v. pass.) to be tortured; also, to experience difficulty or pain (in doing anything).

gina-maq (v. tr.) to torture; also, to give trouble or pain.

ginghrak (subs.) a large knife, a hanger.

qinghr-ai-'t-mdq (v. caus.) to cause to be crooked, to make

ginghr-ai-maq (v. intr.) to become crooked.

ginghür (adj.) crooked.

giyaq (subs.) a sharp bulrush.

gayi-mag (v. intr.) to swim (said of the head).

قيين qiyin (subs.). The same as qiyün.

giyin-di (subs.) a cutting of cloth (remaining from the cutting out of a garment).

giyeq (adj.) crooked.

# ک ک

 $\begin{cases} ka \\ ga \end{cases}$  (post-pos.) to, onto, into, at (with a sense of 'motion') [written also gha and ka] kitab-ga pitti = "he wrote in (to) the book;" but kitàb-da oqudi = "he read in the book"].

يلا kap (subs.) a case or cover.

كايتاك kaptak (subs.) a playing ball.

ليسيز kap-siz (adj.) impudent (boy) [like a 'gamin'].

لاشاتمان kapsha-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to chew the cud, to cause to chatter.

ايشاق kapsha-mak (v. intr.) to chew the cud; also (more commonly), to chatter, to babble.

kapshuk (vl. subs.) a chatter-box, a prattler.

کاپکی kapki (adj.) gossiping, talkative.

لاران karvan (subs.) a caravan; also applied to any individual merchant, a member of a caravan, P.

kdriz (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.

كاسكي kaski (adj. and subs.) idle, gossiping; also, an idler.

كسة kasah (subs.) a cup (of earthenware), P.

لاثغر Kāshghar (prop. name) the capital of Eastern Turkistān.
[This is the spelling usual among the Western Turkistànis, and which has now been adopted in the coinage of the reigning Amír.]

كَالْمُقْرَ Kāshqar (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 Uïghur poem written in A. H. 462 or A. D. 1069, and lately published with a translation by Prof. Vámbéry.]

kdshki (interj.) Would to God! P. (?) kdká (subs.) an egg.

و کال gal (subs.) throat, Y.

علل gal (adj.) blunt, Y.

ga-li [a compound affix applied to the root of verbs conveying the sense 'in order to'].

كاليب kalib (subs.) a mould, P.

kamshuk (adj. and subs.) having a retreating chin.

kán (subs.) a mine, P.

لواك kawak (subs.) a hole.

kdush (subs.) slippers. From P.

لاول kâush (subs.) chewing the cud.

kdusha-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to chew the cud.

kdusha-mak (v. intr.) to chew the cud.

kâola-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to dig.

kaola-mak (v. tr.) to dig, to excavate.

كايتماك kdī-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to be angry.

كايماك kāi-mak (v. intr.) to be angry, to be vexed, to be tired.

gap (subs.) word, speech; a social meeting, a 'conversazione,' P.

کپتاك kaptak. The same as كپتاك

kaptar (subs.) a pigeon. From P.

كبريك kiprik (subs.) an eyelash.

كيشر kapshar (subs.) solder; a joint made by soldering. From P.

كاپشوك kapshik (subs.). The same as كاپشوك.

kapkir (subs.) a ladle, a skimmer. From P.

gap-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to converse.

كييش kapish (subs.) slippers. From kafsh, P.

کتک katak (subs.) a fowl-house.

kitman (subs.) a hoe.

kitman-la-mak (v. tr.) to hoe.

katta (adj.) great. [The eldest son of the Amir of Bokhåra always bears the title کترتوره 'Katta-Turah' = 'Great or first Prince'.]

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kaj (adj.) crooked, specially perverse, P.
     ي gaj (subs.) plaster, mortar.

kajaba ) (subs.) camel's panniers (generally for women
    kajawa to travel in), P.
    لَجِكَنَهُ kich'kinah (adj.) very small, tiny, little [from kichik-kinah].
    kichikkina [contr. from kichik-kina] (adj.) very small,
             tiny, little; also (subs.), a very little, a small quantity.
  kech-mak (v. intr.) to pass through (water, &c.), to wade,
             to ford; to pass by (a fault), to let pass (one's rights);
             [governs din].
kech-ur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to pass through or by, to
             cause to let pass.
    gaddi (subs.) a beggar, a pauper. From P.
  gadāi-lik (subs.) poverty, beggary, P. T.
       kar (adj.) deaf, P.
       kir (adj.) dirty, soiled.
       kurr (subs.) a cave, a cavern. From A.
       kira (subs.) hire, P.
   kira-chi (subs.) a letter out on hire, P. T.
   kira-kash (subs.) a carrier for hire, the owner of a troop of
             horses, &c. who carries merchandise for hire, P.
    کرپی kirpi (subs.) a hedgehog.
   کرپیک kirpik (subs.). The same as kiprik.
   kar-qulaq (adj. and subs.) deaf, lit. deaf-eared; also, a deaf
kir-guz-mak (v. caus.) to cause to enter.
    کرکی karki (subs.) an adze.
  kir-mak (v. intr.) to enter, to come in [governs gha].
       كرز küz (subs.) autumn.
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kuzat-chi (subs.) a guard, a sentry, a care-taker.
لزاتماك kuzat-mak (v. tr.) to guard, to take care of.
kuza-mak (v. tr.) to cut hair (of a horse's mane, &c.) with
   azak (subs.) smarting (of a wound, caused by cold air or
            water getting into it).
  عزلیک gazlik (subs.) a small knife (for paring the nails, &c.).
  kisak (subs.) a piece, a portion; (in Eastern Turkistân
            confined to) a piece of brick.
   كسل kasal (adj.) ill, unwell. From A.
kes-il-mak (v. pass.) to be cut.
kes-mak (v. tr.) to cut.
 kismak (subs.) a shot fired backwards from the back of a
            horse at full gallop, a Parthian shot.
    kishan (subs.) a chain hobble (for a horse).
   kishi (subs.) a person, a 'body'; [kishi with the negative
            verb = 'no-body'].
   kaftar (subs.) a pigeon. [For kaptar.] From P.
   kafsh (subs.) a slipper, P.
   كفشر kafshar (subs.) solder, a soldered joint, P.
 كفريك kifrik (subs.) an eye lash. Same as kiprik.
   كفاير kafqir. For kapqir.
     kal (subs.) scald-head; also (adj.), hornless (of a cow, &c.).
     kül (subs.) ashes, cinders.
     gul (subs.) a flower, P.
      kalah (subs.) a cow; (used also in a general way for horned
            cattle).
     كلتم kalta (adj.) short.
   لتك kaltak (subs.) a stick, an Alpenstock.
  كىلىك kaklik (subs.) a red-legged partridge, a 'chikor', Caccabis
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pallidus, Hume,



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لكوك kakkuk (subs.) a cuckoo.
      كلك kuluk (adj.) winning (applied to the horse that comes in
              first in a race).
        kim (conj.) that; also (pron.) who?
        kam (adj. and adv.) little (in amount), P.
    kam-baghal (adj.) poor, indigent [lit, having nothing to
              carry under his arm], P.
      gumân (subs.) doubt, suspicion, P.
  auman-liq (adj.) doubtful, suspicious, suspected; also, en-
              ceinte, (not implying any concealment of the fact), P. T.
       kamar (subs.) a girdle or waist-belt, P.
     kim-irsa (pron.) originally, whosoever, whoever [from kim
              'who' and irsa 'may be']; modern usage, a person, any
              one, some one.
      kampir (subs.) an old man, an old woman, P.
 kam-chi-lik (subs.) paucity, deficiency, scantiness, scarcity.
  کمیتمار kami-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become less, to dimi-
              nish (tr.).
  kami-mak (v. intr.) to become less, to diminish (intr.) P. T.
      kant ) (subs.) a village, a place of settled habitations [the
       kand } termination of many names of places, Yarkand,
                     Tashkand, &c.].
       kanah (subs.) a tick.
                                                            TKH.
      kub or kup (adj. and adv.) much, many; also, much, very,
       kuba (subs.) a mallet.
      köp (subs.) a water-butt.
لريايتماك köp-aï-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become much or many,
             to increase (tr.).
  köp-aï-mak (v. intr.) to become much or many, to increase,
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kup-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to ferment.
      aupchak (subs.) the nave of a wheel.
     kupchuk (subs.) a saddle cushion.
      kupruk (subs.) a bridge.
    kup-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to throng together to any work
                 [from an unusual kup-la-mak].
      كويلوك kup-luk (subs.) many-ness, much-ness, a deal of.
    لويماك kup-mak كويماك kup-mak كويماك kupur-mak
       لويبرك kup-uk (vl. subs.) foam.
     kupah-lak (subs.) a moth, a butterfly.
   kutar-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to lift.
    لوتارماك kutar-mak (v. tr.) to lift, to raise.
                                                           gage.
    كوتارنماك kutar-'n-mak (v. refl.) to take one's self off bag and bag-
      لناك kutak (subs.) a log of wood, a cross-cut portion of a trunk.
        kütan (subs.) the gut.
    gujjak (subs.) a shovel.
         küch (subs.) strength, power.
         kúch (subs.) a march, a migration, P.
         kûch (subs.) a wife.
        kucha (subs.) a street or lane in a town, P.
        kuja کوجا (subs.) a vegetable broth, KH., KAZ.
küch-a'n-dur-mak (v. refl. caus.) to cause to exert one's self.
  küch-a'n-mak (v. refl.) to exert one's self, "s'efforcer," to
               make an effort.
  küch-a-ï-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 Kashghar].
 كوچلوكليك küch-lük-lik (subs.) powerful-ness, mightiness.
   kûch-mak (v. intr.) to march, to migrate, P. T.
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kuchuk (subs.) a puppy.
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kuch-un-mak (v. refl.) to march one's self about, to wander about without purpose or unnecessarily.

kada (subs.) a grass of a very nourishing nature growing in the mountains, KAz.

کور kurr (subs.) a cavern. See کور

kura'sh (subs.) a wrestling match.

kura-'sh-mak (v. recip. ?) to wrestle together (in a friendly way).

لراك kura'k (subs.) a shovel, Khok.

kura-mak (v. tr.) to shovel away, to throw (snow, earth, &c.) up with a shovel.

کورپ kürpa عورپ (subs.) a counterpane, Kh.; also, lamb-skin, Y.

كورساتماك kūr-sat-mak (v. caus.) to cause to see, to show.

kur-shapalak (subs.) a bat, P. T.

ورکوراک gurkura'k (vl. subs.) thunder.

gurkura-mak (v. intr.) to thunder.

kar-guz-mak (v. caus.) to cause to see, to show.

kūr-mak (v. tr.) to see, to look. "Obdan kurmaq" to be pleased.

موروشماك kūr-ush-mak (v. recip.) to see one another; to have an interview.

کوروکسیز kûr-uk-siz (vl. adj.) un-seemly, un-sightly.

کوروکلیک kdr-uk-lik (vl. adj.) seemly, sightly, well-favoured, well-

kūr-ul-mak (v. pass.) to be seen.

kūr-um-luk (vl. adj.) worthy of being seen.

kdr-un-mak (v. refl.) to make one's self (or itself) seen, to appear.

köz (subs.) an eye.

küz (subs.) autumn.

köza (subs.) a pitcher, P.

كوزاتچي küz-at-chi (subs.) a watchman, a sentry; lit. a looker after. كوزاتچي 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.

köz-tig-mak (comp. v. intr.) to strike (said of the evil eye) [governs gha]. Conjugated in the 3rd pers. sing.

köz-chi (subs.) a good judge (of horseflesh, &c.). Lit. an eye-er.

koz-la-mak (v. tr.) to keep one's eye upon, to watch from 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-ük-mak (v. intr.). The same as köz-tigmak.

kosa (adj.) beardless, with only a few straggling hairs on the face, P.

kosa-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to stir (the fire).

kosa-mak (v. tr.) to stir (the fire).

موساو kosao کوساو (subs.) a piece of wood for stirring the fire, a poker. کوسای

kaush (subs.) slippers. The same as کوش &c., P.; also, chewing the cud.

gosh (subs.) meat [for gosht, P.].

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".]

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kufah-lak (subs.) a moth, a butterfly. The same as kupah-lak.
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kufruk (subs.) a bridge. The same as kupruk.

kufuk (subs.) foam. The same as kupuk.

kok (subs.) a leather thong forming the pivot of the trelliswork of a Kirghiz tent.

kök (subs.) the sky. Also (adj.), blue; also, green.

kök-ar-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to be blue, to make blue (or green).

kök-ar-mak (v. intr.) to become blue (or green).

kök-ra-mak (v. intr.) to thunder.

لوكراك kökrak كوكراك köksi و köksi كوكراك كوكراك

kokehun (adj.) aged, decrepit, in extreme old age; also, an intriguer, a mischief-maker.

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).

kokmak (subs.) a wild sheep [Ovis nahura].

koknar (subs.) the poppy, P.

كوكيش kök-ish (adj.) bluish, greenish.

kül (subs.) a lake, a pond, a tank [common in the geography of Central Asia as Issiq-kül (warm lake), kara-kül (black lake); but not "Sirikül" (as sometimes spelt by Europeans), see Sariq-qol or Sariqol].

kau-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to dig.

كولاكة kulagah (subs.) shade, shadow.

kau-la-mak (v. tr.) to dig, to excavate.

kulang (subs.) daily bread.

kulankah. For kulagah, KAZ.

kül-dür-mak (v. caus.) to cause to laugh.

كولكى külki (adj.) laughable.

kül-mak (v. intr.) to laugh.

kulmus (adj.) miserly.

kumak (subs.) help, assistance.

kumak (adj.) toothless, whose mouth retreats from want of teeth.

kumak-chi (subs.) a helper, an assistant.

kumak-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to assist one another, to do any thing conjointly.

kumush (subs.) silver.

كون kön (subs.) the sun; also, a day.

kün (subs.) women connected by being the wives of the same husband.

kûn (subs.) common leather (cow's or camel's hide).

كوناولترشي kön-ulturush-i (subs.) sun-set; lit. sun's sitting down.

kön-bâtish-i (subs.) sun-set; lit. sun's sinking.

kön-tughush-i (subs.) sun-rise; lit. sun's birth.

kunjit (subs.) the grain sesame, P.

kön-chikish-i (subs.) sun-rise; lit. sun's coming.

kun-chi (subs.) a leather-worker.

kün-chi (subs.) a jealous person (? from kün the name applied to the connection between two women who are wives of the same husband).

kün-chi-la'sh-mak (v. recip.) to be jealous of one another.

kün-chi-la-mak (v. intr.) to be jealous. [man.

kündash (adj.) connected by being the wives of the same کوندرماك kun-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become trained, to train to educate.

kön-döz (subs.) day-time.

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R. B. Shaw—A Vocabulary of the Language [Extra No. for
              künql (subs.) heart (chiefly used metaph. for 'mind,' &c.).
       küngl-ak (subs.) a coat or shirt not opening at the breast.
كونكلياك küngl-chak (adj.) merciful-hearted.
   كونكلليك künql-lik (adj.) pleasing to the heart; also adv., heartily,
                                     with pleasure.
kün-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to be jealous of one another.
    kün-la-mak (v. intr.) to be, or become jealous.
        kön-lök (subs.) a parasol, a sun-shade.
        لوك الموكناوك kön-lök كونلوك kön-lik ومناوك الموكناوك ا
        kun-mak (v. intr.) to become trained, to receive an educa-
                                     tion.
                  küya (subs.) smut, the blackness formed on the outside of
                                     a kettle, black (of any kind applied or formed on any
                                     object).
                  لويا küya (subs.) a grub which destroys garments.
            لوياگو küyagu کوياگو küyao } (subs.) a son-in-law.
        küidurgu (subs.) a malignant pustule, [so called because it
                                      is cured by inserting a hot needle].
küi-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to burn (intr.), to burn
                                      (tr.), to set fire to.
          küilak (subs.). The same as kunglak.
        küi-mak (v. intr.) to burn, to be burnt.
          küy-ük (adj.) burnt.
                      \begin{array}{c} \stackrel{\text{a.s.}}{\text{s.s.}} kah \\ \stackrel{\text{g.s.}}{\text{s.s.}} gah \end{array}  (post-pos.) to, at, into, onto. [See kd, gd.]
                  ر کی ki gi (relve. affixes). See Gram. p. 312, Syntax.
                  لييا kipak (subs.) bran.
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kep-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become dry, to dry (tr.). کیپتروماک kep-mak (v. intr.) to become dry, to dry [said of clothes.

&c.].

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ket-ar-mak ) (v. caus.) to cause to go away, to remove
ket-kur-mak کیتکورماک
                         [any living being, a spot on a garment,
كيتكوزماك ket-kuz-mak
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ket-mak (v. intr.) to go away.

ليتورماك ke'-tur-mak (v. caus. from kel-muk corr.) to cause to come,

kech (adj. and adv.) towards evening, late in the day.

لَيْجَةُ ورون kech-qurun (adv.) late in the day.

ليجك kichik (adj.) small, little.

kich'k-'inah (adj.) tiny, little, very small.

ليحماك 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

کیچه kechah (subs.) night.

کیچک kichik. The same as کیچیک

کیچیک kich-ik (vl. subs.) a ford.
کیچیک kichik-kinah (adj.) tiny, little.

kech-ik-mak (v. intr.) to delay, to be late.

ليدورما کيدورما ki-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to put on (clothes).

kirr (adj.) dirty, soiled.

كرا kira. The same as كيرا.

kirăk (adj.) necessary, needful [often used as an impersonal verb in the sense of "it is necessary" with the infinitive of another verbl.

كيراكليك kirāk-lik (subs.) the needful, necessaries.

کيرپي kirpi (subs.) a hedgehog.

kir-guz-mak (v. caus.) to cause to enter, to bring in.

kir-mak (v. intr.) to enter, to come or go in.

كيز kîviz (subs.) felt. See kîqhiz.

kezak (subs.) turn, order, succession.

كيزدورماك kez-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to walk about.

kez-mak (v. intr.) to walk about.

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kizuk (subs.) a contagious fever.
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كيساك kesak (subs.) a piece (of any thing); specially, a piece of brick, [prob. from kes-mak].

kes-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to cut.

kes-mak (v. tr.) to cut.

کیسی kes-uk (vl. subs.) a cut, a notch.

kisah (subs.) a bag attached to the girdle, P.

kishan (subs.) a hobble, a short chain fastening together a horse's forelegs.

كيشي kishi (subs. and pron.) a person; any-one, some-one, e. g. obdan kishi "a good person;" kishi kel-ma-di "no one came."

كيك kiik (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: saikiik-i. lit. "desert kiik" (Saiga Tartarica?), tagh-kiik-i "mountain kîik" (includes ibex, Ovis Polii, &c.)].

کیکا kekach ) (adj.) stuttering, stammering, having an impe-يكاني kekak ) diment in one's speech.

کیکاچلامالی kekach-la-mak کیکاچلامالی kekach-la-mak کیکاچلامالی (v. intr.) to stutter, to stammer. kekak-la-mak کیکاکلامالی

كيكانتماك kekaï-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to be haughty.

kekai-mak (v. intr.) to be haughty, to give one's self airs.

ليكرتاك kikar-tak (subs.) the wind-pipe.

kikar-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to eructate.

ليكرماك kikar-mak (v. intr.) to eructate.

گيكروك kîkar-uk (vl. subs.) an eructation.

کیگورماك ki-gur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to put on (clothes). کیگورماك ki-gus-mak

کیگیز kiqiz (subs.). Same as kighiz.

gilam (subs.) a carpet, P.

kel-tur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to come, to bring.

kel-tur-ul-mak (v. caus. pass.) to be brought.

kel-ish-tur-mak (v. recip. caus.) to cause to come to a good result, to bring to a satisfactory conclusion.

kel-ish-mak (v. recip.) to come together; specially, to come to a good result.

kel-mak (v. intr.) to come.

KAZ.

keli (subs.) a large mortar (in which rice, &c. is pounded),

كيليّاك keli-chak (subs.) a small hand-mortar (see kéli), KAZ.

كيلين kelin (subs.) a daughter-in-law.

كيلينچاك kelin-chak (subs.) a daughter-in-law (thus called while still a bride), Kaz.

كيم kim (conj.) that; also, (pron.) who. See كيم

کیما د kî-mak (v. tr.) to put on (clothes), to wear.

kim-ersa (pron.) lit. who-ever, whoso-ever ("it may be"), but usually some one [same as kishi] (no longer common).

كيمرماك kimar-mak (v. tr.) to gnaw, KAZ.

kimsan (subs.) a gold-tinted leather.

kimuk (subs.) cancellated bony tissue.

kîmah (subs.) a vessel, a ship, a boat.

kiin (subs.) the rear, the back part; also, (adv.) afterwards, behind; also, (post-pos.) after, behind [governs din]; kiin-ga "backwards," kiin-i-ga "towards" or "to the back of it" (definite).

kindük (subs.) the navel.

كينگ king (adj.) wide, broad, extended; also, roomy, capacious.

kingash (subs.) counsel, advice, deliberation.

kingash-mak (v. intr.) to deliberate, to take counsel [? recip. of kingaï-mak; quasi "to open (one's mind) to one another"].

كينكالماك king-a'l-mak (v. pass.) to be made wide or open.

کیدگایتما کی king-aï-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to become open or wide.

king-aï-mak (v. intr.) to become wide or open, to expand.

لينگييليک king-chi-lik (subs.) wideness, expansion.

23

كينه kinah (subs.) jealousy, P.

kinah tut-mdq (comp. v. intr.) to be jealous, P. T.

كيذ kînah-la-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to be jealous of one another,
P. T.

كينهااماك kinah-la-mak (v. intr.) to be jealous.

kiin-i-chah (adv.) backwards: kiin-i-chah ket-mak "to retire," "to back (of a horse);" kiin-i-chah tur-mak "to turn the back on."

١

- là (part.) a particle expressive of multitude: e. g. là-s-lashkar "the whole army", "the army and all."
- Ulba (subs.) the marks of the (Qàlmàq) Buddhist religion [Lama].
- البر (subs.) title of an officer commanding a corps of infantry (500 men).
- اپولاماک lapul-la-mak (v. intr.) to flap to and fro (with the wind).
  - latta (subs.) a rag. Also a kind of flowered silk stuff.
  - lachah (subs.) sealing-wax.
  - lachak (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."
    - lachin (subs.) a kind of hawk.
      - lar. The plural affix.
      - اس) las (subs.) refuse silk.
      - lash (subs.) green slime (formed on stagnant water, &c.).
      - الأن (subs.) false boasting, a drawing of the long bow, P.
      - "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); Su-laq "a watering-place (of cattle);" Otlaq "a grassy place," &c.

لاك lák (subs.) sealing-wax, P.

lan. An affix forming numeral substantives. E. g. "ochaolan" a group of three." See Grammar, p. 308.

langar (subs.) an anchor (or rather a heavy object used instead of an anchor), P. Also, a halting-place, a resthouse, Y.

انكة lankah (subs.) linen (? Nankeen).

ارر lawar. See labar.

لاي الأن (subs.) mud, clay, P.

المجني lâi-chi (subs.) a worker in clay, one who makes walls, &c. of mud, P. T.

laï-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to become muddy, to muddy (tr.), P. T.

ldi-la-maq (v. intr.) to become muddy. Also, to float, P. T.

ليليق ldi-lik (adj.) muddy. Also the name of the second stage from Yarkand on the Aksu road, P. T.

lab (subs.) a lip, an edge, P.

الجك lachak. See لجك.

lak (num.) a hundred thousand, P.

لكلك laklak (subs.) a stork, A.

lukh (subs.) a rush (grass).

luq. See lik.

luk. The same as lak.

lum-lum (subs.) a composition resembling india-rubber.

lunj (subs.) the inside of the cheek, P.

lungga (subs.) a flower-pot.

lungi (subs.) a scarf used as turban or waist-scarf chiefly used by the Afgháns, P.

liq 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.

. ران matâl (subs.) a proverb, a saying, KAZ.

matang (subs.) a kind of sweetmeat, (? CH.).

mâtâo (subs.) a number of animals picketted together to a single rope, a chain-gang of criminals similarly fastened, KAZ.

majan for marjan (subs.) coral, A.

mach (subs.) paste made of the fine dust collected from a flour mill.

maraq (vl. subs.) a place of ambuscade or of secret observation (of an enemy).

maraq-chi (subs.) an ambush, men placed so as to observe the enemy without being themselves seen.

maral (subs.) the female of the 12-tined stag of Eastern
Turkistán.

Mdrál-báshi (prop. name.) a town founded by the Chinese near Laï-Masjid, at the junction of the roads from Yarkand and Kashghar to Aksu.

marali (subs.) leather prepared from the skins of the 'maral.'

mara-mak (v. tr.) to watch from a concealed post of observation, to lie in ambush.

mardach (adv.) tailor-wise (used of a mode of sitting),

KAZ.

marozah (subs.) a small carpet.

mazar (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-

mals). 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.

mazdq (subs.) a joke, (corr. A.).

mash (subs.) a kind of pulse, P.

masha (subs.) candle-snuffers; also, the fork in wich the match of a match-lock gun is fixed.

mashaq (subs.) gleanings.

måshüt (subs.) raw silk.

mâqâl. See matâl.

mdqta-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to praise.

mdqta-maq (v. tr.) to praise.

maqta-'n-maq (v. refl.) to praise one's self, to boast.

máku (subs.) a shuttle (generally made of horn).

mala (subs.) a bush-harrow, a rake, an instrument for covering seed with earth after sowing.

mal-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to dip.

mal-maq (v. tr.) to dip, specially into a dyeing vat.

mama (subs.) a grandmother, an old woman.

mamuq (subs.) cotton, KAZ.

mantu (subs.) a small meat-dumpling baked in steam.

mantu-paz (subs.) a baker of 'Mantus.'

mantu-chi (subs.) a pimp, KASHGHAR.

mang-dur-mag (v. caus.) to cause to walk.

mangra\_'sh-mdq (v. recip.) to bleat to one-another (of sheep or goats).

mangra-maq, (v. intr.) to bleat, to bas (used of sheep and goats).

mangqa (subs.) a running from the nose; also, a dangerous illness in horses.

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manglåi (subs.) the forehead.
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mang-maq (v. intr.) to walk, to go, to progress in any manner (physically).

mang-ish (vl. subs.) movement, pace.

mái (subs.) fat, grease, butter, KAZ.

mdya (subs.) capital, original sum invested, P.

mayaq (subs.) sheep's droppings.

maida (subs.) fine powder, P.

maïda-la-maq (tr.) to reduce to powder.

mâiruq (adj.) twisted, crippled, KAZ.

maimun (subs.) a monkey, A.

midra-mak (v. intr.) to move.

marjan (subs.) coral, A.

maskah (subs.) fresh butter, P.

mashrab (subs.) a social re-union with music, &c.

mashq (subs.) practice drill, military exercises, A.

ma'qul (adj.) lit. reasonable; commonly used for well, all right, A.

ma'qul-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to come to an agreement together.

ma'qul-la-maq (v. intr.) to come to an agreement, to agree to.

milteq (subs.) a gun, a musket.

milteq-chi (subs.) a gunner, a musketeer.

man (pron.) I.

men-em (pron.) my, KAZ, [for maning].

man-man-lik (subs.) egotism, self-conceit.

manah (interj.) here! "voici!"

mu interrogative affix. See Grammar.

mu for bu in oblique cases.

muchah (subs.) the hind-quarters of a sheep, KAZ.

muchàl (subs.) the cycle of 12 years (each of which is named after an animal). See Grammar.

muju-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to pulverize in the hands

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].

muchin (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.

mori (subs.) a gutter; also, a chimney, ? P.

muz (subs.) ice.

muzat properly muzart (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.

muz-tagh (subs.) a glacier; also, a snowy mountain. (See Remarks regarding the application of such words as proper names, under Aq-tagh.)

muz-luq (adj.) icy, covered with ice.

mushak (subs.) a fire-work, a rocket, a squib.

müshük (subs.) a cat.

mush-la-mak [for musht-la-mak] (v. tr.) to strike with the fist, P. T.

Mughal (prop. name) Mongol. موغال موغال Mughul

mol (adj.) plentiful, abundant, KH.

mola (subs.) a pack-saddle.

mulla (subs.) an educated person, one who has learnt to read and write, 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.

molan (subs.) a wild-cat.

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mum (subs.) wax; dk-mum "bee's wax"; kara-mum "cob-
            bler's wax." P.
   munjag (subs.) a coloured bead.
    mun-chah (adv.) thus much, (from bu which see, and chah).
   mun-dagh (adv.) thus.
     mun-dah (adv.) here.
    mung (subs.) sorrow, care.
  mung-ai-mag (v. intr.) to become sorrowful.
mung-da-'sh-maq ) (v. recip.) to impart one's griefs to one-
 mung-la-'sh-mag } another.
    munguz (subs.) a horn.
mihrban-chi-liq (subs.) kindness, graciousness, P. T.
mihman-chi-liq (subs.) hospitality, P. T.
     mijaz for mizaj (subs.) health; also, disposition, temper, P.
      mekh (subs.) a nail, a peg, P.
 mekh-la-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to nail, P. T.
  mekh-la-mag (v. tr.) to nail, P. T.
midira-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to move, to move (tr.)
midira-mak (v. intr.) to move, to creep.
midir-la-mak (v. intr.) to move about, to creep about.
     mairdah (adv.) here [for bu or ma-yer-dah 'in this place'].
     mis (subs.) copper, P.
  mis-qachah (subs.) a copper vessel, P. T.
    mishiq (subs.) a cat.
     m'ikan) interrogative or dubitative form of the Indef.
    m'ikin \ Part. of the defective verb irmak or imak) is?
                    whether?
                              [See Grammar.]
   milteg (subs.) a gun.
      mail (subs.) inclination, choice, A.
      min (pr.) I, KAZ, KIRGH.
   minjag. See munjag.
 min-dur-mak (v. caus.) to cause to ride, to mount (any.
             one).
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IN CE

min-ieh-mak (v. recip.) to ride together.

ming (num.) a thousand.

ming (subs.) a beauty-spot, a mole on the face. [horse.

min-ga-'sh-mak (v. recip.) to ride two together on one

mingah (subs.) the brain.

min-mak (v. tr.) to mount a horse, to ride, "monter à

mina (interj.) here! "voici!"

[cheval."

miyah (subs.) the brain.

U

نابات nabat (subs.) sugar, P.

المار adj.) helpless, P.

ناچارليق nachar-lig (subs.) helplessness, P. T.

الاز nar (subs.) a single-humped camel, like those of India.

i nar-raq. For nari-raq.

inari (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; c. g. saning nari-'ng gha "to thy further side" (where it takes both the possessive termination and dative post-position); wi-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.

inari-raq (adv. comparative) further, beyond, more on the other side.

ju naz (subs.) blandishments, endearments, P.

naz-la-'t-mag (v. caus.) to cause to endear himself, P. T.

ndz-la-'n-maq (v. refl.) to endear one's self, P. T.

نازليق ndz-liq (adj.) endearing, using blandishments.

ndzuk (adj.) delicate, tender, P.

24

nds (subs.) snuff (generally put into the mouth under the tongue and retained there for some time), P.

indswdr. The same, P.

السوال naswal. The same.

indswai. The same, KAZ.

nashbati عام الشباتي (subs.) a pear, P.

nashwati أ nashwati

ndshtah (subs.) an early breakfast, a morsel eaten on first getting up, 'choti haziri,' P.

naghāra (subs.) a large kettle-drum, P.

naghara-chi (subs.) a kettle-drummer, P. T.

nak (subs.) a pear.

namus (subs.) an indignity, a disgrace, A.

ndo } (subs.) the wooden spout or channel which carries the water to the wheel of a water-mill, P.

ndwdt. See nabdt.

ناي nai (subs.) a reed, a fife, P.

naï-chi (subs.) a fifer, P. T.

ni-chand (pron.) several, P. T.

ni-chuk (adv.) how? in what manner? thus, so.

ni-chah (pron.) how many? how much?

nuskhah (subs.) model; also, pattern, design, drawing, A.

ناغارا naghara. See نغارا

inaghmah (subs.) music, melody, P.

naghmah-chi (subs.) a musician, P. T.

inimarsah [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].

ni-mah (pron.) what? also, something. [See Grammar, Pronouns.]

ning or nang or nung. The affix of the Genitive case; in early Turki "property," "possession."

ni (pron.) what? Also (post-pos.) the affix of the Accusative case.

ناي naï. See نى

ni-tak (adv.). The same as ni-chuk. [Almost obsolete.] نيتّاك ni-chuk. See نيجوك

الميت ni-chagh-da (adv.) at what time? when? الميت ni-chag-da

ni-chagh-liq (pron.) what, at a guess? about how much?
[See chagh.]

ni-'chun [for ni-uchun] (adv.) why? for what reason? نيجوون ni-chah. See غيناً.

naï-chah (subs.) a little reed, specially one placed in a shuttle and on which the thread is wound.

inim'ish-qa (adv.) to what purpose? wherefore?
هنين nimah. See

ining. The affix of the Genitive case. See Grammar.

iniersah [ni-ersa]. The same as nimarsah [constructed with ni instead of nima].

,

y an affix corresponding with our "isn't there," "does'nt it."

hâr-dur-mâq (v. caus.) to cause to be tired, to tire, (tr.).

hárduq (subs.) fatigue, tiredness.

hdr-maq (v. intr.) to be tired, to feel fatigue.

hdr-it-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be tired.

hang (subs.) a cliff, a precipice, Y.

hangghut (subs.) the ruddy sheildrake, Casarea rutila.

hangu (subs.) name of a tree from whose hard wood cups are made, (?) a kind of poplar.

مانكي hangi (subs.) a jack-ass.

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haïda-mak (v. tr.) to drive, to drive away.
   har-kachan (adv.) whenever, whensoever (lit. 'every when').
  hur-mak (v. tr.) to blow away (with the mouth).
   hur'-kak (adj.) shying (of a horse), easily frightened.
   hur-mak (v. intr.) to bark (of a dog).
  hürük-mak (v. intr.) to shy [for hürük-kak (?)].
hürük-üt-mak (v. caus.) to cause to shy.
     hukuz (subs.) a bullock, an ox.
       höl (adj.) wet, damp.
 هوليليک h\ddot{o}l-chi-lik (subs.) wetness, humidity.
  höl-la-mak (v. tr.) to wet.
   haï-haï (interj.) alas! what a pity!
     يابالاق yabaldq يابالاق yapaldq } (subs.) an owl.
      يايالاق yapalda (adi.) flat.
      يايراق yapraq (subs.) a leaf (of a tree), KAZ.
    يايرماق yaparmaq. The same, E. T.
 yap-ish-tur-maq (v. recip. caus.) to cause to become affixed,
               to affix.
   yap-ish-maq (v. recip.) to stick together, to become affixed
               to one-another to climb, to "swarm up," [recip. from
               following].
      yap-maq (v. tr.) to close, to cover.
         يابو yabu (subs.) a baggage horse or strong pony.
    بايرمان yapurmag. See بايورماق
    yap-ush-maq. See yapishmaq.
       yap-ugh (subs.) the covering of a horse, horse-clothing. پاپوق yap-uq
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yap-un-ji (subs.) a covering (for the body) against rain or

cold, a blanket.

yap-un-maq (v. refl.) to cover one's self, to throw one's clothes on without putting one's arms into the sleeves.

ياپالاق yapah-laq. See ياپالاق.

يات yat (adj.) strange, unknown.

yâtâq (subs.) a man belonging to a nomad tribe who from poverty comes into the towns to earn a livelihood, Kaz, Kh.

yat-qaq (adj.) sleepy, who sleeps much or often.

yat-qur-maq عاتقورماق (v. caus.) to cause to lie down. ياتقوزماق yat-quz-maq

ydt-la-'n-maq (v. refl.) to feel one's self strange, to be shy.

ydt-la-maq (v. tr.) to treat as a stranger, to shun.

yât-maq (v. intr.) to lie down, to lie.

yat-ugh-luq (vl. adj.) lying down, leaning.

yat-uq (vl. adj.) leaning, inclined.

yad (subs.) memory, recollection, P.

yâd-dâsh for yâd-dâsht (subs.) a memorandum, a reminder. ياد داش yâd-la-'t-mâq (v. caus.) to cause to remember, to remind,

yûd-la-'sh-mâq (v. recip.) to remember one another, to speak of one another, P. T.

y dd-la-'n-maq (v. pass. or refl.) to be reminded, to bethink one's self, to recollect, P. T.

yad-la-maq (v. tr.) to commit to memory, to learn by heart. يادلاماق ydr (subs.) a friend, P.

يار yâr (subs.) a bow (for shooting).

ydr (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 ydr "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 north-western boundary of a depressed fluviatile plain nearly

four miles wide, low and marshy, which was probably formed by the divaricating branches of the Yarkand 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 31 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 Yaman-yar "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.]

yara (subs.) a wound.

yâr-a-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause (or allow) to be pleasant (to one's self), to appreciate, to be pleased with [from yara-naq].

ياراتمات ydrat-maq (v. tr.) to create, to make out of nothing. ياراتيلماق ydrat-il-maq (v. pass.) to be created.

yâr-âsh (subs.) peace, concord, P. T.

ydr-d'sh-tur-maq (v. recip. caus.) to cause to make peace, to reconcile.

ydr-d'sh-maq (v. recip.) to make peace together, to become reconciled; also, to suit, to become, [lit. 'to be pleasant to one-another;' from ydr-a-maq].

ydrdq (subs.) a weapon, an arm.

ydrdq-la-maq (v. tr.) to arm.

ياراليغ yara-ligh (adj.) wounded.

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ydr-a-maq (v. intr.) to be pleasant, to be agreeable, to
             please, P. T.
עור yar-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to split, (tr.).
   yârqhâq (subs.) leather (of sheep or goat's skin).
    yâr-ghu (subs.) a fine, an exaction [quasi something split
             off by force from a man's property] (from yar-maq).
yâr-ghu-chaq (subs.) a hand-mill (only used for making
             tobacco into snuff, or splitting or breaking up grain for
             cattle, not for flour).
  يارقنات yâr-qanât (subs.) a bat.
   yarligh عراليغ yarligh {(subs.) a (written) decree, an edict, a "farman."
    يارليق yar-liq (adj.) friendly.
    يارلية ydr-liq (adj.) fissured, with many banks.
ydrliqa-maq (v. tr.) to absolve (from sin), to proclaim an
             amnesty.
     يارما yâr-ma (subs.) split peas (or any other grain).
yarmash-maq. Same as yapish-maq.
   ydr-mdq (v. tr.) to split, to slit. [See ydr "a fissure."]
   yarmaq (subs.) a bronze coin of small value current in the
             time of the Chinese.
  yâru-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be enlightened, to throw
             light (or any thing), to lighten, to illuminate.
 yâr-üsh-mâq (v. recip.) to split together.
 ydru-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to lighten together.
    \left\{ y dr - ugh \ y dr - ugh \ y dr - uq \ \right\} (subs.) a split, a crack.
    ילונא ydru-'gh (subs.) a ray of light, light generally. אינפט ydru-'q
 ياريلماتي ydr-il-maq (v. pass.) to be split.
     yar-im (subs.) half [from yar-maq "to split"].
      ydz (subs.) spring, also summer. [See ydshil.]
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ydz-dur-mag (v. caus.) to cause to write.

yáz-ghur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to err, to cause to be (legally) guilty, to bring in guilty, to convict.

يازلوق yaz-luq (adj.) adapted to summer, summer (clothes, &c.). يازماق yaz-maq (v. tr.) to write, [? connected with yarligh].

ydz-mdq (v. intr.) to err, to deviate (from the road or from one's duty).

ydz-maq (v. tr.) to unfold, to spread out.

ydz-uq (vl. subs.) an error, a deviation from rectitude, a sin [from ydz-mdq].

ydzi (subs.) the country (as opposed to the town) [? from ydz summer, quasi "summer quarters," or else from ydz-mdq to spread out, quasi "open country," "rase campagne" as opposed to the town].

يازيلماق yaz-il-maq (v. pass.) to be written.

يازيلماق ydz-il-maq (v. pass.) to be spread out.

ydzi-liq (subs.) a dweller in the country, a country-man.

yasa-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to make.

ydsag (subs.) line of battle, formation of troops.

ydsd-mdq (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.

ydsdo (subs.) a line of battle, KAZ.

ydsdwal (subs.) a chamberlain, an usher; lit. a former up or arranger of men.

ydstd-'n-chaq (subs.) an elbow-cushion, a support for the elbows.

ydstd-'n-mdq (v. refl.) to support one's self on one's elbows, to sit in a half reclining position.

ydstuq (subs.) a pillow (for the head), KAZ.

ydsqdq (subs.) a slate [not used for roofing because there is no rain].

yasmuq (subs.) a kind of pulse.

ياسسي ydssi (adj.) wide (in superficial measurement), KAZ.
ydsh (subs.) age (counted in years), years of age (e. g., man
qirq yásh-da dur-man "I am forty years old;" 'besh
yásh-qha yelti "he reached five years of age"].

ydsh (adj.) of tender age, young [e. g., ydsh bala "an infant," ydsh yigit " a young man"].

yash (subs.) a tear.

ydsh-ar (adj.) aged (so-and-so) [e. g., ellik ydshar ddam "a man fifty years of age"].

ydsh-ar-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to weep.

ydsh-ar-'t-mdk (v. caus.) to cause to become green.

ydsh-ar-maq (v. intr.) to weep, to shed tears.

ydsh-ar-mak (v. intr.) to sprout, to become green.

ydsh-a-mdq (v. intr.) to age, to grow older [applies equally at all ages].

ydsh-an-maq (v. refl.) to age one's self, to grow older.

ydsh-luq (subs.) youth, early age.

ydsh-ur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be hidden, to hide, to conceal.

ydsh-ur-un (adj.) hidden, concealed.

yash-ur-un-maq (v. refl.) to hide one's self, to conceal itself. ياشورونماق yash-un-maq (v. refl.) to hide one's self.

yâshiq (adj.) lean, without fat (said only of meat).

ydshil (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 ydsh 'early age', 'budding youth,' and of ydsh-ar-mak "to become green," (whose form shows that the syllable il in ydshil 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-

thetical common root of ydsh and ydsh-il is perhaps connected with that of yds "spring" (the season of growth). Compare also yds-mdq "to open out." Prof. Vambery (from the kudatku Bilik) gives the following comparison of the ages of man with the seasons of the year.

ydz =Spring, answers to childhood (which we have seen is called ydsh).

yai = Summer, answers to youth.

 $k\ddot{o}s$  (kuz) = Autumn (the reaping season), answers to full-grown manhood.

qish = 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.

ydshin (subs.) lightning.

yâgh (subs.) grease, fat. [Distinguished into su-yâghi "oil," tatliq yâgh "sweet oil," quyuruq yàghi lit. "tail fat" (the fat of the tail of the Dumba sheep), sarigh yâgh "yellow grease," viz., "ghee or clarified butter," maskah yàgh "butter."]

yaghách (subs.) wood, a stick.

yagh-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to rain, to water (from above), "arroser."

yaghrün (subs.) a shoulder-blade, KAZ. KIRGH.

yaghrün-chi (subs.) one who divines by means of the shoulder-blades of sheep, KAZ. KIEGH.

ydgh-la-ghu (subs.) a frying-pan, [from ydgh 'grease'].

yâgh-la-'n-mâq (v. pass. and refl.) to be made or become greasy, to make itself greasy, to become greasy of itself.

yagh-la-maq (v. tr.) to make greasy, to grease.

ياغليق yâgh-liq (subs.) a napkin (for wiping the grease from one's hands); also, (adj.) greasy.

ydghi (adj.) rebellious; also, warring, at war, P.

ياغير yaghir (adj.) galled (by the saddle, &c., said of a horse).
- ياغيليق yaghi-liq (subs.) rebellion; also, hostility, P. T.

yaghin (subs.) rain.

yak (subs.) the jaw-bone.

yaqa (subs.) a border, an edge, a collar (of a garment), [the other edges of a garment have a different name].

yaqd-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.

yaq-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to light (fire).

yâq-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause (or allow) to be pleasant (to one's self), to approve, to be pleased with.

ياقتى yaqti (subs.) light, KAZ.

ydq-mdq (v. tr.) to light, to set on fire.

ydq-mdq (v. intr.) to be agreeable, to please [governs gha].

ياقيس ydq-in (adv.) near, close to [? at the edge (ydqa)].

ياقيلماق yáq-il-maq (v. pass.) to be lighted.

yaqin-la-maq (v. intr.) to become near, to approach [governs gha].

yál (subs.) a mane (of a horse).

yal (subs.) wages, pay, recompense for service.

yaldq (subs.) a plate for feeding dogs out of, [from their licking up the remainders].

yâla-mâk (v. tr.) to lick.

yalânghâch (adj.) naked, bare [? from yala-maq].

yalanghach-la-maq (v. tr.) to make naked, to strip.

yâlang (adj.) half-clothed (said of a man insufficiently clothed in cold weather), bare, naked (said of a plain or mountain).

يالنگاماق ydlang-la-mdq (v. tr.) to make bare; also, to brandish يالنگليق ydlang-liq (subs.) a bare place, an open plain. [(a sword). يالار ydlao (subs.). See ydldg, Kaz.

yalbar-maq (v. intr.) to be seech, to entreat, to act as a 'lick spittle' [? from yala maq].

يالپاق ydlpdq (adj.) wide (in superficial measurement), flat.

ydl-tur-a't-mdq (v. caus.) to cause to glisten (whether by rubbing up to make bright, or by displaying the bright object in the light).

ydl-tur-a-maq (v. intr.) to glisten, to shine.

yal-chi-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be pleased with one's service, to render acceptable service.

yal-chi-maq (v. intr.) to be pleased with (any one's) services, to approve. [Governs 'din'.]

yal-dir-a-maq. See yalturamaq.

jdlgha-mdq (v. tr.) to join, to unite.

yalghán (subs.) a lie, an untruth.

yalghan-chi (subs.) a liar.

yalghoz (adj.) alone.

yalghoz-liq (subs.) loneliness, the being alone.

yalghoz-la-maq (v. tr.) to isolate, to cause to be alone.

yâlghoz-luq (subs.) solitude, loneliness, isolation. يالغوزلوق پاليم، yálin (subs.) a flame.

yalin-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to entreat (by withholding what is asked for), 'se faire prior.'

ydlin-maq (v. intr.) to be seech, to abase one's self in entreaties (governs gha of the person entreated, and uches of the petition) [? the refl. form of ydla-maq; see also ydbarmaq.]

yd'mdq (vl. subs.) a patch (sewn into a garment).

yama-maq (v. tr.) to patch, to sew a patch over a rent in a garment.

yaman (adj.) bad, evil; also, bad to beat, brave, adroit.

yaman-la-maq (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).

yaman-liq (subs.) evil, badness.

yâmghur (subs.) rain.

yan (subs.) a flank, a side. [Forms several adverbs, see Grammar.]

يانا yana (adv.). See yanah.

yan-bash (subs.) the hip-bone [lit. 'side-head'].

yan-bash-la-maq (v. intr.) to lie on one's side, to recline on one's hip.

ydntaq (subs.) a thorny plant growing in desert places and eaten by camels.

ياجيتماك yânji't-mâq (v. caus.) to cause to pound up.

yûnji-mûq (v. tr.) to pound up, to reduce to powder; also, (metaph.) to bring to nothing, to ruin.

ydn-chiq (subs.) a side-pocket.

yân-dâsh (subs.) a companion, lit. "a side-fellow" [conf. qursdq-dâsh].

yan-dash-maq (v. intr.) to accompany, to be or go side يانداشماق yan-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to burn, to burn (tr.).

yan-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to return, to return (tr.); also, to cause to do again.

yangaq (subs.) a walnut.

yângâq (subs.) the jaw-bone.

yangra-maq (v. intr.) to echo back, to give an echo.

yangghaq (subs.) a walnut.

yangil-maq (v. tr.) to make a mistake.

yangzah (subs.) sort, kind, pattern, CHIN.

yang-ligh (adj.) equal, same [generally used with bir before it, = one and the same] (obsolete).

yangl-ish (vl. subs.) a mistake [from yangilmaq].

ydn-maq (v. intr.) to burn, to consume (itself) by fire.

yan-maq (v. intr.) to return, to turn back; also, to change 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., yan-ip qel-dim "I did it over again."

ydni-maq (v. tr.) to whet, to sharpen, 'repasser.'

ydo (subs. and adj.) an enemy; also, hostile, KAZ.

يارا ydwa (adj.) wild, not tamed.

yawash (adj.) tame, docile, tractable.

[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 wan-mag).

ydu-'zh-maq (v. recip.) to approach one another, to approach together [from ydu-maq].

يارق yau-'q (adv.) near.

يارقلاماق yau-'q-la-maq (v. intr.) to approach.

ydu-maq (v. intr.) to approach.

ياي ydi (subs.) summer, [rare at the present day except in camp].

ياياق ydydq (subs.) a footman ; also, (adv.) on foot, KH.

يايار yaydo. The same, KAZ.

yaï-lâq (subs.) a summer pasture, an 'alp' (in the Swiss sense).

ydi-la-maq (v. intr.) to pass the summer (used of flocks and herds taken to their summer-pastures).

يايماق ydi-mdq (v. tr.) to spread out, to extend. Same as ydz-maq. بايماق ydy-ul-mdq (v. pass.) to be spread out, to flood.

yett'-dilan (num. subs.) a group of seven.

yet-mish (num.) seventy.

يتمشنج 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  $Aqb\delta z$  at and  $K\ddot{o}k$ - $b\delta z$  at ('white-grey horse' and 'blue grey horse') which are picketted to a peg (the Pole-Star) round which they graze].

yakh (subs.) ice, P.

yakh-tan (subs.) a pannier, a leather box forming one side of a baggage animal's load, [for P. yak-dan].

يخشي yakhshi (adj. and adv.) good; well.

yakhak (subs.) glazed chintz [? from yakh, ice, P.].

yakh-la-mak (v. intr.) to freeze; also, to set (of grease or any liquid or viscous fluid which hardens with decrease of temperature), P. T.

yakhni (subs.) cold meat.

yed (subs.) a perfume, a pleasant smell. [smell.

yed-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to perceive a pleasant

yed-la-mak (v. tr.) to smell, to perceive a pleasant odour.

يدلانماك yed-la-'n-mak (v. pass. and refl.) to be smelt, to smell (intr.) to give rise to a pleasant odour.

يدليك yed-lik (adj.) pleasant smelling, odoriferous.

yarâ (subs.) a wound.

يراغ yardgh (subs.) a weapon, an arm, [see يراغ].

پاراقلاماق yaragh-la-maq (v. tr.) to arm. Same as ياراقلاماق

yard-'gh-liq (vl. adj.) pleasing [from yara-maq].

yardgh-liq (adj.) armed.

yuraq (adj.) distant ; also, (adv.) far.

yuraq-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to remove to a distance from one another, to separate (tr. or intr.).

yuraq-la-maq (v. tr.) to remove to a distance.

يراقليق yuraq-liq (subs.) distance, far-ness.

. ياراماق yara-maq. See يراماق

yaghach (subs.) wood.

yaghâch-chi (subs.) a carpenter.

yighla-màq (v. intr.) to weep, to lament with tears.

yighi (subs.) weeping, lamentation.

إياقا yeqa. See يقا

yek-it-maq (v. caus.) to cause to fall, to throw down.

yek-il-maq (v. pass.) to be caused to fall, to be thrown down, to fall.

yek-maq (v. tr.) to throw down, KAZ.

يكم yak-kah (adj. and adv.) alone; only, P.

[ایگرمات yigar-mak (v. tr.) to spin. [Also یگرماك

yigarm-aïlan (num. subs.) a group of twenty.

yigarm'-anchi (num. adj.) twentieth.

yigarmah (num.) twenty.

yil (subs.) a year. [The solar year from ndo-roz to ndo-roz (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.]

yulân (subs.) a serpent, a snake.

يالانگ yaldng. See يلانگ.

يالانغاج yalang-ghach. See يالانغاج

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-ohi (subs.) a keeper of a herd of horses.

يليق yiliq (adj.) lukewarm, tepid.

ايليق yilik (subs.) marrow. Also يليك.

ييليمالاماك yom-la-mak (v. tr.) to paste, to glue. Also ييليمالاماك

ينك yanga (subs.) an elder brother's wife.

بانگلیغ yang-ligh. See پنگلیغ

ينكى yangi (adj.) new.

ينه yanah (adj. and adv.) other; also, again.

yud (subs.) a leek.

yud-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause (a child) to stop crying (by giving it something to amuse it), to hush.

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yud'sh or yawd-'sh (adj.) mild, tractable, gentle.
     yudsh-liq (adj.) mildness, gentleness.
      yudlduz (subs.) a packing-needle.
  vud-'n-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause (a child) to stop crying,
              to pacify, to soothe (a child).
     yud-'n-maq (v. refl.) to pacify itself, to stop crying (of a
              child), to become hushed.
       يويقا yupqa (adj.) thin (not used of men or animals).
  yupqa-la-maq (v. tr.) to make thin.
     ياپوغ See ياپوغ يوپوغ yupuq. }
       yut (subs.) a scarcity of grass on the pastures.
      yütal (adj.) coughing, having a cough.
 yütal-mak پوتالماك yütal-mak } (v. intr.) to cough.
 yüt-ür-mak (v. caus.) to cause to be lost, to lose [for
             .[يتورماك
    yut-mag (v. tr.) to swallow.
       gurd (adv.) upright, standing, KAZ.
    yurak (subs.) heart (used without metaphor).
      yürt (subs.) a country, one's home.
    yurt-aul (subs.) a mounted troop of plunderers [from
             yurt-mag].
   yurt-ak (vl. subs. and adj.) a trot; trotting.
   yurt-qan (subs.) a counterpane, a bed-covering stuffed
            with cotton.
   yurt-mag (v. intr.) to trot.
yür-dür-mak (v. caus.) to cause to proceed [from yür-mak].
     yurgha (subs.) an amble (pace of a horse).
yurgha-la-maq (v. intr.) to amble.
 yurga-mak (v. tr.) to roll up, to wind, to fold.
yurga-'n-mak (v. refl.) to roll one's self up.
yür-güz-mak. See yür-dür-mak.
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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.

yūru-māq (v. tr.) to interpret (a dream).

yûr-mâq (v. intr.) to walk, to progress, to proceed, [ât-ga min-ip yūr-mak "to proceed on horseback"].

yürü-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to walk, to cause to proceed.

yürü-mak. See yür-mak, also mang-maq.

يورزق yûrûq. See yâruyh, ydruq (in both senses).

yürü-'k (vl. subs.) pace, gait, manner of walking.

jyż yüz (subs.) the cheek, the face; also, face or surface (of any object); also metaph., an-din ul yüz-i ghâ that side of it (viz., beyond it); fulân kelgan-ning bu-yūz-i-da "since so-and-so came" (lit. "on this side of so-and-so's coming"). Bu (or ul)-yüz-i da (or gha) is thus a compound post-position taking ning or din after the noun. [See grammar.]

yüz (num.) a hundred.

yüz-do (num. subs.) a group of a hundred, KAZ.

yüz-aïlan (num. subs.) a group of a hundred, 'une centaine.'

yüz-bdshi (subs.) a chief of a hundred, a centurion.

yüz-la-'t-mak (v. caus.) to cause to put face to face, or confront; also, to cause to face round (tr.)

yüz-la-'sh-tur-mak (v. recip. caus.) to cause to face or confront one another.

yüz-la-'sh-maq (v. recip.) to face or confront one another.

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 (v. 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.

בעיינט yusun (subs.) institution, regulation, custom. [? from ydsd-mdq for ydsun].

yusun-luq (adj.) regular, customary.

yushur-maq. See yahsur-maq.

yushur-un. See yâhsurun. يوشورون

yoshah (subs.) a kind of red earth used as a colouring matter.

yogh (subs.) a yoke, P.

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.

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.

yu-ghu-chi (subs.) a washer, specially a washer of the dead. يرغوجي yughur-mdq (v. tr.) to mix, to compound (any substance with a liquid).

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 yoq 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, qelghan-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-qelmdq 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 qelmdq "to make big"). Yoq-bolmdq = "to become non-existent", "to be destroyed or annihilated", ("not to become ..." would be bol-mas)]. Misc. Exish-im yoq-qa ketti "my work came (went) to nothing;" man yoq waqt-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.

yuqa. See yupqa, KAZ.

yoqari (adv. and post-pos.) up, above; also, above, over. [See Grammar].

يوقاريلاش *yoqari-lash* (adj. and adv.) sloping upwards; upwards by a slope.

yoq-at-maq (v. tr.) to make non-existent, to annihilate, to destroy; also, to lose, [for yoq itmak].

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].

yuq-tur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to be inflected, to inflect, (tr.), [with the particular illness as a nominative or subject, and din (from) and gha (to) of the persons].

yoq-so (interj.) a respectful form of yoq.

يوقسوز yuq-süz (adj.) of no account, mean, miserly.

yû-uq-süz (adj.) unwashed, dirty [from yû-mûq].

yoq-la-maq (v. tr.) to remember.

يرقماق 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].

yük (subs.) baggage, a load, goods.

yugan (subs) a bridle.

yük-la-mak (v. tr.) to load, to lade (with accusative of the object and gha of the carrier).

yük-lük (vl. adj.) laden.

yügür-maq (v. intr.) to run.

- yūkūn-dūr-mak (v. caus.) to cause to sit in a kneeling position.
  - يوكونماك yūkūn-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 châr zânus ('four knees'), is considered either familiar or disrespectful.]
    - yol (subs.) a road, a route, a way; also the E. Turkistani name for the Chinese unit of road-measurement, a "li" [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!].
    - yola-mdq (v. intr.) to approach, to go near, [see yan-maq and yauq-la-maq].

yula-mak (v. tr.) to prop, to support, to shore up.

yula-'n-mak (v. refl.) to support one's self, to lean.

yulbare (subs.) a tiger.

yol-dash (subs.) a companion on the road, a travelling companion.

yul-dur-maq (v. caus.) to cause to pull up by the roots.

yüldüz (subs.) a star (including planets); quyuruq yulduz "a comet" (lit. 'a tail-star').

yülghun (subs.) tamarisk.

yol-la-maq (v. tr.) to set (a man) on his way, to start (any one).

yul-maq (v. tr.) to uproot, to pull out by the roots. yulun (subs.) the spinal chord.

yol-uq-maq (v. intr.) to meet by the way, to encounter, [governs gha].

yu-maq (v. tr.) to wash.

yumaq-sibit (subs.) the fruit of the Coriandrum Sativus, 'Dhania' Hind.

yumala-'t-maq (v. caus.) to cause to roll about, to roll about (tr.).

yumala-maq (v. intr.) to roll about.

yumala-'q (vl. adj.) round, spherical.

yumalaq-la-maq (v. tr.) to make round.

yumurtkah (subs.) an egg, KAZ.

yumshaq (adj.) soft.

yumghaq (subs.) a ball of thread, &c.

yum-maq (v. tr.) to close (one's eyes, mouth or hand).

yum-uq (vl. adj.) closed (of the eyes, mouth or hand).

yumur-maq (v. caus.) to throw down, to overthrow (a wall or building).

yumur-uq (vl. adj.) ruinous, in a ruinous condition.

yun (subs.) wool, KAZ. KH.

yung (subs.) wool.

يونكچڤة yungichqa (subs.) lucerne (the grass), KAZ., KH.

yungul (adj.) light (not heavy).

yun-maq (v. tr.) to cut (in a shaving manner, as a pen), to whittle.

yû-un-mâq (v. refl.) to wash one's self.

يونوچقة yunuchqah (subs.). See yungichqa.

yunuchkah (adj.) fine, slender.

yunu-maq. See yani-maq.

يورق yûuq. See yûuq.

يروقلاماق yauq-la-maq. See yauq-la-maq.

ييپ yip (subs.) thread. See jib.

ييليك vip-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. يباك vivak (subs.) silk. ييتيك wittik (adj.) sharp, acute. يتماك yet-mak (v. intr.) to arrive, to reach, to attain. یتمیش yet-mish (num.) seventy. See یتمیش یتی yetti (num.) seven. See یتی يير yèr (subs.) ground, land, the earth; also, place, locality. يدراق yeraq (adj. and adv.) distant, far. yer-la-mak (v. tr.) to put into the earth, to bury. yesh-mak (v. tr.) to untie, to undo a knot. yesh-in-mak (v. refl.) to untie one's self, to undress one's self. yigh-maq (v. tr.) to collect, to bring together, to accumulate. ييغير. yiqh-in (subs.) an assemblage. yigh-in-maq (v. refl.) to collect themselves, to assemble; also, to collect one's self, to tuck in one's skirts (in sitting down). ييكان yékan (subs) a water-rush. ييليت yiqit (subs.) a young man; also, a soldier (cavalry). يكرماك yiqar-mak. See ييكرماك يگرمه yigarmah. See بيگرمه يل vil. See ييل بيل (subs.) wind, KAZ. يلان yilan. See ييلان ييلبوگوچ yel-pu-qu-'ch (subs.) a fan. yel-pi-mak (v. tr.) to fan. ييلدام wil-dam (adv.) quickly, fast. پينديز vildiz (subs.) a root-filament. yelim (subs.) glue.

ييليمالاماك yelim-la-mak (v. tr.) to glue.

yem (subs.) corn, cattle-feed.

يداك yé-mak (v. tr.) to eat.

المالي yem.la-mak. See يداك yem.la-mak. See يديد yé-mish (subs.) fruit.

المالي ying (subs.) a sleeve.

المالين yengil (adj.) light (not heavy).

### APPENDIX

TO

# VOCABULARY.

### TURKI NAMES OF BIRDS.

By J. Scully, Esq.

Late Medical Officer, Kashqhar Agency.

Achchah qoyruq sá. The Common Kite of Eastern Turkistan, Milvus melanotis.

اق اوقار Aq áugár. The White Heron, Herodias alba.

Aq bash sá. The Marsh Harrier, Circus œruginosus.

اق قوچقاچ Aq quchqách. The Tree Sparrow, Passer montanus.

Alá básh kurak aurdák. The Common Teal, Querquedula اورداك crecea.

Alá chikit. The Black-throated Wheatear, Saxicola الا سوقان Alá sogán. The White Stork, Ciconia alba. [deserti.

Alá gház aurdák. The Merganser, Mergus castor.

Alá ghurálái. The Grey Shrike, Lanius Homeyeri.

Alá gárgha. The Hooded Crow, Corvus cornix.

Aurdák. Equivalent to our word 'duck', but applied specially to the Mallard, Anas boschas.

عقار Augar. The Grey Heron, Ardea cinerea. See اوقار

Aular. The name given to two species of Snow-cocks or Snow-pheasants, viz., Tetraogallus himalayensis and Tetraogallus tibetanus.

Ui qárloghách. The Common Swallow, Hirundo rustica. 27

Ayagh siz. The name given to a Night-jar or Goatsucker, Caprimulgus arenicolor.

Aitalgu. The female of the 'Shunqar, Falco Hendersoni. Aisak. Name of a bird about the size of a Thrush.

الله تورغاي 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.

(A.) Bahri. The Peregrine Falcon, Falco peregrinus.

Bir toghrám. A small Wren, Troglodytes pallidus.

Birgut or برگوت Burgut. The Golden Eagle, Aquila برگوت قراقوش chrysactus. See

Boz aurdák. The Smew, Mergellus albellus.

Boz chikit. The Wheatear, Saxicola isabellina.

Boz sá. The Pale Harrier, Circus Swainsonii.

Boz sunduk. The Water Pipit, Anthus aquaticus.

Boz ghurálái. The Desert Shrike, Lanius arenarius.

Boz láchin. The name of a Falcon, Falco Techerniaïevi.

Baghitaq. The Large Sand Grouse, Pterocles arenarius.

وتوالاق Bulbul. The Barred Warbler, Nisoria undata. وتوالاق

Baidina. The Common Quail, Coturnix communis. See

Pákhtaq; cf. قاخ Pers. The Kashghar Ring-Dove,

الموریشک Popshak torghai. The Crested Lark, Galerita magna.

پور باش Pur bash. The Mountain Finch, Montifringilla hæmatopygia.

پور تومشوق Pur tumshuk qárgha. The Rook, Corvus frugilegus.

Tágh tumuchuq. Swinhoe's Finch, Carpodacus mongolicus. Tágh qárghási. The Alpine Chough, Pyrrhocorax alpinus.

Tagh qárloghách. The Crag Martin, Ptionoprogne ru-

Tagh quchqáchi. The name given to several species of passerine birds found only in the mountains.

تاغ هوپوپي Tagh hupupi. The Bohemian Waxwing, Ampelis garrula. تراچي Taráchi. The Willow Sparrow, Passer salicicolus. ترخوناک قارغه Tukhunák kárgha. The Jackdaw, Colœus monedula.

قوم توخى Tokhi. A Fowl. See توخى

Toz. The Pea-fowl, Pavo cristatus.

Torghai. A Lark.

Torulghu. The Turtle Dove, Turtur auritus.

Turumtai. The Merlin, Lithofalco æsalon. In India this name is applied to a different species, viz., Hypotiorchis chicquera, the Red-headed Merlin.

Tokhmak sá. The Long-legged Buzzard, Buteo ferox.

ترغراق Toghraq quehqáchi. A Rose Finch, Propasser —.

Tumochuq. The name given to a species of Finch, Erythrospiza obsoleta.

Jaghalbai. The Hobby, Hypotriorchis subbuteo.

Jing jing. The Bearded Reedling, Calamophilus biar-

Jingsa. The Indian Bush-chat, Pratincola indica.

Jigda chuk. The Black-throated Thrush, Planesticus atroquiaris.

Cha sughsu aurdák. The Pintail Duck, Dafila acuta.

Chaghchi. The Indian Blue Throat, Cyanecula succica.

Cha quehqách. The name of a Bunting, Emberiza schæ-

Chaghundák. The Bactrian Owlet, Athene bactriana.

Chaman. The Lapwing, Vanellus cristatus.

Chulán torghái. A small Lark, Alandula pispoletta.

Chulloq. A name applied to several species of Plover.

Chumigháq. The Little Grebe, Podiceps minor.

Chighchi. A species of Reed Warbler, Acrocephalus maororhynchus.

Chikit. A Wheatear, Saxicola.

چیکیت Chikit qanát aurdak. The White-eyed Duck, Aythys قنات اورداك مyroca.

Kharuna. The Water Hen, Gallinula chloropus. See فرونه

Zaghcha. The Andijani name for the Jackdaw. See زاغچهٔ

زغلداق Zarghaldáq. The Andijani name for the Golden Oriole. See سوييا

Zagháráq. The Green Sandpiper, Actitis ochrophus.

زونگاتی Zungaq. Podoces humilis.

Sá. The name given to Buzzards, Harriers and Kites.

Sách. The Rose-coloured Starling, Pastor roseus.

Sálwár. The Cinercous Vulture, Vultur monachus.

سریخ سوندوک Sarigh sunduk. The Yellow-headed Wagtail, Budytes

الموبغ قوجقات Sarigh quchqach. The Red-headed Bunting, Euspiza luteola.

Saghizghán. The White-rumped Magpie, Pica bactriam.

Sokocháq. A Wood-pecker, Picus leucopterus.

Sun aurdák. The Mallard, Anas boschas.

Sopiá. The Indian Oriole, Oriolus kundoo.

Surám. A Wren Warbler, Rhopophilus pekinensis.

Soqan. A Stork, Ciconia.

Sunduk. The Common Wagtail, Motacilla alba.

Sairám. The Marsh Pipit, Corydalla Richardi.

Shayaraq chulloq. The Indian Ringed Plover, Ægialites

Shunqar. The Shunkar Falcon, Falco Hendersons.

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Sái torghái. The Horned Lark, Otocoris penicillata. . فواقاش تورغاي

Sái yámghurchi. The Kentish Bing Plover, Ægialophilus cantianus.

اقاوقار and اوفار and عقار

مكن 'Akka. The Andijani name for the Magpie. See عكم

Gház. The Grey Lag Goose, Anser cinereus.

ضجى Ghiji. The Lammergeyer, Gypaetus barbatus.

Ghorki. The Brown-headed Gull, Xema brunneicephala.

Qárchigha. The Goshawk, Astur palumbarius.

Qárgha. A Crow.

Qárloghách. A Swallow.

وَالْمُقَالِدَاتِ Qáshqáldáq. The Common Coot, Fulica atra.

Qáqshál pichak. The Stilt, Himantopus intermedius.

وياتي تورغاي Qapáq torghái. The Crested Lark, Galerida magna. See .يو پشك تورغاي

وقراباش Qará básh quchqách. A Bunting, Emberiza pyrrhuloides.

Qará chikit. A Wheatear, Saxicola Hendersoni.

Qará sá. A Buzzard, Buteo japonicus.

Qará soqan. The Black Stork, Ciconia nigra.

ورا غاز Qará gház. The Common Cormorant, Graculus carbo.

-Qará kásh torghái. The Horned Lark, Otocoris peni قرا قاشتورغاي cillata.

ورا قارغة Qará qárgha. The Black Crow, Corvus culminatus.

Qará kuchkach. The Common Starling, Sturnus vulgaris.

Qara qush. The local name in Eastern Turkistan for the بورگوت Golden Eagle, Aquila chrysaetus. See بورگوت

Qirghaul. The Yarkand Pheasant, Phasianus Shawi.

Qarghai. The Sparrow Hawk, Accipiter nisus.

Qizil básh aurdák. The Red-crested Pochard, Branta rufina.

Qizil tumshuq qargha. The Red-billed Chough, Fregilus قارغه graculus.

Qizil kurkánák. The Redstart, Ruticilla erythrogastra.

Qiláti sá. The female Hen-Harrier, Circus cyancus.

Qil yurgha. The Swiftfoot, Podoces Hendersoni.

Qum tokhisi. The Little Bustard, Otis tetrax.

يّ سغزغاني Qum saghizghani. A name sometimes given to Podoces Hendersoni. See قال يورغه.

Qanak aurdák. The Shoveller, Spatula clypeata.

Qanaichi. The Reed Warbler, Acrocephalus arundinaceus.

Quchqách. Any small passerine bird; equivalent to Chiria in Hindustani.

Qush. Any large sized bird.

Qodái. The Swan, Cygnus olor.

Qodan. The Water Hen, Gallinula chloropus.

Quzghun. The Tibetan Raven, Corvus tibetanus.

Kirich qarloghach. A Swift, Cypselus pekinensis.

Karak aurdák. The Blue-winged Teal, Querquedula circia.

كىلىك Kaklik. The Chukor Partridge, Caccabis chukor.

نكوك Kakkok. The Common Cuckoo, Cuculus canorus.

للخات Kalkhát. The Andijani name for the Kite.

Kurgánák. The Kestrel, Tinnunculus alaudarius.

Koktalghu. A Tree Warbler, Phyllopneuste rama.

Kok sá. The male Hen Harrier, Circus cyaneus.

Kok sunduk. A Wagtail, Motacilla personata.

Kok qárgha. The European Roller, Coracias garrula.

Kögan. The Indian Stock-pigeon, Palumbæna Evers-

Kul buqahsi. The Bittern, Botaurus stellaris. کول بوقهسي Köshkal. The Stock-pigeon, Columba anas.

Giya (? گریه Girya). The Sea Eagle, Haliaetus leucory-

Láchin. The Barbary Falcon, Falco barbarus.

الاسوقان Laglag. The White Stork, Ciconia alba. See الاسوقان

Mahramchi. The Common Snipe, Gallinago scolopacinus.

مشكّ يَاْبِالن Mashak yápáláq. The Long-eared Owl, Otus vulgaris.

مشكتيام-Mashk yámghurchi. The Greenshanks, Totanus glottis.

ميزان سا Mizan sa. The Kite, Milvus melanotis.

مينه Maina. The Black-bird, Morula vulgaris.

وتوالق Watwalaq. The local Yarkandi name for the common Quail. See ييدنه.

Hangghut. The Brahminy Duck, Casarca rutila.

طوپوپ Hüpüp. The Common Hoopoe, Upupa epops.

Hui qush. The Great Eagle Owl, Bubo maximus.

Yawa kabtar. The Blue Hill Pigeon, Columba rupestris.

يايالق Yápáláq. The Short-eared Owl, Otus brachyotus.

yár qárloghách. A Swift, Cypselus acuticauda.

يامغورچي Yamghurchi. A name applied to several species of Waders.

Yekan tokhisi. The Water Rail, Rallus aquaticus.

### TURKI NAMES OF PLANTS.

By J. Scully, Esq.

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غجفاك áchî chijghák.

áchigh ánár. اچيغ انار

ikhchî kokî. Rape or Cole-seed, Brassica napus.

أدراسمان ádrásmán. Peganum harmala. See gul ásmán.

أرامدان árámadán. Name of a tree, undetermined.

أريه árpa. Barley, Hordeum distichum.

أربه باديان árpa bádyán. Anisum satioum.

فان غال غال árpa khán.

artîsh. The Pencil Cedar, Juniperus excelsa.

árman. Wormwood, Artemisia vulgaris.

غال ázghán. A species of Rose, Rosa.

ághácha yughuch. A Cucurbitaceous Plant.

aftab parast. Sunflower, Helianthus anuus.

áfiun guli. Opium Poppy, Papaver somniferum.

áq árman. A species of Wormwood, Artemisia.

aq alma. White Apple, Pyrus malus.

aq auzum. White Grape, Vitis vinifora.

aq badyan. Coriander, Coriandrum sativum.

aq básh aut. Celery, Apium graveoleus.

اق پیاز aq piaz. A variety of Onion, Allium cepa.

اق تيكان áq tikán. Sea Buckthorn, Hippophaë rhamnoides.

اق تيكان áq tikán. A Shrub, Lycium ruthenicum.

aq jigda. White Eleagnus.

iaq gul' anbar. A Centaurea.

aq chîchik aut. A species of Cress, Lepidium latifolium.

aq qonaq. The Great Millet, Holcus sorghum.

i áq lála.

iq lobis. White Pulse, Dolichos lablab.

aq laili qazaq. White Opium Poppy, Papaver somniforum.

aq nabat. A variety of Sweet Melon, Cucumis melo.

فاa koki. الأكوكي

"Golden Flower." التونكلُّ

فأت غاوفات فاعلت

álmurt. The Pear. See Amurt.

álma. The Apple, Pyrus malus or Pyrus indica.

ه ألوبالو alo bálu.

álucha. الوچه

ámurt. The Pear, Pyrus communis.

أنار ánár. The Pomegranate, Punica granatum.

أنارگلي ánár guli. Pomegranate blossom.

أنجير ánjír. The Fig, Ficus carica.

andijan anzumí. اندیجان اوزومی

نديجان كل ándiján gul.

áujma. The Mulberry, Morus alba.

فujun. أرجون

áuruk. ? The Plum.

áurahdán. A Boragewort, Asperugo procumbens.

فرزوك غuzuk.

فرزون توررپ áuzun turup. Knol Kohl, Brassica oloracea caulo-rapa.

áusma.

áusun. The Wild Cabbage, Brassica oleracea.

áughri tikán. A Leguminous plant, Astragalus sp.

áuljá. The Apricot. See Aulja.

áulja. The Apricot, Prunus armeniaca.

áwul munáq. A species of Spurge, Euphorbia lathyris.

auidan. A species of Madder, Rubia sp.

áit auzum.

ait khmak paliki. See ait qoghūn.

áit qoghun. A variety of Sweet Melon, Cucumis melo.

áirkák aujma. ايركاك ارجمه

áirkák qomush. ايركاكفوموش

áishák qomush. Orache, Atriplex sp.

áigar. Sweet Flag, Acorus calamus.

álnák fashti. Castor oil seeds, Ricinus communis.

ayigh qormáchi.

bájin chámghur. باجینچامغور

bajin qoghun. Chinese Melon.

bájín gulf. A Larkspur, Delphinium incanum.

28

bádám. The Almond, Amygdalus communis.

báqlá. A Bean, Faba sp.

badingan. The Egg-Plant, Solanum melongena.

bughdáf. Common Wheat, Triticum vulgare.

bukhwar. A Cruciferous plant.

budushqaq. Burweed, Xanthium strumarium.

burtsi. A Chenopod, Eurotia ceratoides.

bori áuzum. Bladder-Senna, Colutea arborescens.

borí porcháqi. بوريپورچاقى

بوریسمساقی bori samsáqi. A Broomrape, Orobanche sp. بوریسامساقی bori yápurmáqi.

bughaz. Corn. بوغز

buya. A Leguminous plant, Sophora alopecuroides.

baida. Purple Medick or Lucerne, Medicago sativa.

baisai. The Turnip, Brassica rapa.

béshak shirin. A variety of Sweet Melon.

bíhí. The Quince, Pyrus cydonia.

پ

پاقه پرتي ) páqa puti qomush. A species of Reed.

páqa yápurmáq. The Greater Plantain, Plantago major.

pálak. ? Rhinacanthus communis.

patingan. The Egg-Apple plant, Solanum melongens.

پوپوک سپورگي pupuk suporgi. A Reed, Arundo.

porcháq. Common Pea, Pisum sativum.

piaz. Onion, Allium cepa.

بيازك piázak.

pizak. A Grass, Calamagrostis laxa.

tátligh ánár.

tátligh shaftul. ? The Nectarine, Amygdalus persics. أتاليغ شفتول táj khoráz. See Taji gul.

ت

اجي كل táji gul. The Cockscomb, Celosia cristata.

tárbuz. The Water Melon, Citrullus vulgaris.

تار بوزک tárbuzak. A Cucurbitaceous plant, Momordica Charantia. تار غاید tárghách.

الة tál.

ترپ turup. The Radish, Raphanus sativus.

tarigh. Millet, Panicum miliaceum.

tamáku. Tobacco, Nicotiana tabacum.

tutushqaq. Burdock, Lappa major.

tukhumák. A Leguminous plant, Sophora japonica.

tozgháq.

toghách. توغاج

.toghraghu توغرآغو

toghraq. A Poplar, Populus balsamifera.

toghraq tili. توغراق تيلي

toklik aut. توكليك اوت

tuga tápáni. توگهتاپاني

tairak. The White Poplar, Populus alba.

tairti sugat. The Weeping Willow, Saliz babylonica. تيرتي سوگت tabba baida. White Melilot, Melilotus alba.

Œ

jámáqa. A Pondweed, Potamogeton natane.

jángdu. A small Bean.

janasta. The Plum, Prunus domestica.

juwani. A species of Dill, Anethum Sowa.

jokhár gul. جوخآركل

jori qand. A variety of Sweet Melon.

jîghda. A variety of Sweet Melon.

jigda. A species of Oleaster, Eleagnus angustifolia.

T

chálang. See Chilang.

chámghur. The Turnip, Brassica rapa.

چامغور chamghur chuchuki. chái koki. چای کوکی chaqîr ánjma. چقير ارجمه chilang. Cabbage, Brassica oleracea. chujun áut. A species of Millet, Panicum crus-galli. chujun tarigh. A Fodder grass, Panicum glaucum. chuchuk buya. A species of liquorice, Glycyrrhiza glandulifera.

د پوچوک بویه chuchuk buya munjáqi.

chigh. A Grass, Arundinella nepalensis.

chîghirtmáq. A species of Iris, Iris soongarica.

chîlán. The Jujube, Zizyphus vulgaris.

chîlka zardák. چيلکه زرداك

chîlkî. A variety of Sweet Melon.

chinar. The Oriental Plane Tree, Platanus orientalis.

chînî gul. China Aster.

مان كلي khán guli. French Marigold, Tagetes patula. khatái khina. A species of garden Balsam.

خطّاي سپور- khatái supurgisi. An Amaranth, Amaranthus blitum.

khatái gul. China Aster, Callistephus chinensis.

khokhá. A Composite plant.

khokha tikán. A kind of Thistle, Onicus arvensis.

khokha gul. P Cnicus arvensis.

khongán. Cucumber, Oucumis sativus.

د

ارا dáwá. Tamarisk, Tamarix sp. dáudar. French Bean, Phaseolus vulgaris. dodo. A species of Yam, Dioscorea deltoida.

zághun. Wild Nevew, Brassica campestris. زدک); zardak. The Carrot, Daucus carota. تان zarangza. The Safflower Plant, Carthamus tinctorius. عفر كل غد; za'far gul. ? Saffron plant, Crocus sativus. ighir. Flax, Linum usitatissimum. zîkh. زيخ

sápagsiz gul. = sapagsi gul. supurzi. An Amaranth, Amaranthus blitum. supurgi. A species of Tamarisk, Tamarix elongata. sada. The Elm, Ulmus erosa.

sarigh azghán. Yellow Rose, Rosa brunonii. sarigh aut. A grass found growing at high elevations.

sarigh buya. A Leguminous plant, Sophora sp. sarigh talba baida. Common or Yellow Melilot, Melilotus officinalis.

sarigh zárdak.

sarigh sabba, Pot Marigold, Calendula officinalis.

sarîgh sanbar gul. African Marigold, Tagetes erecta.

" sarigh sugat. " Yellow Willow." سريغ سوگت

sarigh 'ashq picháq. Indian Cress, Tropeolum majus.

sarigh gul. A Marigold, Calendula stellata.

sarigh hafaráng. Tropeolum.

sarigh yurgamach. A species of Dodder, Cuscuta sp.

هريمساق sarimsáq. ? Garlic, Allium sativum.

samsaq piaz. A variety of Onion, Allium cepa.

sutlik aut. A species of Sow-thistle, Mulgedium tataricum.

sosun gul. A species of Iris.

سرسنے عشق sosuni 'ashq pichak.

sok. A Grass, Polypogon monspeliensis.

sugat. A Willow, Salix daphinoides.

suluq áut.

Bong piáz. سرنگ بیاز

siáhdána. Fennel Flower, Nigella sativa.

simaz áut. سيمز أرت

shatut. A species of Mulberry, Morus lævigata.

shál. The Rice plant, Oryza sativa.

sháldîr buya.

shaldir lághuch. A Leguminous plant, Sphærophyza sp.

shaftul. The Peach, Prunus persica.

.shalghut شلغوت

shumshá. The Ferngreck, Trigonella fænum-græcum.

shokhlá. A species of Night-shade, Solanum nigrum.

shum buya. A species of Broomrape, Phelipæa indica.

## ع

'asuq pichák. A Bindweed, Pharbitis nil. ainálu، عينالو

غ

ame ghasha.

## ف

fákhta áurught. Cotton seeds, Gossypium herbaceum. fálák. Tribulus terrestris.

fiáz. Onion, Allium cepa.

farang gulí. فرنگ گلي

# ق

qápáq. The Gourd, Cucurbita pepo. وَالَّ تَيْرَاكُ qápáq tairák. "Gourd Poplar."

qárgha tamgháqi. A Composite plant, Phænopus orientalis.

qárgha tamgháqi. A Figwort, Dodartia orientalis.

qárgha tamgháqi áut. A Leguminous plant, Oxytropis عنارغه تامغاً عنام وعنام وعنارغه تامغاً عنام المنابع المنا

qárgha jigdahsi. A species of Eleagnus.

qághaz áut. Milk Thistle, Sonchus oleraceus.

qámchi gul. The Love-lies-bleeding Amaranth, Amaran-thus candatus.

qámchi gul. Garden Persicary, Polygonum orientale.

gámgháq. A Saltwort, Salsola collina.

qáirum.

qará árman. قرا ارمن

qará áujma. A species of Mulberry, Morus atro-purpurea.

qará áuruk. Apricot, Prunus armeniaoa.

qará sona. A species of Sow-thistle, Sonchus.

qara shokhala. A Night-shade, Solanum nigrum.

qará gul. A species of Marsh Mallow, Althora rosea.

qará yughách. A species of Ash, Fraxinus Moorcroftiana.

qazíl ázghán. Red Rose.

qizil pácháq. قزيل يأجأق

qizil piáz. Red onion.

qizil turup. Red Radish, Raphanus sativus.

qizil janasta.

qizil jigda. An Oleaster, Eleagnus parviflora.

qizil khina. A variety of garden Balsam.

qizil zardák.

qizil gul. The Rose, Rosa macrophylla.

qizil lálá.

qizil laili qazaq. Red Opium Poppy, Papaver somniferum.

qizil morch. Spur Pepper, Capsicum frutescens.

qizil yulghun. Tamarisk, Tamarix gallica.

qalaqai. ? Amaranthus.

qoghun. Sweet Melon.

qo koki. A species of Sorrel, Rumex klotschianus.

qomush. A Reed, Arundo madagascariensis.

qummi. The Melon, Cucumis melo.

qonáq. Maize or Indian-corn, Zea mays.

qongán. Cucumber, Cucumis sativus.

quikoki. The Dock, Rumex aquaticus.

quikoki. A species of grass, Calamagrostis Nepalensis.

qiyáq áut. A species of grass, Calamagrostis Nepalensis.

qaishlik turup. A Cruciferous plant.

ك

لاه لوه káhloh. The Persimon, *Diospyros kaki*. كبرايا kibráyá. An Umbelliferous plant. كرم karam. كرم kurmak. كرم kakra.

kakkok koki. Sow-thistle, Sonchus sp.

كيده kakia. A Spurge, Euphorbia sp.

kampa. A species of Wormwood, Artemisia sp.

koda. Onion, Allium cepa.

koda amurt. ? A variety of Pear.

kozgi bughdái.

kok shokhllá. A species of Night-shade, Solanum nigrum.

کوک عشقهٔ kok 'ashqa pichák.

kok lobiá. A variety of Bean.

koknár. The Field Poppy, Papaver rhæas.

kokia. An Onagrad, Enothera mollissima.

kunjud. A Cruciferous plant.

kawa. کوه

kaibaz. The Cotton plant, Gossypium herbaceum.

ليبزاناسي kaibaz anasi. A plant of the Mallow family, Abutil

کیک تیلی kaik tîlî. A Spurge, Euphorbia ep.

us.

ليكيد kaikia. Acroptilon picris. كيندر kaindir. The Hemp Plant, Cannabis sativa. كيديه kaivia. Fennel, Fæniculum vulgare.

gul ásmán. A Ruewort, Peganum harmala.
gul khinahsi. Garden Balsam, Impatiens balsamina.
gul súsun. 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.
gailás.

, 1

الوبيا lobia. A Pulse, Dolichos lablab. لولغ كوكي lola koki. laili qazaq. The Poppy, Papaver.

másh. The Bean, Phaseolus mungo.
مالغون málghun.
مالغون majgán khîna. A species of Balsam.
مركان خينة mukhmal gul.
مندر manáqi.
مندر mandar. An Asclepiad, Cynanchum sp.
مودان كل
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ازنجي عشق narinji 'ashq picháq.

nashwat. The Pear, Pyrus communis. نخود nakhud.
مخود nargas. A Narcissus.

hawá rang gul. A species of Mallow, Malva parviflora. haft rang. Great Indian Cress, See Hafarang. hafarang. The Great Indian Cress or Nasturtium, Tropeslum majus.

hamshibar. Common Mallow, Malva sylvestris. hindostán gul. Gomphrena globosa. hawîl monák. Euphorbia lathyris. See awul monaq.

yárma qamchi gul. A Persicary, Polgonum sp. يازغي بغداي yázghi bughdái.

يَاشَيْل عَشَقَ yáshîl 'ashq picháq. A Leguminous plant.

yálpuz. A species of Goosefoot, Chenopodium vulvaria. yámghásut. Coriander, Coriandrum sativum. يانتاق yántáq. The Camel Plant, Alhagi maurorum.

yánggháq. The Walnut, Juglans regia.

yáwá baida. Wild Lucerne.

yáwá gul 'anbar. Wild Centaurea.

yaghách. A Tree, Ailanthus excelea. يغاج yik qomushi. Goosefoot, Chenopodium album.

yakan. Reed-mace, Typha angustifolia.

yurgámách. Bindweed, Convolvulus arvensis.

yulghun. Tamarisk, Tamarix gallica.

yumgháq sabut. Coriander.